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SPEECHES

ON

VARIOUS OCCASIONS,

BY

EDWARD EVERETT.

VOL. III.

BOSTON:
LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY.
1859.

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PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD VOLUME.

THE present volume contains the Orations and Speeches delivered by me since the month of May, 1850, — the date with which the second volume closes. The contents of the volume having been made up a twelvemonth ago and its size preventing any further addition, several speeches and discourses of a later date have been necessarily omitted; — among them a Eulogy on Mr. Thomas Dowse, a Discourse on the Early Days of Franklin, Remarks on the Decease of Mr. Choate, and an Address at the Dedication of the Statue of Mr. Webster.

Being still under engagement to repeat, at many places in different parts of the country, for the benefit of the fund for the purchase of Mount Vernon, the Discourse on the Character of Washington, originally delivered on the 22d of February, 1856, I reserve that also for future publication.

With the orations and addresses contained in this volume,

I have included two or three articles of a different kind, such as the Memoir of Abdul Rahaman, the Obituary Notice of Mr. Abbott Lawrence, and the Memoir of Mr. Peter C. Brooks. The first of these seemed to furnish a suitable illustration of the Speech before the Colonization Society; and the second is given as an appropriate supplement to the Remarks made in Faneuil Hall on occasion of Mr. Lawrence's Decease. I have introduced the Memoir of Mr. Brooks into the volume, from a wish to extend, as widely and permanently as I could, this tribute to the memory of one of the most honorable and upright of men.

Adhering to the plan pursued in the two former volumes, I have excluded also from this volume the speeches made by me in the Senate of the United States, in the years 1853 and 1854 (with the exception of the Remarks on the Death of Vice-President King), and one or two political speeches made on other occasions.

The present volume will be found to contain a very complete Analytical Index of the three volumes, for the preparation of which I am wholly indebted to the friendly interest of S. Austin Allibone, Esq., of Philadelphia, so well known at home and abroad as the Author of the "Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased." I am not without fears that his partiality has led him into a degree of minuteness not warranted by the importance of the work, and for this reason I was desirous that the Index should be materially

abridged. But I have felt that it would be an ungrateful return for the labor so kindly bestowed by him on its preparation, to subject it against his wishes to any considerable retrenchment. Being myself entitled to no part of the credit of its formation, I may be permitted to say, that its equal, in all the qualities of a good Index, will in my opinion not be readily found. It has been carried through the press under the critical eye of my friend Charles Folsom, Esq.

While I have great reason to acknowledge the kindness with which the contents of these volumes have been received, both as spoken and in print, I would observe that it is not wholly of choice that I continue to give so much of my time to the preparation and delivery of these occasional performances, for which I cannot promise myself so durable an interest, as might perhaps be hoped for literary labors of another kind. I may be allowed to say, that I decline many more invitations to speak in public than I accept, and that my frequent appearance is the result of urgency, to which I often yield with great reluctance, being sensible that I am near the age, if indeed I have not reached it, when the platform should be left to younger men.

EDWARD EVERETT.

Boston, September, 1859.

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ORATIONS AND SPEECHES.

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BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.*

When I contemplate the surrounding objects, and consider how much of our prosperity is due to the event which we commemorate this day, I cannot but call to mind the epitaph of the architect of St. Paul's: *If you seek for a monument look around you.* We have indeed erected an enduring monument on the hill before us. No ordinary human violence will shake the solid column. The storms of a thousand winters *will* beat upon it in vain; the earthquake and the lightning alone can lay it low. But while this noble monument shall for ever mark the very spot where our fathers deserved well of their country, I behold before us and around us, not less expressive memorials of their principles and their characters.

This building, which has sent forth some of those floating castles, on which you, sir, (Commodore Downes,) and your brave associates, have borne the naval thunders of America to the furthest seas, does it not, hung as it is with the banners of every nation, and none more honored than our own, remind us of that tremendous day, when, beneath a summer's sun and a canopy of smoke and flame, our fathers, (without a friend at that time among the nations of the earth,) stood for thirteen hours the shock of the unequal contest? That formidable park of artillery, how does it not contrast with the six poor field-pieces of the 17th June;— the noble ships moored in the harbor, — one of them, the Ohio, bearing the name of a mighty State, in which, at that time, the smoke of a white man's cabin had never curled on the breeze, — a ship

* An Oration delivered on the 17th of June, 1850, in the ship-house in the Navy Yard in Charlestown, being the seventy-fifth anniversary of the battle.

which has just returned from her cruise along those golden shores of the Pacific, which have lately been added to our great republican empire; — the very spot beneath our feet, near which the royal army landed on the 17th June, 1775; — I say, fellow-citizens, do not these objects, each and all, constitute a most expressive monument to the great men of that day?

Friends and fellow-citizens; it was among the original objects of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, to perpetuate, by stated celebrations, the glorious memory of the 17th of June, 1775. Its first purpose, of course, was to erect an imperishable landmark on the spot itself. But it was another object of the Association, announced among its earliest proceedings, as you, sir, (Hon. Thomas Handasyd Perkins,) are well aware, for you were among its earliest promoters and officers, to provide for the stated commemoration of the battle. We borrowed the form of the monument from the structures of ancient Egypt, but we did not intend that it should stand like the obelisks and pyramids, a silent mystery to the successive generations that gaze upon them. We wished that, from time to time, there should go forth a faithful record of the glorious event, and of the all-important principles to which the monument is consecrated; and while the majestic shaft itself, from the clouds to which it towers, shall address its solemn eloquence to the eye, that the pen and voice, to the end of time, should interpret its illustrious significance to the understanding and the heart.

But when I consider, fellow-citizens, that but seven years have elapsed since you were addressed on the summit of Bunker Hill, on occasion of the completion of the monument, by the great master of American eloquence, and that many present must freshly recollect the matchless strain to which they listened, from the same lips, on this day twenty-five years ago, I feel how hopeless is the task I have undertaken. What can I attempt to say to you, which was not said on those occasions, in a manner which leaves nothing to be amended and nothing to be added? Even if I should confine myself to a simple narrative of the events of the day,

they have been so frequently rehearsed by writers and speakers of great ability, that I should deem it vain to seek for additional facts, or to give to those already known an air of novelty. Every published account from authentic sources has been carefully compared; the recollections of the surviving eye-witnesses in 1825, were diligently taken down at that time; and many letters written shortly after the battle, by those who bore a part in it, have at different periods been brought to light. Several such, of great importance, are contained in the valuable work of Mr. Frothingham, of this place, lately published. Among these, is one of extreme interest from Colonel Prescott himself to John Adams. But even this account of the battle of Bunker Hill, from the pen of Prescott, throws no new light upon the main event, although it proves conclusively, what no man doubted, that the *modesty of this* sterling patriot was equal to his heroism.*

As far as the narrative of events is concerned, the battle of Bunker Hill must now be committed to the classical historians of the country, to take its fitting place in our annals. To the vigorous and brilliant pen of Bancroft, which has already recorded the settlement and colonization of the United States, and to the accurate and philosophical research of Sparks, to which we are indebted for the lives of Washington and Franklin, and the standard editions of their works, we can safely leave the great event of this day, to find its permanent record in those histories of the revolution which they permit us to expect from them. There is another American historian, whose name, on this occasion, rises spontaneously to my lips. Had he not achieved the highest reputation for himself and reflected the greatest honor upon his country, by his admirable works on subjects of more remote and even foreign interest, we could almost wish that he, too, had selected a topic which would have given us a description of the battle of Bunker Hill from the pen of Prescott; that the courage and conduct on which the cause of America reposed on this day

* Frothingham's History of the Siege of Boston, and of the battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. Appendix, p. 395.

of her great peril might have been illustrated by a historian of kindred blood.

The importance of the battle of Bunker Hill rests mainly on its consequences. Its influence on the success of the revolution lifts it up from the level of vulgar gladiatorial contests, and gives it a place among those few momentous appeals to arms, which have affected the cause of liberty and the condition of man for ages. But even in itself considered, I know not what element of stirring interest is wanting, to make it one of the most extraordinary events in history. Need I remind you of the solemn parade on Cambridge Common, at the close of the day on the 16th of June; the blessing invoked by the President of the University on the yet unannounced expedition; the silent and thoughtful march of the column under the veteran Prescott, preceded by sergeants with dark lanterns; the lines marked out by Gridley, the same who at Louisburg, at the third trial, threw a shell into the citadel, and who drew the only two field-pieces used at the fall of Quebec up the heights of Abraham; the midnight toil in the trenches; the cry of the sentinel, "all's well," heard from the British ships moored between Boston and Charlestown, by Colonel Prescott and Major Brooks, as, twice in the course of that short and anxious night, they went down to the water's side. The day dawns and the fire of the "Lively" opens on the redoubt. The garrison in Boston, the American encampments, the surrounding country start at the sound. As the morning advances, every roof, steeple, tree, and hill-top, that commands the scene, is alive with expectation. At noon, the British troops cross in twenty-eight barges from Long Wharf and the North Battery in Boston; and as they move, the rays of a meridian summer's sun are reflected from burnished arms, gay uniforms, and the sparkling waters. A sharp fire from Copp's Hill, the ships of war, and the floating batteries, sweeps across Charlestown to cover the debarkation.

They land at or near this spot, then called Moulton's Point, and lying in a state of nature. The hostile force consists of

regiments that have won laurels at Dettingen and Minden, led by chiefs who had been trained in all the wars of Europe. It is soon perceived that the balls brought over are too large for the field-pieces. Sir William Howe, the commander-in-chief, having reconnoitred the American lines and formed an exaggerated opinion of their strength and of the reënforcements which were seen to arrive from Medford, sends over to Boston for more troops. In the interval, his army, awaiting the arrival of the reënforcements, makes a leisurely meal from the contents of their knapsacks.

Far different was the condition of the Americans who had now toiled in throwing up the entrenchments from midnight, without repose, without adequate supplies, without relief, under an incessant cannonade, harassing though not destructive, beneath a summer's sun. They occupied the redoubt, the spot on which the monument is built, and a breastwork leading from it, on the northerly slope of the hill, of which the traces still remain. About the time when the British army landed, the regiments under Stark and Reed arrived from Medford. Stark had marched at a leisurely pace over the Neck, beneath the fire of the floating batteries, because one fresh man in action (according to the observation of Stark, as reported by General Dearborn to whom it was addressed) was better than ten who are exhausted. At this time, also, Warren arrived at the lines, and, without assuming the command as major-general, acted to the last as a volunteer. Putnam, the only mounted officer in the field, passed between Charlestown and head-quarters more than once in the course of the day, to hasten the reënforcements.

At three o'clock the battle began. The British force, in two principal columns, moved forward to the attack. The right, under the command of Howe, was directed against a position which had been taken up on the Mystic River by the Connecticut men under Knowlton, detached from the redoubt and supported by Stark's and Reed's reënforcement; the left was led by Pigot directly against the redoubt. The artillery, from Copp's Hill, the ships of war, and the floating batteries, redoubled its fire; and as the hostile troops moved slowly up

the hill, they halted at intervals to give their field-pieces an opportunity to make an impression on the American lines. The American force watched unmoved these fearful pauses in the advance of the enemy. Their own artillery was of the most inefficient description and for the most part feebly served. The men were ordered by their officers, both in the redoubt and along the lines, to reserve their fire till the enemy was near at hand, when it was delivered with such fatal effect, that after a few moments' gallant resistance, he retreated to the foot of the hill. Such was the result of the first attack, both at the redoubt and breastwork, and at the rail fence.

A brief pause succeeds, and the enemy rallies to a second attack. Again his forces move in two divisions. The Americans, gaining confidence from their first success, reserve their fire with still greater coolness than before, and until the hostile force is within six or eight rods. It was then given with proportionably greater effect. It was vigorously returned from the veteran ranks of the enemy; but, after a brief struggle between discipline and courage on the one side and the unerring aim of the American musket levelled with equal steadiness on the other, the royal troops are again compelled to retreat to the foot of the hill, and some of the men even take shelter in the boats.

Thus far the important day had gone with the Americans, notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances under which they had contended, the weariness of the sleepless night and of eighteen hours' continuous march, toil, suspense, and conflict; with no refreshment beyond the scanty supply brought with them; and no efficient relief. Had they been adequately supported and reënforced, they would no doubt have crowned an heroic defence by a final and complete victory. But the decisive struggle in the redoubt and at the breastwork remained to be made by those who had borne the heat and burden of the day, whose ammunition was now nearly gone, their numbers greatly reduced, their strength exhausted.

Under these circumstances the last great effort was made by the enemy. His forces are rallied with some difficulty for

another attack. New reënforcements are brought over from Boston, and Sir Henry Clinton, an officer of experience and gallantry, crosses with them as a volunteer, and renders the most important services, in leading up the men once more to action. Every thing is disposed for a final and desperate effort. A demonstration only is made against the rail fence, and the main force of the movement is directed against the redoubt and breastwork. As the British army advances, Charlestown is fired by shells from the opposite batteries in Boston. The flames catch from building to building, till the whole town is on fire. The British field-train forces its way through the undefended opening between the rail fence and the breastwork, so as to command the interior of the redoubt.

The royal troops, advancing in one column, reserve their fire till they reach the entrenchment; and while the conflagration of three or four hundred buildings throws a broad sheet of smoke and flames across the sky, the redoubt is forced at the point of the bayonet. Few of the American guns are furnished with that weapon. Prescott defends himself with his sword against an assault with the bayonet, which passes more than once through his coat; the hostile force outnumbers the Americans in the redoubt, by more than ten to one, probably in twice that proportion; and a reluctant order is given to retreat. Among the last to quit the redoubt was the lion-hearted Warren, and the first steps of the pursuer were over his dead body. Ages to come will weep tears of admiration on the stone, which marks the spot where he fell. Putnam attempted a rally on Bunker Hill, (properly so called,) but without success. The power of physical endurance was exhausted. No attempt at pursuit was made by the royal commander. Sir Henry Clinton strongly urged that the dear-bought advantages of the day should be followed up, but Howe, with greater prudence, was well content with the possession of the field of battle.

The losses of the two parties attest the severity of this great day. On the royal side, the official report acknowledges the loss of one thousand and fifty-four killed and wounded; a greater number than the entire amount of Prescott's detach-

ment. On the American side, according to the official account, one hundred and fifteen were killed, three hundred and five were wounded, and thirty were made prisoners; in all four hundred and fifty, a greater loss than that of the Grecians at Marathon or Platæa, or of Cæsar at Pharsalia. If General Gage's loose statement of the number of his troops in action is correct, one half of his troops were killed or wounded.* He intrenched himself the next day on Breed's and Bunker Hill, and from these positions, so long as the royal army remained in Boston, it never attempted to advance a foot into the country.

A letter written a week afterwards, by General Burgoyne, gives a graphic and animated picture of the battle, which he witnessed from Copp's Hill. Among the traits with which he heightens the effect of the scene, he mentions the reflection in the mind of the spectator, that "defeat was the final loss of the British empire in America." It has been debated, whether the result of the day is, upon the whole, to be accounted a victory or a defeat to the British arms. If we are permitted to apply General Burgoyne's criterion, we may refer to history for the settlement of that controversy.

Such was our battle of Marathon; and not more decisively did that contest affect the fortunes of Greece, than the character of our revolutionary war was affected by the battle of Bunker Hill. It put the final seal to that trial of temper and courage, which commenced on the 19th of April. Victory or defeat, "it was the final loss of the British empire to America."

The light, in which the population of the colonies now stood before the world, was novel and unexpected. It was the result of a train of circumstances in their earlier history, providentially calculated to form them for a great crisis. They were, in their chief pursuits and character, an unmilitary population. The profession of arms was unknown to

* General Gage says, "The whole, when in conjunction, making a body of something above two thousand men." But this statement is certainly far too low. Col. Swett observes, that "if the corps [known to have been in the action] were but half full, there were four thousand three hundred and fifty." —*History of Bunker Hill Battle, 2d ed., p.* 26.

them. The learned professions were well filled in all parts of the country, but the people were mainly farmers in the north, and planters in the south. There were merchants and artisans in the cities, mariners and fishermen on the seaboard; and far in the interior a hardy race of pioneers, inured to the perils of border life, half husbandman and half hunter. Soldiers, properly so called, there were nowhere; but everywhere men familiar with the use of arms. In time of war large provincial forces were levied, which often rendered the most essential services; and the rangers, especially, who were recruited for the most part on the frontier, proved themselves at all times the terror of the Canadian and savage foe. In this way it was, that among a population essentially unwarlike, to which the usual inducements to the military career were almost wholly unknown, there had been formed a school of *skilful and intrepid* officers, and no small amount of military experience had been acquired on the part of the people.

Still, however, it is a marked character of the revolutionary contest, that its military leaders, as a class, were strangers to military ambition. They were mostly like the citizen soldiers of ancient Rome, in her uncorrupted days; and like them, in more than one instance, they left the plough and the other pursuits of civil life for the field. One chief ground on which the American revolution will command the sympathy of ages, is the unsuspected disinterestedness of its military leaders, and the patriotic spirit of its armies. Marathon itself sheds no glory on the dishonored end of Miltiades and Themistocles. If the patriots of '75 could have been plausibly suspected of selfish motives; if it could have been insinuated with any show of reason, that Washington was ambitious of commanding an army, that the Franklins and Adamses, the Henrys and the Jeffersons were actuated by a craving for the honors and emoluments to be expected under the new government, I hesitate not to say that the taint of selfishness would have poisoned the revolution. It would have stripped it not merely of its moral grandeur and beauty, but of its political power. But Dr. Johnson's notion, that it might be the purpose of the Congress at Philadelphia, "to encircle with a

diadem the brows of Mr. Cushing," scarcely moves a smile. Such a suggestion as that Warren, and Putnam, and Prescott were carried to the summit of yonder hill by the hope of military advancement, or the prospect of the spoils of profitable war, would be regarded less as a calumny than as an absurdity. No one would stoop to refute it. It would make as deep an impression on their pure fame, as the breath of a summer evening makes upon the eternal granite which commemorates their patriotism.

If the leaders of the revolution were free from the military passion, not less was this the case with the mass of the people. Events had made them familiar with the efforts, the exposures, and the vicissitudes of war, — and, as I have just observed, large colonial levies were made from time to time; — but the population remained strangers to what may be called in this connection the trade of arms. In no part of the Anglo-Saxon race was the aversion to a standing army in time of peace, a more deeply seated idea. Its introduction into the colonies by the mother government was among the grievances alleged in the Declaration of Independence. A royal garrison was to the eyes of our fathers a visible instrument of oppressive power. Even in the first months of the war, and when the safety of America depended, in a great degree, on the spirit of the army, there was an active jealousy of military influence. The recent accounts from France, inform us that the ballot-box at the elections is sent round to the quarters of the immense standing army which garrisons Paris, and it has even happened that a subaltern officer, under discipline for insubordination, has been sent, by the suffrages of his sympathizing comrades, from the guard-house to the national assembly. In a contemporary account of the first months of the revolution in this country, we read* that a company of the militia, in one of the neighboring towns, had gone in a body to the polls, in the summer of '75. They were denied the privilege of voting for a member of the house of representatives, by a resolution of the town, passed on

* Mrs. Adams's Letters, Vol. I. p. 55.

the spot, "that no man should be allowed to vote who was in the army."

But why do I dwell on these cold generalities? What does history record more beautiful than the self-denial of Warren, waiving the command of the day, which belonged to his rank, renouncing the honor of leading its heroic resistance, accepting nothing but its perils and its fate? What more sublime than Washington's resignation of the dictatorship, (for such it was,) which he had acquired alike in the affections of the army and the people? The man who can read the closing scene at Annapolis without tears, does not deserve his freedom. The diffidence with which Washington accepted that commission, which was drawn up this very day seventy-five years ago, and the heartfelt joy with which he laid it down, will endear him to millions who do not give their hearts to mere military fame. They have established a standard of character for the patriotic American chieftain. They will be remembered when Trenton and Yorktown are forgotten. That sword, sheathed when it might have been exchanged for a sceptre, will yet, unseen but victorious, fight the battles of nations struggling for freedom in other regions and other ages. Yes, a character like this is a dispensation of public virtue. Already canonized in christendom, the name of Washington is penetrating the remotest east, and is affecting the public mind in regions the least susceptible of foreign impressions. I have within a few days seen an extract from a work on the geography and history of foreign countries, written by the lieutenant-governor of the province of Fokien, in China, in which warm and discriminating praise is bestowed on Washington.*

In erecting the Bunker Hill Monument, we have entertained no fears, that the final result to which it is consecrated would disappoint the hopes of the world. On the contrary, as we look back over the period which has elapsed since the eventful day, we find in almost every year and in almost

* See the "Missionary Herald," published at Boston, — the number for June, 1850.

every country, some new proof that the American revolution may be regarded as the commencement of a new and better order of things; some new development and illustration of the magnitude and fruitfulness of the cause to which the men of the 17th of June devoted themselves. The success of that cause is entitled in all respects to be regarded as a mighty step forward in the march of humanity; an all-important portion of the great plan which regulates the fortunes of our race.

To unfold this plan in all its parts, is beyond our power; the traces of its existence often wholly escape our short-sighted discernment; nor is it probable that in any part we sound the depths of its wisdom and benevolence. We can, however, in many important respects, follow out the natural, intellectual, and moral continuity of the race. Physical descent, language, intellectual conceptions, and moral sentiments survive the shock of empires, and the lapse of time. The substance remains, though the form is changed; as the circulating gold of Justinian and Cæsar, of Alexander and Darius, coined and recoined a hundred times, still serves the purposes of modern society. The image and superscription are altered, but the metal, and I am sorry to say too often the uses to which it is put, are the same now, that they were two thousand years ago.

In this persistent plan of Providence, no one can, I think, mistake the traces of a steady improvement of our race; varied by an endless play of vicissitudes, of action and reaction, of progress and relapse; but with an advancement upon the whole toward freedom, truth, and happiness. In each great period of the world's history, there seems some dominant principle of action. What may have happened in the mighty East, when the buried halls of Nimroud were filled with living and active men, and the marble pageantry so lately disinterred at Nineveh was a part of the gorgeous business of real life; what was done for humanity in that mysterious region, from which we have borrowed the form of our monument, we shall better know, when the patient toils of modern research shall have more effectually pene-

trated the secrets of thirty centuries. But in Greece and in Rome, which (with the exception of what pertains to our religion) make up most of what we call antiquity, it is impossible not to perceive that, with all their struggles toward a purer civilization, the sword and the sceptre, — military power and political control, — governed the world. As these passed from region to region and from hand to hand, they seemed to carry with them the destinies of the human race. The battle of Salamis, the conquests of Alexander, the defeat of Pompey, the Grecian phalanx and the Roman pike, settled the fate of mankind.

Founded upon physical force, — partially enlightened by an intellectual culture, which, though exquisitely refined, took but little hold of the general mind, and, what is far more important, was almost wholly destitute of spiritual vitality, — the ancient civilization perished at length by the agency through which it had grown. Force was subdued by force. From the unexplored deserts of Northern Europe and Asia, a succession of barbarous tribes was poured down for fifteen hundred years on the degenerate South, till the last remnant of the ancient world fell before the last irruption of Asiatic barbarity, at the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Here we may place a distinct epoch in the continuous history of our race; the end of the old world and the beginning of the new; — not sharply defined but gradually commingling, the former fading away as the latter brightens into being. Henceforward, mere physical force ceases so much to control the world; and physical power itself parts with its character of brute violence, and allies itself with arts, with science, with letters, with opinions, and morals. While darkness still brooded over mediæval Europe, a discovery was made by the rude chemistry of the day, (I allude of course to the invention of gunpowder,) which entirely changed the nature of military operations, and, greatly reducing the sphere of physical force, essentially contributed to put an end to private war, one of the chief scourges of the middle ages. Another great secret disclosed by experimental science, the polarity of the

magnet, eventually effected a revolution in the commerce of the world. The Turkish conquest, though it trampled down the last remnants of learning in its native seats, sent out hundreds of learned men to the west of Europe, and with them the knowledge of the ancient Grecian literature. The invention of printing effected a combination of intellectual and mechanical agency, powerful beyond every thing the world had yet imagined; and at this most important juncture, Columbus solved the greatest problem of the physical creation, by the discovery of a new world.

From this time forward, a new influence is at work, and new tendencies disclose themselves at home and abroad. By the new and powerful agencies to which we have alluded, a rapid progress of reorganization goes on in Europe. Society is built up from the ruins of the dark ages. The family of States is enlarged, laws and constitutions acquire a recognized power beyond the will of the sovereign; social life ventures out of the walled towns as property becomes secure; and in the more advanced States of Europe, especially in England, the people begin to be a substantial reality in the political system. This was greatly promoted by the struggles for religious freedom. The spirit of the reformation moved upon the face of the waters, and light, and order, and liberty rose from the political and social chaos.

But the settlement and colonization of America, this mighty extension of the domain of civilization, — this transmission of the culture of the old world to regions lying in a state of nature, under the happiest auspices for needed reformation and further progress, — was the important work to be achieved in the new order of things. It would require a space greatly beyond the limits of the present occasion, and involve a reference to some of the most perplexing questions of civil polity, to sketch even the outlines of the history of the measures undertaken to accomplish this end. I will only observe that it was attempted by Spain and Portugal on the one hand; by England, and, to a very limited degree, by Holland and Sweden on the other. The Catholic powers, of Latin origin, occupied the southern continent, Mexico,

and Florida. The Protestantism of the Anglo-Saxon States, took possession of the North. The former established a vast governmental monopoly of the precious metals and the commerce of the East; by the latter the work was left to private adventure, feebly protected by the State; and as far as New England is concerned, prompted and cheered by a glowing zeal for religious liberty. France preceded England in the occupation of North America. With one foot at the mouth of the Mississippi, and the other on the gulf of the St. Lawrence, and a line of posts along the lakes, she rendered it doubtful for two centuries, to whom North America would belong, or in what proportions it should be divided between the two great schools of European civilization. But England had planted a belt of brave and resolute colonists along the Atlantic coast; no rays of royal favor beamed upon the hardy germ; it grew up unprotected, despised, scarcely heard of in the great world of European politics, till it overshadowed the land.

As we look back, by the lights of experience, on the events of our early history, the occupation of the interior of our continent by France seems to have served no other purpose than to bind together the English colonies, in their infancy and youth, by a sense of common danger, and the principle of repulsion to a foreign nationality. I know not that history affords a more memorable lesson than is contained in the fact, that when England conquered the French colonies in America, she did but exchange them for her own. This result, foretold by Montcalm himself, received its memorable confirmation on the summit of Bunker Hill, when Putnam, and Prescott, and Pomroy, and Gridley, and Stark, veterans of the seven years' war, showed themselves apt pupils of the great school of Anglo-Saxon courage and discipline. The men who, led by a spirit of loyalty alone, had followed the British banner to Martinico and Cuba, to Louisburg and Quebec, whose blood had stirred at the blast of the British trumpet, by the lonely waters of Ontario and the silent banks of the St. Lawrence, were not likely to quail, when they struck for the liberties of their country, in the bosom of home;

at this grand altar, which rose up in the very heart of New England; in the presence of the anxious thousands of kindred spectators, who looked on from every eminence in the neighborhood. The battery on Copp's Hill did not terrify them; it was planted over the graves of four generations of an indomitable and patriotic ancestry. As General Gage stood upon the summit of that hill on the morning of the 17th, surveying the redoubt through his glass, he pointed to Prescott, who, to encourage his men, was moving about on the top of the glacis, under the fire of the ships of war and the batteries, and he inquired of Col. Willard, one of his council, who stood near him, who it was? Willard replied that it was his brother-in-law, Col. Prescott. "Will he fight?" asked the governor. "Yes, sir," said Willard, "to the last drop of his blood; but I cannot answer for his men." The men, however, in the course of the day answered for themselves.

And who will deny that the cause in which they perilled, and some of them sacrificed, their lives, the great cause of the American revolution, was worthy of its cost, "the most important event perhaps," says Lord Brougham,* "in the history of our species;" a mighty drama in human affairs?

I. The first great act of this drama was the struggle for constitutional rights, carried on almost from the settlement of the country. The several colonies complained of grievances, some general and some local, some important and some trifling, almost from their origin. These grievances were partly inherent in the nature of colonial government, partly owing to the mistaken policy of times and of men.†

* Political Philosophy, Vol. III. p. 329.

† I have, in a recent speech at Concord, on the 19th of April, see Volume II. p. 659, referred to the opinion lately expressed by Lord John Russell, (an opinion which does equal credit to his discernment and candor,) that the policy, on the part of the British ministry, which caused the revolution, "was a series of repeated errors and blunders." I have, within a few days, seen in an interesting volume, containing "Sketches of the lives of Lords Stowell and Eldon, by Mr. William E. Surtees," a letter from Lord Eldon, then Mr. Scott, written in 1782, in which he uses the following language, which from him may be considered quite worthy of note:—"I own I cannot bring my proud heart down to yield Gibraltar, nor is absolute

How far it would have been possible, by wise and conciliatory counsels and measures, to preserve the bond unbroken, is a curious question in political history. The experience of Europe in all ages has led to the conclusion, that monarchical government cannot be sustained without a gradation of orders in the State. Such a gradation is entirely inconsistent with the condition of society in colonial settlements, carrying from the mother country all the general principles of constitutional government. It belongs to the conception of aristocratical institutions to cluster round a court. The attempt which was made to introduce a distinction of orders into South Carolina, by the strange constitution drawn up by Locke, a sincere friend of liberty, is a melancholy illustration of the difference between practical statesmanship and theoretical philosophy. The arduous work of settling a remote wilderness, of planting human families in these world-wide spaces, can proceed upon no basis but that of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; for we must not be deterred by any abuses, ancient or modern, from the use of these noble words. Perverted as they have been, they draw their true meaning from the sacred depths of our common nature. Our fathers wrested them, in a right acceptation, from an oppressive government, and we must not allow the guillotines or barricades of earlier or later days to dishearten us from their assertion. What Warren and Prescott won for us on Bunker Hill, we must not sacrifice to any of the monsters either of anarchy or despotism, which have brought reproach upon the name of liberty.

It remains a political problem, of which the next hundred years will probably furnish the solution, whether it is possible, beyond a certain point, to retain a distant colonial dependency. The experiment is now making in the English colonies on the largest scale. The grievances which brought on the American revolution have long since been redressed; all thought of colonial taxation, in aid of the revenues of the

American Independence a bit more agreeable to my ears and feelings, than absolute unconditional American submission was." — p. 82.

mother country, has been abandoned; to the colonies, whose social condition is supposed to be sufficiently mature, responsible governments have been granted, administered on the principle of entire non-interference on the part of the crown, except in matters which affect the interest of the whole empire; and within the past year, by the repeal of the navigation act, the last pillar of the ancient system has been thrown down and the commerce of the world opened on equal terms to the colonies. Whether these liberal concessions will be found to give permanence to what remains of the colonial system, or whether the much that has been yielded will create a necessity for the abandonment of the little that is retained, are mysteries of State which this is not the time nor the place to attempt to discuss.

The navigation act, which confined the commerce of the colonies to the mother country, never effectually executed, though always peremptorily asserted, was a standing colonial grievance, and not the less severely felt because the right of parliament to enforce it was conceded. In the infancy of the colonies it was comparatively of little consequence, but, as they grew in numbers and wealth, and in aptitude for commerce, it was an unavowed source of abiding irritation. In like manner, the inhibition of manufacturing industry began to be felt in the middle of the last century as an intolerable grievance. These were causes of discontent supposed to be fairly incident to a state of colonial dependence, but they were not the less efficient in preparing the public mind to kindle at the first suggestion of internal taxation. This was resisted at the outset, as a violation of the first principles of civil liberty; an infringement of the rights of which those who were entitled to the benefits of the British constitution could as little divest themselves, as they could be deprived by the authority of Parliament. It was said of James II. by a brother monarch, that he sacrificed three kingdoms for a mass. The ministry who undertook to raise a revenue in America sacrificed a continent for three pence a pound on a few chests of tea. It was that paltry tax which piled upon each other the mighty blocks of yonder monument and

planted that flag on the headlands of California. Mysterious chain of events! which binds causes to their effects after ages of conflict and endurance; which links the 21st of December, 1620, with the 17th June, 1775, and makes the ice-clad rock of Plymouth but a stepping-stone to the flaming glories of Bunker Hill. When I compare the feeble beginnings of American liberty, the sufferings of the pilgrims, the political restraints of the colonies, the humble weakness of a few despised plantations, dotting the Atlantic coast of the continent, with the vast domain which has been brought within the realm of civilization, the abounding resources of this great confederacy of States, I can liken them to nothing but our mighty Missouri, which, springing in a silver thread from the melting side of some arctic glacier, where the wild hunter catches it in the hollow of his hand to slake his thirst, winds along through open wastes and trackless prairies, widening and deepening on the way; descends to the region of civilized man, dividing territories and States; and having gathered up the bounties of nature and the fruits of industry from half a continent, pours at last into one of the great gulfs of the ocean with a volume of water scarcely less than its own.

II. The struggle for constitutional freedom was, as I have stated, the first great cause of the revolutionary drama. Beyond this, the distinct purpose of those who gave the impulse to the public mind does not appear to have proceeded. The possible results of the struggle must, of course, have presented themselves to ardent minds; but a strong sentiment of loyalty still bound the people to the mother country. It was the land of their fathers; a living nerve connected every portion of the colonies with their transatlantic *home* (as they *fondly called it*); family names, and kindred ties, and the mysterious sympathy of a common language still exercised a controlling influence. The political life of the colonies had been principally developed in the border warfare with the possessions of France, the hereditary enemy (as she was regarded) of the Protestant faith and the British name. This feeling was so strong throughout the British colonies, that Arnold assigned, as a justification for his treason, that Con-

gress had formed an alliance with France. In 1774 a letter was addressed by Washington, then a member of the Congress at Philadelphia, to a British officer in Boston, with whom he had served in the former war, in which Washington says, "I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish nor the interest of the government of Massachusetts, nor of any other government upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence; but this you may rely upon, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges which are essential to the inhabitants of every free State, and without which life, liberty, and property, are rendered totally insecure." The address to the king, which was adopted a short time after this letter was written, contains the most earnest protestations of loyalty; and after setting forth in strong language the grievances of the colonies, it adds, "these sentiments are extorted from hearts that would much more willingly bleed in your majesty's service." *

But the fulness of time was come. Although the magnitude of the impending crisis was fully appreciated on neither side, the colonies had reached a stage in their progress in which they were ripe for self-government. A continent was trembling on the verge of revolt, and the experience of the past yielded no instruction how it should be retained in its allegiance. Columbus had given a new world to Castile and Leon; but no Columbus had taught how a new world, mature for independence, could be retained in subjection to the old. The whole mind and heart of the colonies had been aroused; the demand for the redress of grievances had come up from every town, and village, and hamlet. It was then found, if it had been before doubtful, that the great social, moral, and political world has its laws of progress as unerring as those of physical nature. A great constitutional season had opened on America. *Incipiunt magni procedere menses.* The liberties of the people were budding and bursting into

* Washington's Works, Vol. II. p. 401. Journal of the Continental Congress, Vol. I. p. 66.

life and beauty, under the same providential influence which paints the fields with verdure, and which clothes the garden and the forest with the honors of spring. And not less presumptuous and hopeless were the attempt, on the part of man, to strike a chill throughout the universal vegetable kingdom, which should arrest this vernal renovation and wrap the promise of June in the shroud of January, than to subdue the instinct of freedom which had begun to warm and move the great heart of the country. The colonial winter is past; the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come; and the voice of the turtle is heard in the land.

But unlike the gentle influences of inanimate nature, the great movements in political affairs seem by a law of our fallen humanity to require, for the assurance of their purity, the stern test of bloody conflict. It seems to be necessary, in order to check the license of innovation, and to prevent society from being convulsed on light grounds, that the rupture of the bonds which unite States together should not be effected without the keenest sufferings to the whole body politic. American independence must have its baptism of fire and of blood, and the summit of Bunker Hill was the great altar of sacrifice. The solemn appeal to arms had been made on the 19th of April; the entire population of the country had ratified the call and sent its chosen to the field; and on the day we celebrate, three quarters of a century ago, it was proved, by the steadiness and courage of the citizen soldiers of America, in open battle, that the cause of liberty was safe. A twelvemonth was yet to elapse before the final declaration was made; but the independence of the United States was as effectually asserted on the seventeenth of June, 1775, as on the fourth of July, 1776. It was no more certain on the third of September, 1783, when the definitive treaty of peace was signed and sealed at Paris, by Adams, Franklin, and Jay, than it was when Warren sealed it with his blood eight years before.

It would require a volume to set forth all the consequences to America and the world, which have resulted from the es-

tablishment of our independence; which have *already* resulted from that event; and who shall presume to break the seals of the volume of the future? This momentous step gave us at once a position in the family of nations. It raised the colonial quarrel into a controversy of States, to be carried on before the great tribunal of the public opinion of the world. The sharp encounter of wits with provincial governors is over; the keen discussion of parliamentary right has gone by. No more black-letter volumes to be anxiously turned; no more musty parchments to be unrolled; no more American privileges to be spelled out of Norman French, in the statutes of the Edwards and Henrys. The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. The question at issue is now to be decided by open public war, in the face of mankind, with the law of nations to prescribe the rules of the contest: — that mighty code, which nature enacts, and reason expounds, and God sanctions; which binds great empires and protects the humblest individual; which rules the rulers of the earth, and alone of all the rulers extends its jurisdiction over the common sea; which watches over the peaceful mariner on the lonely deep; which chases the pirate and the marauder to the furthest bounds of the ocean; which, in a good cause, marches with twelve legions of angels to the rescue of the weak; and hangs up the unrighteous conqueror, at the head of his hosts, on the gibbet of public execration, before the civilized world.

With this great tribunal, before which republics and kings are of equal worth, the Congress of Philadelphia lodged its appeal of independence. A pause of ominous expectation succeeds in the great political world of Europe. The leading governments, vigilant for the balance of power, which had been disturbed by the transfer of the American colonies of France to England, await anxiously the indications of a firm basis of resistance on the part of the revolted States. The dignity and wisdom of the American Congress, the fortitude of the army, the spirit of the people, and, as embodying and representing all, the transcendent character of Washington, furnished the needed assurance of the solidity of the cause; and the world is soon astonished by the spectacle of

the oldest monarchy of Europe in alliance with the family of infant States. The fleets and armies of France, led by the flower of her young men, and foremost by our own Lafayette, are enlisted in the mighty struggle. The North of Europe takes her haughty stand on the armed neutrality; and even Spain, mistress herself of a colonial empire in America, twice as large as that of Great Britain, is driven by the irresistible force of circumstances to take a part in the contest, and to teach a lesson of revolution to her own dependencies, destined in one more generation to be put in practice, from California to Cape Horn.

III. The assertion of independence, practically by engaging in open war with the parent country, and avowedly by the great declaration of 1776, left the colonies without a government, either as individuals or as a confederacy. The third great step in the revolution was accordingly the establishment of a republican government in each of the colonies; and never, I suppose, in the history of the world, was an event of so much importance brought about, with such an entire absence of all the usual appliances of policy or force. There is abundant proof, that the most advanced leaders of the patriotic cause, had, as late as the spring of 1775, scarcely turned their thoughts to the subject of instituting a new government. They were the unselfish agents of a spontaneous change; not the skilful achievers of a successful project. As late as the 16th of May, 1775, the Provincial Convention of this State addressed a letter to the Continental Congress, requesting "explicit advice respecting the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government;" and Congress, in a few days, replied by a resolution, that "in order to conform as near as may be to the spirit and substance of the charter, it be recommended to the Provincial Convention, to write letters to the inhabitants of the several places, which are entitled to representatives in assembly, requesting them to choose such representatives, and that the assembly, when chosen, do elect councillors; and that such assembly or council exercise the powers of government, until a gover-

nor of his majesty's appointment will consent to govern the colony according to its charter." *

There was, however, in the way of organizing the new government, but little to change. The broad basis of equality existed, and the colonies had been governed from the first by assemblies, chosen by the people. There were no privileged orders to be subverted; and little remained to be done, but to extend the principle of election to the chief executive officer, who had heretofore been appointed by the crown. However important the revolution in other respects, — and certainly no change in human affairs more important ever took place, — there was no convulsion in society, no revolution in those institutions which make up the aggregate of social and political existence. The schools, the town meetings, the militia, the churches, were all organized on the principles of practical republicanism, and contributed most materially, as has been justly stated by the elder President Adams, to the great result. Still more efficacious than institutions, the same simple manners, the same frugal habits, the same home virtues, which existed in 1775, remained unchanged in 1783; and were equally appropriate to colonial life and to political independence. The same unterrified spirit of liberty, which stood the ordeal of the war, had existed from the settlement of the country.

These circumstances will account for the ease, all things considered, with which the new republican governments were established, and which is one of the most striking novelties in the march of revolution. When we follow the train of events in Europe, from the year 1789 to the present day, we are ready to think that the task of reconstituting a State on liberal principles, I might say on any principles, is the most arduous and hopeless which can be undertaken by man. We there behold a great and enlightened people, among the most refined of modern States, boasting among her sons a large number of the leading minds of the age, engaged for two

* Journal of Congress, for 2d and 9th of June, 1775.

generations in the work of reforming the government, subverting this year the constitution of the last, passing from monarchy to republicanism, from the wildest anarchy to the sternest military despotism, scourged and betrayed by each new dictator, tribune, and demagogue, and plunging, with fatal recklessness, from experiment to experiment of bloodshed and ruin.

In the establishment of the American republics, on the other hand, we witness the grave and quiet action of the wisdom and patriotism of the country. It did not enter into the imaginations of the men of our heroic age, that constitutions of governments were to be settled on the blazing crest of a barricade, or promulgated from the mouth of cannons, spouting grape-shot in the crowded streets of a capital. Without conflict, scarcely with the ordinary heats of debate, within the closed doors of a congress of prudent men, a solemn declaration announces the independence of the colonies. After a year or two passed under their ancient charters, with a temporary organization of the executive power, to fill the chasm created by the withdrawal of the royal authority, regular constitutions of republican governments are successively formed in the different States, which have not only subsisted, without material modification, to the present time, but have served as models for the constitution of the general government, and for seventeen or eighteen new States which have been successively added to the confederacy. It was the characteristic expression of one who had a right to speak upon the subject, for he was soon called to reduce his theory to practice, (the elder President Adams,) in a letter written in November, 1775,* after recounting the steps by which a new government might be established, that "in this way a single month is sufficient, without convulsion or animosity, to accomplish a total revolution."

What a contrast with the history of Europe, from the very

* For the whole of this remarkable letter, addressed by John Adams to Richard Henry Lee, 15th November, 1775, and now in the State Paper Office, in London, see Sparks's Washington, Vol. II. p. 501.

year in which our federal constitution was adopted, (1789,) to the present day! Of France and Frenchmen I never wish to speak but with respect and tenderness. For revolutionary services we owe them a debt of gratitude not soon to be repaid. Among the human agencies by which our liberties were established, the French alliance holds no second place; as Lafayette held no second place in the heart of Washington. But so often as I take up a volume of the history of their revolution, of the works, for instance, of Thiers or Lamartine, works by no means intended to paint in dark colors the men or deeds which they describe, I rise from the perusal with overwhelming sadness. After sickening over the horrors of that dreadful period, the butchery, I do not say of kings and queens, but of gray-haired men, of women, of priests; the atrocities of the human tigers who preyed on the life-blood of France, and dared to invoke the sacred name of republican liberty as the cover of their abominations, I am fain to turn for relief to the pages of our own revolutionary history; to gather renewed hope for constitutional freedom from the writings of Madison, Hamilton, and Jay; new lessons of true patriotism from the story of Warren, of Putnam, and Prescott; new faith in humanity (for that is what we most want) from the spotless career of Washington. I make the transition with feelings like those which one experiences, when, after wandering for hours through the dark, dripping, narrow passages of a dismal mine, — deafened with the clank of enginery and the roar of subterranean waters, oppressed with the grave-like heaviness and chill of the air, choked with sulphurous vapors, and groping your way in continual danger of an explosion which will bury you beneath a mountain mass of ruin, — you come up at last to the open, blessed sky, tread beneath you the safe and solid ground, feel in every limb the genial warmth of the sun, listen to the cheerful notes of birds, and breathe an atmosphere loaded with all the fragrance of June.

IV. But neither the remedy of political grievances, nor the assertion of national independence, nor the establishment of republican government, was the fulfilment of the destiny of

the American revolution. A higher object, still less premeditated than a separation from the mother country, but resulting from deeper causes and involving more important interests, remained to be accomplished. Before the revolution, the colonies formed a group of republics mutually independent, bound to each other by no constitutional ties, often acting together by the force of circumstances, but without any general principle of political cohesion. Numerous points of similarity existed, and a common allegiance to the crown and subjection to parliament, gave a show of unity to the colonies as a whole; but when this bond of connection was severed by the Declaration of Independence, the thirteen colonies stood before the world, with a strong vocation indeed to union, but, as far as constitutional obligations were concerned, in the attitude of thirteen independent States.

Here was the truly critical point in our history, the point from which the path of progress, (like that which lay before the young Hercules,) branched off in a twofold direction, leading on the one hand to union, growth, prosperity, and power, and on the other to discord, civil war, and despotism. The happy fortune of the infant republics decided their choice. In the commencement of the parliamentary contest, as far back as 1765, when nothing was thought of but an earnest denial of the right to tax America, it was the obvious dictate of prudence to unite in a concerted appeal to the justice of parliament. As the struggle advanced, a common interest and common danger produced a common feeling throughout the continent, and led to the formation of committees of correspondence. The Congress which met at Philadelphia, in 1774, was the spontaneous embodiment of that irresistible public sentiment which demanded a confederacy. It was a union unconsciously formed. It sprang from the historical conditions of the past, and the imperious necessities of the present. It was the law of our political existence. Subsequent compacts or statutes might regulate and define, but some sort of a confederation was a constitutional necessity.

Am I asked *why* it was so? what created this necessity? I will not rest in lower causes, though these are obvious

enough. The necessity of a union was established by the same law of our nature, or rather of the Author of our nature, which sets the solitary in families, and has melted families into clans, and clans into States; which binds the particles of matter together; which suspends a planet in the sky, or hangs a dew-drop upon a rose-leaf. Our feeble powers of analysis cannot in either case fully unfold the principles by which it operates, and in every thing that involves the agency of moral beings, their choice becomes a portion of the law. But, that the group of colonies, planted side by side on the shores of the American Continent, speaking the same language, subject to the same government, belonging to the same national stock, and reared in the same circumstances of national fortune, should, in asserting by a joint act their independence of the mother country, enter into a constitutional union with each other, was at least as certain, as that they were destined to a career of prosperity. Such a union was the obvious condition of mutually beneficial intercourse, of domestic harmony, and a respectable position before the world. Or, if anarchy, civil war, and the ultimate extinction of free government were to be their doom, the want of union was as obviously the first step towards its accomplishment. Union was the first condition of success in the revolutionary struggle; it was the *United* States that declared their independence; the *United* States whose independence was acknowledged by the treaty of 1783. After an unsatisfactory experiment of the old confederation, it was the people of the *United* States by whom, for the purpose of forming "a more perfect union," the present constitution was adopted.

It would be an unprofitable consumption of time to attempt to point out the innumerable ways in which the Union has auspiciously influenced the destinies of the country. Could any doubt arise on this point, it ought to be removed by a glance at the disastrous effects of discord among the republics of ancient Greece, or among the Italian cities in the middle ages, or even at the present day, when we behold that lovely region, once the garden of Europe and the mistress of the world, by the sole want of a comprehensive nationality

lying at the mercy of foreign foes, and, what is worse, of foreign friends; or at more than one of the groups of States which have been carved out of the colonial dominions of Spain, in the southern portions of this continent. These are all so many warning examples of the disastrous effects of a want of union among kindred States; like discordant brothers in danger of being led into fiercer warfare by those very circumstances of common language and origin, which, under a well adjusted central power, would form the natural cement of the Union.

It was the great happiness of the American people, that they followed the counsels of their patriotic and thoughtful leaders. In the midst of a wholesome jealousy in favor of local rights, (which they carefully secured,) and in opposition to some strong centrifugal tendencies, they had the discernment to perceive the advantages of a common bond, and followed with steadiness that line of policy which gave us our constitution. Nor have the conditions of our well-being, as it seems to me, been at all changed in the course of seventy-five years. What was matter of prospective prudence on the morning of the Revolution is matter of experienced wisdom now. The same patriotic instinct, (if I may adhere to that language,) which brought the men of Massachusetts and Connecticut, of New Hampshire and Rhode Island, side by side, to the summit of Bunker Hill, and mingled their blood on that day, has, at every subsequent period of our national existence, cried out not less loudly for the preservation of the Union.

There is one view of this subject of so much importance that I cannot forbear to present it more particularly to your consideration. Among the great ideas of the age we are authorized in reckoning a growing sentiment in favor of peace. An impression is unquestionably gaining strength in the world, that public war is no less reproachful to our Christian civilization, than the private wars of the feudal chiefs in the middle ages. The hope of adjusting national controversies by some system of friendly arbitration, — a hope which philanthropic minds have distrustfully cherished in

other periods, — has of late been openly avowed by men of a more practical class, by men conversant with the policy of the world and fresh from its struggles. The last year witnessed the assembling of a peace convention, of a very imposing character, at Paris; a similar one is about to be held at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Delegates from this country are on the way to join it. A congress of nations begins to be regarded as a practicable measure. Statesmen, and orators, and philanthropists, are flattering themselves that the countries of Europe, which have existed as independent sovereignties for a thousand years, and have never united in one movement since the crusades, may be brought into some community of action for this end. They are calling conventions and digesting projects, by which governments the most diverse, empires, kingdoms, and republics, inhabited by different races of men, tribes of Sclavonian, Teutonic, Latin, and mixed descent, — speaking different languages, believing different creeds, Greeks, Catholics, and Protestants, — men who are scarcely willing to live on the same earth with each other, or go to the same heaven, can yet be made to agree in some great plan of common umpirage.

I cannot say I share these anticipations; but this I will say, if while these sanguine projects are pursued, — while we are thinking it worth while to compass sea and land in the expectation of bringing these jarring nationalities into some kind of union, in order to put a stop to war; if, at this juncture, the people of these thirty United States, most of which are of the average size of a European kingdom, — destined, if they remain a century longer at peace with each other, to equal in numbers the entire population of Europe, — States which, drawn together by a general identity of descent, language, and faith, have not so much formed as grown up into a national confederation; — possessing in its central legislature, executive, and judiciary, an efficient tribunal for the arbitration and decision of public controversies; an actual peace congress, clothed with all the powers of a common constitution and law, and with a jurisdiction extending to the individual citizen, (which this projected congress of na-

tions does not even hope to exercise,) if, while they grasp at this shadow of a congress of nations, the people of these States let go of, — nay, break up and scatter to the winds, — this substantial Union, this real Peace Congress, which for sixty years has kept the country, with all its conflicting elements, in a state of prosperity never before equalled in the world, — the admiration and the envy of mankind, — they will commit a folly for which the language we speak has no name; against which if we, rational beings, should fail to protest, the dumb stones of yonder monument would immediately cry out in condemnation.

Friends and fellow-citizens: we live at an eventful period. Mighty changes in human affairs are of daily occurrence at home and abroad. In Europe, the strongest governments are shaken; the pillars of tradition, rooted in the depths of antiquity, are heaved from their basis; and that fearful war of opinion, so long foretold, is raging, with various fortune, from Lisbon to Archangel. Have you not noticed that in the midst of the perplexity and dismay, of the visions and the hopes, of the crisis, the thoughts of men have been turned more and more to what has passed and what is passing in America? They are looking anxiously to us for lessons of practical freedom, for the solution of that great mystery of state, that the strongest government is that which, with the least array of force, is deepest seated in the welfare and affections of the people. The friends of republican government in France, taunted with the impossibility of making such a government efficient and respectable, point to our example as the sufficient answer. Austria, breaking down beneath the burden of her warring races, offers them too late a federal constitution modelled on our own; and even in England, from which the original elements of our free institutions were derived, scarce a debate arises in parliament, on an important question, without reference to the experience of the United States. The constitutional worship of mankind is reversed; they turn their faces to the West. Happy for them, happy for us, should they behold nought in this country to disap-

point the hopes of progress, to discourage the friends of freedom, to strengthen the arm of the oppressor; and may God grant that those who look to us for guidance and encouragement, may be able to transplant the germs of constitutional liberty to the ancient gardens of the earth, that the clouds which now darken the horizon of Europe may clear away, and the long-deferred hopes of the friends of freedom be fulfilled!

But chiefly let us trust that the principles of our fathers may more and more prevail throughout our beloved country. We have erected a noble monument to their memory, but we shall not have performed all our duty, unless we ourselves catch some portion of their spirit. Oh, that the contemplation of their bright example and pure fame might elevate our minds above the selfish passions, the fierce contentions, and the dark forebodings of the day! We need the spirit of '75 to guide us safely amidst the dizzy activities of the times. While our own numbers are increasing in an unexampled ratio, Europe is pouring in upon us her hundreds of thousands annually, and new regions are added to our domain, which we are obliged to count by degrees of latitude and longitude. In the mean time the most wonderful discoveries of art and the most mysterious powers of nature, combine to give an almost fearful increase to the intensity of our existence. Machines of unexampled complication and ingenuity have been applied to the whole range of human industry. We rush across the land and the sea by steam; we correspond by magnetism; we paint by the solar ray; we count the beats of the electric clock at the distance of a thousand miles; we do all but annihilate time and distance; and amidst all the new agencies of communication and action, the omnipotent press, the great engine of modern progress, not superseded or impaired, but gathering new power from all the arts, is daily clothing itself with louder thunders.

While we contemplate with admiration, — almost with awe, — the mighty influences which surround us, and which demand our coöperation and our guidance, let our hearts overflow with gratitude to the patriots who have handed

down to us this great inheritance. Let us strive to furnish ourselves, from the storehouse of their example, with the principles and virtues which will strengthen us for the performance of an honored part on this illustrious stage. Let pure patriotism add its bond to the bars of iron which are binding the continent together; and as intelligence shoots with the electric spark from ocean to ocean, let public spirit and love of country catch from heart to heart.

OPENING OF THE BRATTLE HOUSE.*

GENTLEMEN:—

WE are assembled this evening on an occasion of considerable interest to this community; not certainly as important as that which brought some of us together last week, (the 17th of June,) nor as that which will call so many of our fellow-citizens together in all parts of the country next week, (the 4th of July,) but still an occasion which, to the inhabitants of this part of Cambridge, and in the relation of fellow-citizens and neighbors, is not unworthy of the notice we are taking of it. We are assembled to express our good wishes to Mr. Willard for the prosperity of this spacious house of entertainment, which he has opened for the accommodation of the public. We feel that in so doing we perform a sort of duty, although a duty it is true of no very arduous kind. It is not often that the performance of duty is attended with less call for self-denial, than when we have nothing to do but to eat a good dinner. I suppose, in fact, that self-denial is not the principle which generally carries men to public houses; though in some benighted parts of the country they may have to practise it when they get there. But that this will never be the case in the Brattle House, I think there is sufficient assurance in what we have witnessed this evening.

The BRATTLE HOUSE, gentlemen;—and what name more appropriate could be given to a place of entertainment, especially to one built on this spot? If the traditions of the

* Remarks made at the opening of the Brattle House, in Cambridge, 28th June, 1850.

past are at all to be depended upon, good cheer may be regarded as the very *genius loci*, the tutelary divinity of the place. The beauty of these grounds is mentioned in the histories of Cambridge. In Dr. Holmes's account* we read, "The gardens of Thomas Brattle, Esq., are universally admired for the justness of their design, and for the richness, variety, and perfection of their productions. In no part of New England is horticulture carried to higher perfection, than within his enclosure. A wall adjoining his grounds, made in 1792, and shaded by handsome rows of trees, is a work of neatness and taste, and is at once convenient and ornamental to the town." That the beauty of Major Brattle's trees is not exaggerated, we are all witnesses. It would not be easy, I think, to find any thing that surpasses in beauty, the magnificent row of lindens, which still adorn the place. Of the hospitality that was dispensed under Major Brattle's roof, our fathers and grandfathers have told us. Even the wayfarer and the traveller beheld the promise of it, in the gardens and the orchards, the trellises and the walls, (loaded with the richest fruits of every season,) in the poultry yards and the fish-ponds. Times have changed, gentlemen, and men and things have changed with them. Major Brattle and his fish-ponds, and gardens, and his good cheer, have passed away; and I believe that there are now but few living, certainly in this part of the world, of his kindred. But his name is likely to be perpetuated, and his liberal hospitality kept up, on a much enlarged scale in the Brattle House. His beautiful lindens will afford their grateful shade to coming generations; and I trust I shall give offence to no one present, if I add, that it is a pleasing circumstance and a happy omen, that, while scarce any thing else is left of Major Brattle's establishments, the noble spring of water, which furnished one of the chief attractions of the place, still pours forth, and will, I trust, to the end of time, continue to pour forth, its limpid and refreshing abundance.

A good deal has been said, gentlemen, and justly said, in

* Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. VII. p. 5. First Series.

connection with the opening of this house, of the importance to the public of a good place of entertainment. This idea seems very early to have taken possession of the public mind in Cambridge. In the extracts from our ancient records, contained in Dr. Holmes's History, we read, that in 1652, "the townsmen (selectmen) granted liberty to Andrew Belcher, to sell beer and bread for the entertainment of strangers *and the good of the town.*" This was the first step toward the establishment of a public-house; and you see that "the good of the town" is expressly named in connection with the accommodation of the stranger. I do not find that our chronicles plead the same motive for a measure of still earlier date, in reference to which the worthy fathers of the town seem to have acted on the principle of taking care of "number one." "It was ordered in 1648, that there shall be an eight-penny ordinary provided for the townsmen (selectmen) every second Monday of the month, upon their meeting day; and that whosoever of the townsmen fail to be present within half an hour of the ringing of the bell, (which shall be half an hour after eleven of the clock,) he shall both lose his dinner, and pay a pint of sack, or the value, to the present townsmen."

But we need not go to old chronicles, gentlemen, to prove the importance in a town like this of a good house of public entertainment. In every such community, besides the want of a place of social resort on various public occasions, strangers are constantly arriving, and when they ask, (and I think there are but few of us who have not heard the question,) which is the best public-house, and are told that there is none, bad or good, it seems very much like saying to them, in rather milder words, "do your business, stranger, as soon as you can, and go away." I would not have it thought that the citizens of Cambridge are destitute of private hospitality. They are always glad to welcome to pot-luck those who come to see them; but a great many persons come to a town as large as this, who have no friends, no acquaintance; and if no house of entertainment exists, persons of this class receive much such a welcome as used to be given in some places in our country, within the memory of man, to all new-comers.

The selectmen used to wait upon them and with a great deal of municipal courtesy, politely "warn them out of town."

In no place could the want of a public-house, felt in all towns, be more felt than in a community like ours, the seat as it is of a University, which is frequented in its different departments by four or five hundred young men. Their relatives and friends are of course drawn hither at all times, and especially on our public days. All that the college undertakes is to provide them mental fare; but a little bodily fare is also needed; and such is the connection of the intellectual and physical principle, in these degenerate days, that the former does not go far, if wholly unaccompanied by the latter. I have known gentlemen coming to Cambridge to attend the committees of examination obliged, when the duty was prolonged two or three days, to go into Boston every night, and return to Cambridge in the morning.

Gentlemen, I regard a good, well-kept house of entertainment, with very kindly feelings. It has been the fortune of my life to be a good deal away from home, in my earlier years and as a single man. Necessarily living much in public-houses, I have known by experience how much comfort, in health and in sickness, may be enjoyed in them. I cannot, indeed, echo the sentiment of Shenstone, expressed in the beautiful lines written by him in the inn at Henley, and repeated with emotion by Dr. Johnson:—

"Whoe'er has travelled life's dull round,
Where'er his stages may have been,
May sigh to think that he has found
His warmest welcome at an inn."

I don't say this, gentlemen. It is, I suspect, a bachelor's feeling, for Shenstone you know was a bachelor; and Johnson, who admired these lines, had but little experience of comfortable family life. But I will say that next to a happy home, nothing comes so near it, as a quiet, well-regulated house of entertainment.

And having alluded to the bachelors and the married men, our friend Mr. Willard will allow me to recommend to him, in

the management of the house, to have a discriminating eye to their respective cases. While he will do well to conduct it in such a manner, as to furnish reasonable attractions to the first-named class, and give that forlorn portion of our fellow beings a comfortable resort; he will act wisely not to go so far as to tempt the Benedicts (if the thing were conceivable) from their firesides. *In medio tutissimus.* He must hit the community, in this respect, between wind and water, or he may chance to find himself in water a little too hot for his comfort.

I remember, gentlemen, to have seen an account of a festival, somewhat akin to this, which was held a few years ago at the Mormon settlement of Nauvoo. An entertainment was given to the unfortunate Joe Smith, the head of that strange community. Among the toasts on that occasion was one complimentary to him, which set forth that "as a prophet in the church, a general in the field, a magistrate on the bench, or a landlord at the head of his table, he had few equals and no superior." Our friend Willard, I believe, lays no claim to this rather unusual combination of qualities; he sets up no pretensions to the prophetic, military, or magistratic character. But as a landlord at the head of his table, I think what we have witnessed and enjoyed this evening, will warrant us in saying that he has few equals and no superiors.

In taking my seat, gentlemen, I offer you the following toast, expressive, I am sure, of the general feelings of this company:—

Success to the Brattle House; and may it prove an agreeable resort to the community, a welcome home to the stranger, and a source of prosperity to its enterprising proprietor.

CAMBRIDGE HIGH SCHOOL.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR:—

I CHEERFULLY comply with your request, that I would say a few words on the present occasion, although I am quite aware that this respectable company is not assembled to hear me. I may, in fact, with propriety use the words of a favorite little poem, which many persons have done me the honor to ascribe to me, but which was in reality written by a distant relative and namesake of mine, and, if I mistake not, before I was born. It begins,—

> "You'd scarce expect one of *my* age
> To speak in public on the stage."

This place and this day belong to the young; and after what we have heard from them, I need not say that they stand in no need of assistance from their seniors, to give interest to the occasion.

It is truly a pleasing spectacle. The specimens of scholarship afforded yesterday at the examination, and of reading, elocution, and composition which we have just witnessed, are highly gratifying. I have no personal acquaintance with the other public schools in Cambridge, but from what I have heard of them, I have no doubt they are entitled to the praise just bestowed on them by the chairman of the committee. Of the High School I have had considerable personal knowledge for two years; and from what I have myself seen of it, I feel fully warranted in expressing my entire concurrence in

* Remarks made at the annual exhibition, in the City Hall, on the 25th of July, 1850.

all that has been said in its favor by yourself, sir, and Dr. Wellington. In a word, I have no doubt that the schools of Cambridge would sustain a comparison with those of any other city or town in Massachusetts; and that surely is praise enough. Their condition in the aggregate is such, as fully to justify the policy pursued by the city government, in founding and maintaining them upon this liberal scale. At least it shows that the public gets what it bargains for, (what does not always happen); I mean a very efficient system of public gratuitous instruction. Whether that is a benefit or not, is a topic on which there will not be much difference of opinion in this assembly.

The worthy chairman of the committee alluded to the University in this place; and as he made the allusion, the thought crossed my mind, to institute a comparison of the expense with which the University and the public schools of Cambridge are supported. It may enable us to realize how great an effort is made by the citizens of Cambridge to support their public schools. The annual expenditure for the support of our schools exceeds twenty thousand dollars, without including the building and repair of school-houses. Last year it was twenty-one thousand dollars. Now the University, as we all know, is by far the oldest and best endowed in the country; but the whole annual income of its funds applicable to the business of instruction, (I speak of Harvard College proper, and not of the professional and scientific schools connected with the University,) is less than that sum. All that the liberality of the State and the bounty of individuals for two centuries have accumulated on this favored seat of learning, in the shape of funds for carrying on the work of instruction, (and I do not include the cost of buildings, cabinets, and libraries in reference to the University, as I have not included the cost of school-houses, apparatus, and libraries in reference to the schools,) does not yield so large a sum annually, as the city of Cambridge appropriates to support this system of common school education. The residue of the expense at the University, being rather more than one half of the whole, is defrayed by the term

bills of the students. At the schools every thing is gratuitous.

But, my friends, we will not say any thing more of figures and sums of money on this occasion, but allude to those attainments in useful knowledge "whose price is far above rubies." If the sum laid out by Cambridge and the other cities and towns of the Commonwealth which make liberal provision for schooling, were ten times as great as it is, it would be amply repaid in the benefits conferred on individuals, and the advantage accruing to the public. Our little State of Massachusetts covers about eight thousand square miles. Not much of the soil is of high fertility; we have no mines of the precious metals, and little coal or iron; our climate is too severe or otherwise not adapted for any of the great agricultural staples, except Indian corn; and yet we have a population of a million. If the State of Texas were inhabited in the same proportion to the square mile, her population would equal that of the whole United States. At least I made a calculation some years ago, at the time of the first talk of annexation, that, according to the boundaries then claimed by Texas, she was twenty-six times as large as Massachusetts. How it would be with her present boundaries I do not know; I am not sure that she has any.

Well, sir, what is it that has led to this result, as far as Massachusetts is concerned? What has enabled our noble little State, on her rocks and her sands, and within her narrow limits, to rear and to support this rapidly increasing population; what enables her, besides constantly sending forth a swarm of emigrants, to keep at home a population far greater in proportion to her size than that of any other State?

I take it that this result is mainly owing to the general intelligence of the community, promoted by many causes and influences, but mainly by the extension of the means of education to all the people. On this rock the corner-stone of the infant settlement was laid, (I speak of human things,) on this it has ever rested. I do not wish to claim any thing for Massachusetts which is not strictly her due. I cheerfully concede to other States the possession, in some re-

spects, of superior advantages. I acknowledge much that is good in all. I bear cheerful testimony to the liberal efforts that have been made by some of them, and especially Connecticut and New York, in this same good cause; but may I not claim for Massachusetts the palm in this respect? If the genius of our common America should cast his eye over this great sisterhood of States, to see what they have done respectively for the education of their children, might he not apostrophize Massachusetts and say, "many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all?"

But I do not wish to overstate the matter, and to ascribe too much to popular education as the cause of our prosperity. A great many other things, I know, have contributed to it. We have a temperate climate; our winters brace, while our summers are not long enough to enervate. Our soil, if not very fertile, nowhere generates disease. An extensive seaboard furnishes great facilities for commerce. Our granite and gravel make capital roads, and the former is an excellent material for building. Our abundant water power holds out great facilities to manufacturers. Then there are political and moral causes of prosperity of vast importance; free popular government, which extends an equal protection to all; a greater degree of practical equality than exists in any other highly civilized country; a traditional respect for the law; a high state of public morals; a pervading religious sentiment. All these are eminently conducive to the public prosperity. But I need not say, that some of these influences owe their existence to the intelligence which education has diffused and fostered in the community, and that all of them operate through that intelligence. It is the intelligence of a people that makes its natural advantages available.

There are other regions of the earth as highly favored as our State in all natural endowments. If you take a terrestrial globe and turn it round, so that every part of its surface which lies in the same latitude, this precious forty-second degree, (for our narrow little State does not in any part, I believe, run up to the forty-third or down to the forty-first, and for the most part does not fully cover the forty-second — the

boys will correct me, if I am wrong); or, to make the comparison fairer, if you take, not the same latitude, but the isothermal lines that give the same climate as ours, and turn the globe round till every part of its surface which lies between them comes up to the brazen meridian, you will find many a spot equalling, some surpassing, Massachusetts in natural advantages, none exceeding her in prosperity; some regions you will find, as the globe revolves beneath your eye, as favorably circumstanced as ourselves as to position, climate, and soil; but inhabited by degenerate or savage races; by tribes that never emerged into civilization or have sunk back into barbarity.

But you may ask, while you perceive this contrast, is it possible that it should be caused by education; and much of the difficulty which you will perhaps find in agreeing to the answer would vanish, if you would but look upon education, in the full comprehension of the idea, as the *drawing out*, the *training up* of the intellectual principle in man; the divine principle which makes him what he is. Till this is done, man is but a superior animal; hardly even that. There are among the abject and benighted races alluded to by the young gentleman (S. L. Cutter), who has just given us such a handsome valedictory address, some specimens of humanity so sunk in the scale, as hardly to equal a thorough-bred horse or a well-trained Newfoundland dog. At best, the purely sensual man is but a piece of painted aching clay. But awaken the spiritual nature, kindle the intellectual and moral spark, and he starts up a Newton or a Washington; a being but a little lower than the angels.

But you ask again, can common school education do this? — and I answer fearlessly, it can and does. I certainly cannot on this occasion, and in the few minutes' time still left me, undertake to treat this mighty theme in all its bearings; but I do not despair, even in a few sentences, of suggesting to you the great points of the argument. I will take school education in its common simple acceptation, as confined to reading and writing, (in which I include speaking and composition,) arithmetic, and the elements of natural philosophy;

and I believe the extension to a whole community of the means of obtaining such an education without cost, is sufficient to effect all I ascribe to it. It is scarcely necessary to say, that I do not, in these statements, hold up education as a *creative* cause. I take into the account the spontaneous coöperation of the mysterious principle of intelligence, with all its perceptive faculties, bestowed and quickened by the Author of our being; just as the farmer, when he describes the effect of the various processes of husbandry, includes the coöperation of those inscrutable principles of vegetable growth, which philosophy strives in vain to analyze, but without which not an ear of corn is ripened.

With this explanation I say, sir, that common reading and writing, that is, in a word, the use of language as a system of visible and audible signs of thought, is the great prerogative of our nature as rational beings. I say that when we have acquired the mastery of this system of audible and visible signs, we have done the greatest thing, as it seems to me, as far as intellect is concerned, which can be done by a rational man. It is so common that we do not much reflect upon it; but like other common things, it hides a great mystery of our nature. When we have learned how, by giving an impulse with our vocal organs to the air, by making a few black marks on a piece of paper, to establish a direct sympathy between our invisible and spiritual essence and that of other men, so that they can see and hear what is passing in our minds, just as if thought and feeling themselves were visible and audible, — not only so, when in the same way we establish a communication between mind and mind in ages and countries the most remote, we have wrought a miracle of human power and skill, which I never reflect upon without awe. Can we realize, sir, that in this way we have, through the medium of the declamation of these children, been addressed this morning by Demosthenes and Cicero, by Burke and Fox? Well, sir, all this is done by writing, reading, and speaking. It is a result of these simple operations. When you tell me a boy has learned to read, you tell me that he has entered into an intellectual partnership not only

with every living contemporary, but with every mind ever created, that has left a record of itself on the pages of science and literature; and when he has learned to write, he has acquired the means of speaking to generations and ages that will exist a thousand years hence. It all comes back to the use of language. The press, the electric telegraph, are only improvements in the mode of communication. The wonderful thing is that the mysterious significance of thought, the invisible action of spirit, can be embodied in sounds and signs addressed to the eye and ear. Instead of wondering that among speaking, writing, and reading men you have occasionally a Shakspeare, a Bacon, or a Franklin, my wonder is to see these boys and girls, after a few years training, able to express, in written marks and spoken sounds, the subtlest shades of thought, and that in two or three languages.

The next branch of common school education is arithmetic, the science of numbers, the elements of mathematics. This is in reality a branch of the great department of language, a species of composition; but of so peculiar a nature as to constitute a separate science. This is another of the great master-keys of life. With it the astronomer opens the depths of the heavens; the engineer, the gates of the mountains; the navigator, the pathways of the deep. The skilful arrangement, the rapid handling of figures, is a perfect magician's wand. The mighty commerce of the United States, foreign and domestic, passes through the books kept by some thousands of diligent and faithful clerks. Eight hundred bookkeepers, in the Bank of England, strike the monetary balances of half the civilized world. Their skill and accuracy in applying the common rules of arithmetic are as important as the enterprise and capital of the merchant, or the industry and courage of the navigator. I look upon a well-kept ledger with something of the pleasure with which I gaze on a picture or a statue. It is a beautiful work of art. It is by arithmetical rules, and geometrical diagrams, and algebraical formulæ, that the engineer digs an underground river-channel for an inland lake, and carries a stream of fresh water into every house in a crowded capital. Many a slate full of vul-

gar fractions has been figured out, to enable our neighbors in Boston to sip a glass of Cochituate; and I suppose, sir, a good many of the citizens of Cambridge think it is pretty nearly time that we should go to work on the same sum.

Then come the elements of natural philosophy and natural science, the laws of organic and inorganic nature, of which something is taught in our common schools. Is it wonderful that a community, in which this knowledge is diffused, should multiply itself a hundred-fold? I mean is it wonderful that one well-taught man should do the work of uninstructed thousands? Mythology tells us of Briareus with his hundred hands, and Argus with his hundred eyes; but these are only faint images of the increased strength and sharpened vision which knowledge imparts to the well educated. Mr. Agassiz sees a great deal more with his two eyes than Argus did with his hundred. Mr. Bond beholds a satellite of Neptune in the depths of the heavens, three thousand millions of miles from the sun, a body perhaps not five hundred miles in diameter, as easily as the diver beholds a pearl oyster in seven fathoms of water. No Titan that fought with Jupiter, and piled Ossa upon Pelion, had as much strength in his arm, as the engineer has in his thumb and finger, when he turns the screw that lets the steam into the cylinder of his engine. What is there in the Arabian Nights like the skill of the metallurgist, who converts a shapeless piece of iron ore into the mainspring of a watch? What was there in Michael Scott's book to compare with the practical necromancy of the chemist?

Now these are branches of knowledge of which the elements are taught at our schools; and need I urge that such a control of the signs of thought, such a possession of the keys of knowledge, such a consciousness of power over nature as results from this acquaintance with her mysteries, is quite sufficient in the aggregate to give a character to a community; not certainly to produce wonderful effects in each individual, but in their united and continuous operation to promote the prosperity of a State.

There are one or two other general suggestions which I

might have offered you, sir, but I am happy to say they have been anticipated by master Cutter in the valedictory address, to which I have already alluded in terms of well-merited compliment. I will, before I take my seat, say a word or two on another topic. I think very highly of our Cambridge schools, as places of education. I believe too much cannot be said to their credit in this respect; and yet I think their discipline and management, (if I may judge of the rest by the High School, which, as I have already remarked, is the only one of them with which I am personally acquainted,) entitled to still higher praise. They owe indeed very much of their efficiency, as institutions where useful knowledge is to be acquired, to their being well governed. In truth, no valuable progress in learning can be made in a disorderly school. I do not mean this as a sentimental reflection, but as a positive practical fact. I would appeal to any candid teacher, and to any observant school committee-man, whether he ever knew or heard of such a thing as a well-taught school, which was not also a well-governed school; or, to state it the other way, whether he ever knew such a thing as a disorderly, insubordinate, and consequently disaffected school, where any satisfactory progress was made in learning. For this reason, Mr. Smith, I think the excellent spirit which prevails in your school is its highest praise. I do not call it a well-governed, but a well-regulated, a well-organized, school. There is no need of bringing in the idea of government, where there is a friendly feeling between the teachers and the great mass of the scholars, where compulsion is seldom named and still more seldom applied, where the great majority are well disposed and keep each other in countenance, and the instructors are sure of the support and cheered by the affection of their pupils.

I make but one more remark, sir, and that addressed to our young friends. They have just reached the end of a laborious term, and are about to begin the holidays. Let me caution them against that great fault of school-boys and school-girls, studying too hard in vacation. After the fatigues of three months at school, I have no idea of young folks going

to work for eight or ten hours a day at home. I hope your fathers and mothers will not permit it. If you insist upon a half an hour or so in the morning, and as much more in the afternoon and evening, by way of amusement, I do not know that I should greatly object; but take care to have a right good time, and come back at the end of the holidays, with rosy cheeks and bright eyes, ready to engage with eagerness in the duties of the new term.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.*

A TOAST having been given by Hon. William Sturgis in honor of the diplomatic corps of the United States, prefaced by some complimentary remarks, Mr. EVERETT was called upon to reply. He said that he understood that he was looked upon for a response to the toast last given, as the only individual present included in it. But for this reference to himself, Mr. E. could have expressed his hearty concurrence with what had been said by Mr. Sturgis in reference to the diplomatic service. It had certainly been performed in general in a manner creditable to the country. As far as his own humble services were concerned, he felt sincerely grateful for a complimentary notice from a company containing so much of the mercantile respectability of Boston. The diplomatic service of the United States, at least at the court where he had had the honor to be their representative, was very closely connected with the commerce of the country. In ordinary times, if he might judge from his own experience, nine tenths of the business of the American minister in London was connected with commercial interests and claims. Our trade was carried on all over the globe. It came in contact with British jurisdiction in the remotest seas, and new cases involving appeals to the central power at London were constantly arising. If, in discharging his duty to those whose interests in this way had been placed in some degree in his hands, he was thought, in a company like this, to have

* In reply to a toast in honor of the Diplomacy of the United States, at a dinner to Emin Bey, Turkish Commissioner, at the Revere House in Boston, on the 4th of November, 1850, Thomas B. Curtis, Esq. in the chair.

been not wholly deficient, he felt bound to acknowledge, in this public manner, the master by whom he had been instructed, (Mr. Webster,) and the guidance which he had enjoyed.

But you will allow me, continued Mr. Everett, to pass from this topic to one on which I can express myself with greater freedom and propriety; and to thank you for being permitted to share the festivities of this occasion. It is one of a somewhat peculiar nature, and really, as it seems to me, of no ordinary interest. We are honored with the company of an officer high in the service of the Ottoman Porte, who has been commissioned by his government to visit the United States. He is, I believe, the first of his countrymen who has ever visited us. It is not a diplomatic mission, instituted merely to keep up the official intercourse of the two governments; and we may be quite sure it is not an excursion of mere curiosity. Our respected guest has not come, as was said to an English traveller, by a native chief I believe on the western coast of Africa, "to take a walk and make book;" he has come for a more substantial and practical purpose, — to acquire information in respect to the commercial, industrial, and social character of the country; to form some acquaintance with our institutions; and especially to explore, by personal observation, the elements of an extended and mutually beneficial commerce. Such an errand, I must say, sir, seems to me indicative of an enlightened and liberal government, watchful for the means of benefiting its subjects, and willing to derive information even from remote sources. I need not say, sir, that the choice of the Commissioner, as far as I have been favored with the means of forming an estimate of his character, has been not less judicious, than the errand itself is wisely conceived and auspicious of good.

I have therefore, sir, called this social interview, which enables us to pay our joint respects to this honored visitor, an interesting occasion. We have not often had one more so. It is the first time that a similar act of public hospitality has been tendered in this city, perhaps in this country, to an officer of the Ottoman Porte. I hope it will prove to be the

commencement of a permanent relation of good offices mutually exchanged.

Philosophers, sir, have been at a loss for a definition of man. He has been called a reasoning animal, but there are not a few of the race, I am sorry to say, that will not hear to reason. He has been called a laughing animal; but there are some sour-faced fellows that will not even smile; while some of the lower animals have something like a laugh. He has been called a cooking animal, and the propriety of this definition will hardly be questioned around this well-laden board. Dr. Franklin pronounces him a tool-making animal. But I am not sure, sir, that he would not be best defined as a *fighting* animal, for no event in the history of our race seems so much a matter of course, as that nations in contiguity with each other, should live in a state of almost eternal war. Such seems at least, till of late years, to have been the case with the Christian and the Mussulman powers; and I rather think that we should not gain much, as far as the Turks are concerned, in inquiring very particularly who began the warfare. The most celebrated and important of these demonstrations of hostility, if not the very first in point of time, were the crusades, in which the united forces of a great part of Europe were poured upon Western Asia, in a torrent which swept away friends and foes on its path. I fear the law of nations would be studied in vain for a justifiable motive for these strange expeditions. But whatever their cause, one effect was certain, that of producing a feeling of no amiable kind between the two great parties. Christians have for ages been complimented by the Turks, as well as by other Mussulman races, with sundry ill-sounding epithets not necessary to be repeated on this occasion; and I must say that we have not left the debt of international courtesy unpaid. From the ideal monsters that spread terror in the nursery under the name of *Ogres* (the name a little changed by which the Turks first became known to the Western world), down to the warlike princes, whose armies have carried alarm into the heart of Europe, at a comparatively recent period, they have, from their first establishment in Western Asia, been

habitually spoken of as ruthless barbarians, and stigmatized by every name of hatred. I am afraid even that in quite modern times, those of us who took an interest in the Greek revolution, were not always as choice in their language as they might have been.

With what feelings the fathers of New England, the contemporaries of the ancestor of whom our respected friend (Mr. Winthrop) has just spoken, regarded the Turks, in common with all other Mahometans, hardly need be said. If the first settlers of Boston, who laid the foundations of our ancient and beloved city on this very spot where we are now assembled, attracted not by the good cheer which has regaled us, not by the sparkling cup with which Mr. Stevens has so liberally crowned the board, but by the pure and wholesome waters of Mr. Blackstone's spring, if they had been told that in two generations from the first settlement, their children would have been beset by a visitation of witches, and that in a century and a half more, a company of their descendants would sit down to table with a live Turk, and he the official messenger of the Grand Seignior, a full-blooded Mussulman and no mistake, they would have thought their degenerate posterity were doomed to sink from bad to worse. The Turks, as you know, are a branch of the great Tartar family, *Tatar* as they spell it themselves, the *r* having been interpolated in Europe in the middle ages, by way of a polite inuendo that they came from a place, not to be mentioned in English to ears polite.

I esteem it a very pleasing circumstance that feelings like these are so entirely passed away, as to be alluded to as a matter of merriment alone. I look upon it as an omen of great and happy changes in rapid progress, that an officer of distinction in the service of this once odious power, (which has lately endeared itself to the friends of liberty in a manner not soon to be forgotten,) has been sent by his youthful sovereign, a ruler whose large and liberal views for the improvement of his people have been equalled only by his munificence of disposition and kindness of heart, to examine the United States; to learn what we are by the hearing of the

ear and the seeing of the eye; to compare the ancient East with the youthful West; to gather hints and ideas for the benefit of his own country.

But let me not be thought, sir, by any means to insinuate, that the extension of our intercourse with Turkey would be a one-sided benefit; good for them, but of no consequence to us. There are few relations of this kind in the world either between individuals or States. I increase my own happiness when I do good to my neighbor; and friendly relations between two countries are beneficial to both. The quality of commerce is as little strained as that of mercy: —

"It blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

The sun in his circuit through the heavens does not look down upon a region more favored by nature than the country of our honored guest. Without taking into the account the European dominions of the Sultan, one of the finest countries in Europe; without mentioning the islands of the Ægean and the Levant, — Scio, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, — names which it makes the ears tingle to repeat; I think it will not be easy to point out upon the map of the world a country that equals the Asiatic domain of the Sultan for temperate range of climate, variety of productions, beauty of position, and facility of access. How it connects with the north by the Black Sea with its all-glorious outlet through the Hellespont, and by the great Russian rivers, which come down from the polar circle; with the west, by the entire eastern shores of the Mediterranean; with the south, by the Nile, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, and the more than famous rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, that flow into it; while on the eastern boundary it controls the passes of the entire overland trade with India, China, and the Oriental Archipelago; a trade which yielded almost all the commercial wealth of the ancient world! And what is to hinder this region so favored in its natural position; the cradle, the garden, the metropolis of the primitive world; from recovering no small share of its ancient prosperity, if a policy so liberal as that which has been pursued by his sublime Highness Abdul Medjid, and by his

father before him, shall be steadily followed out? Who can tell what beneficial results may flow from the visit now made by our honored guest? And if, to all the materials for a mutually beneficial intercourse *now* existing in Turkey, there shall be added, perhaps in consequence of his reports, all those improvements of which he has seen no inconsiderable specimens here; when his territories like ours shall be covered with an iron network of railroads; when the great rivers like ours shall be rendered navigable up stream as well as down, by the mighty force of steam; when the electric telegraph shall speak from the Sultan's own imperial Stamboul to the upper cataracts of the Nile, and from Beyroot to Bassora, who does not see that an impetus will be given to the commerce of the world, as well as to the prosperity of Turkey herself, in which we shall come in for a full share?

I rejoice in the assurance that the active and intelligent efforts of our honored guest will not be wanting toward the promotion of these noble ends; and I scarcely need add, that the hearty coöperation of the American legation at Constantinople, will as certainly be rendered. That mission, I believe, sir, was never in a more prosperous state. The distinguished gentleman at its head, (Mr. Marsh,) is favorably known by reputation throughout the country. To great professional learning, he has added an enviable congressional reputation. He has carried to his post the eminent talent, the varied attainments, and the conciliatory disposition which will enable him to perform his duty to both governments in the most creditable and beneficial manner. In this, he will be fully seconded by his respectable associate, (Mr. J. P. Brown,) the official interpreter and secretary of the legation, with whose company we are favored at this table. If that gentleman were not present, I would say more than I think it right to inflict upon his modesty: but this I will say to his face, that he enjoys one advantage for his post, — and his country reaps the benefit of it, — seldom possessed by foreign governments in their diplomatic relations with the Porte; I mean the advantage of speaking the Turkish like his native tongue. It has ever been the scandal of Euro-

pean diplomacy at Constantinople, that the ambassador was obliged to communicate through the medium of dragomans of a different race and language, not subjects of the government that employs them,—generally the Greeks of the Fanal. Mr. Brown, by his long residence in Turkey and his assiduous and successful study of its difficult language, has wiped out this reproach. The United States enjoy in him an official interpreter at once a citizen of the government he represents, and able to communicate freely in its own tongue with the government to which he is accredited. I do not know how the case may be now, but thirty years ago, this was a thing quite unknown at Constantinople.*

Allow me, in taking my seat, to propose to you the health of the Hon. Mr. Marsh, the Minister of the United States to the Sublime Porte, and of Mr. Brown, Secretary of Legation and *Interpreter.*

* During the administration of President John Quincy Adams, a plan was formed for supplying to the diplomatic service of the United States native citizens well qualified to interpret the Oriental languages. Our accomplished countryman, William B. Hodgson, Esq., of Savannah, with this object in view, was sent to Algiers, where he laid the foundation of his distinguished attainments in the languages of Western Asia. The negotiations at Constantinople at the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty with the Ottoman Porte in 1830, were conducted by Mr. Hodgson as dragoman of the legation.

THE BIRTHDAY OF WASHINGTON.*

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:—

I RISE with diffidence to address the company on this occasion, sensible as I am that there are gentlemen present more capable of doing so acceptably, than I am, and more worthy of the honor conferred on me by inviting me to respond to the toast which has been just proposed. I thank you, sir, notwithstanding, for allowing me the privilege of being present on this interesting occasion; especially, for the honor done to me in calling on me to respond to that great and noble toast, "The Constitution of the United States." Sir, you have done well to give an early and prominent place to a toast in honor of the constitution, on the birthday of Washington, for more than to any other influence, under Providence, the country owes the constitution to him. Did not the honorable gentleman who has instructed and interested us so much this morning, (Gen. Foote,) did he not remind us that the very first suggestion made towards the constitution, not the first official act but the first private suggestion made towards the formation of the constitution, was made at Mount Vernon, in the house of Washington, and by Washington himself? And yet, gentlemen, I know not how to speak to you on this great theme; for after the instructive, appropriate, and seasonable commentary on the character, principles, and policy of Washington that we have just heard, it seems as if every thing had been said that could be said.

* Speech at the celebration of the Birthday of Washington, in New York, on the 22d of February, 1851, in reply to the toast, "The Constitution of the United States."

Still, I know that it is a subject of which an American audience can never tire. Washington to us in our recent history, within our own days, within the experience of our fathers, is all and more than all that history and tradition, and venerable antiquity, have accumulated on the name of Alfred, and on the two or three great names of others like him, if others such there be, worthy to be remembered in comparison with Washington.

The memory of Washington is indeed an inestimable portion of the moral treasure of the country; and I do not know but that I might almost say, but for the sacrifice of human life that would be occasioned by it, that one would rather that half the continent should sink, than that we should lose his memory and character, — a character to be held up to the imitation of our children, to be pointed out to the admiration of the stranger, to be commended to the fervent applause of all mankind, and to be handed down to the latest posterity. Washington was all this and more. It was his great mission to render the most important services to his country in his own time, and to benefit all future ages, if we are but just to his memory and true to ourselves. And this year seems to be, out of many years, a most fitting one to commemorate his life, character, and services. In that ever-memorable address, given to the people of the United States on the 17th of September, 1796, he alludes to "forty-five years dedicated to the service of the country." Forty-five years from 1796 carry us back to 1751, just a century from this time, as the commencement of the illustrious career of Washington, according to his own statement. General Foote has given us so full a sketch of the more recent political services of Washington, that I am induced to go back to the beginning of his career. In this year (1751) he received, young as he was, his first military appointment as adjutant-general in one of the districts into which Virginia was divided. Three years only had elapsed from the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but the movements which had commenced on the part of the Ohio Land Company, with a view to the settlement of the region

west of the Alleghanies, had aroused the jealousy of the French and Indians; and, in reality, these insignificant local interests were the original source of that great seven years' war in which the leading States of Europe became involved, which ended in the capture of Quebec, the expulsion of the French from this continent, and, remotely, to the independence of the United States.

In this war Washington rendered the most important services. He was but nineteen years old in 1751, when he received his first military appointment just alluded to. Two years after, as you all recollect, he went on a most romantic and dangerous errand, to the residence of the French governor at Venango. On that occasion he had a most narrow escape from the perils of the elements and the rifle of the savage foe. You remember the campaign of the following year, 1754, when on an ever-memorable day, the fourth of July, Washington, unfortunately for every thing but his good name, had to capitulate at what was well called Fort Necessity; the very same day on which the articles of union, proposed by Franklin, (alluded to by Gen. Foote,) were signed at Albany. We see him in the next year in the terrible battle in which Braddock was slain, and in which two horses were shot under the youthful hero himself, and his clothing was pierced by four musket balls. The courage, the fortitude, the skill, and the perseverance with which he conducted the retreat of the wreck of the royal army from those inauspicious fields, and watched over the safety of the frontier for the residue of the war, raised him at once to a position before the community, and to a hold on public confidence, which years of success, in the natural course of things, are hardly enough to reach. Well was it said by President Davies, in 1756 or 1757, in a sermon to the volunteers of Hanover county, "let me point, as a remarkable instance of patriotism, to that brave youth, Colonel Washington, who, I can't help but think, has been so wonderfully preserved by Providence to render some important service to his country." Where, in uninspired history, can you point to another prediction like this, made of a

youth of twenty-three, fulfilled as this was in the subsequent career of your Washington? Thus was he heralded into the service of his country.

In the great scene of that service, the revolutionary war, that mighty drama in human affairs, I need not remind you how every thing seemed to centre about him. There were others who rendered invaluable services in the cabinet and in the field; but Washington was all in all to the cause. I would not on any account do injustice to any other honored name. There were many, more than I can number, who were eminently useful to their country, who spoke kindling words of patriotism in dark times, who rendered most important services in arduous and responsible diplomatic positions abroad, who reaped honorable laurels on hard fought fields, but it was on Washington alone that the heart of the country cast anchor in seasons of darkness, of calamity, and, but for him, of despair. And, when the revolutionary war was brought to a triumphant close, and the colonies seemed unable, under the old confederation, to recover from their exhaustion, what was it that induced those States, each proud, and justly so, of its hardly-earned independence, to abdicate some portion of their sovereignty on the altar of patriotism, and consent to the establishment of a strong central government? Gentlemen, they well knew into whose hands it would first go; they knew that he would set up precedents of administration which his successors would not lightly depart from. I am almost tempted to quote the sublime words of Milton—

"Far off his coming shone."

They needed in his case none of the poor machinery of electioneering, no nominating convention in Philadelphia or Baltimore, to point out Washington to the choice of the people. In his case, that great civil act by which a free people constitute their rulers, an act which we ought always to discharge with something of the solemnity and conscientiousness with which we approach our religious duties, (an act too little deemed of in these modern days,) in Washington's case

even this great civic act was but an august ceremony. From the moment the Federal Convention had decided that there should be a President, and nine States had adopted the constitution, although there were arrangements and contrivances intended to cause some uncertainty in the designation for office, although there were electoral colleges interposed between the people and the candidates, and votes were to be given for two persons for President and Vice-President, not naming which was intended for either office, yet in Washington's case these were all but forms; for from the moment when the constitution was adopted, he was already chosen in the hearts of the people. All the stages of the election, all the formalities of suffrage, were but the outward promulgation of this spontaneous moral choice.

Well, gentlemen, after he was elected, how often in his administration did his personal weight of character and his individual influence carry the country through the severest trials? In that memorable instance, especially, when the minds of the people were embittered on the one hand by the detention of the western posts, and the interference of the British cruisers with our neutral trade, and when, on the other hand, we were drawn very strongly towards France by our sympathy with what was at first regarded as a great effort for political reform, and by the grateful remembrance of valuable services in the revolutionary war, the influence of Washington was able to subdue the sensibilities of the people to the measure of a just policy, and restrain them from rushing into those wars of the French revolution, which wasted the strength and shook the stability of Europe for more than thirty years.

Now, what I would earnestly ask is this. Must all this mighty influence of the character, and principles, and memory of Washington, must they all be buried in his tomb? Is all that he was to us and to mankind, all his political wisdom, his experience, his unsuspected disinterestedness, all, in short, that made him to be Washington, in distinction from the multitude of meritorious citizens of earlier or later days, is all this to be consigned to oblivion, in that dark and narrow house on the banks of the Potomac? No, Heaven forbid! It is

the great prerogative of our rational nature that mind and its influences can never die; and unless we are cold and dead, we shall listen to the voice which speaks to us through his immortal address with deeper reverence even, if possible, than that with which we should listen to his living counsels.

That address was the most carefully prepared product of a mind from which nothing crude or ill considered ever went forth, the maturest result of his life-long experience. At the close, as he believed, of his political and military career, having fought through two great wars, one of which ended in establishing the independence of his country, having in posts of high responsibility assisted in bringing about two organic changes of government, having been twice unanimously called to the chief magistracy, and about to withdraw from office for the last time, and, as he thought, forever, into that beloved retirement, as he regarded it, which he so earnestly coveted, he gave to the people of the United States the last counsels, as he calls them in language I can never repeat without emotion, "of an old and affectionate friend." You have read it a thousand times. You place it in the hands of your children, you appreciate, as you ought, those last words of wisdom and love, which gushed from that noble heart but a few years before it ceased to beat forever.

And what is the leading advice of this ever-memorable address? Is it not ADHERENCE TO THE UNION? I believe, if its pages were counted, a full fourth part of it would be found devoted to this theme. He tells us to watch over its preservation with the most jealous anxiety. On the love of liberty, which you might suppose would be the principal topic in an address from one who had devoted his life to promote it, there is but a single sentence, a couple of lines; he just alludes to it as an indwelling sentiment of the American heart, which needs no recommendation from him. As for the preservation of State rights, which forms so leading a topic in modern systems of policy, I believe that Washington does not so much as allude to them. I think he does not name them; not that he undervalued State rights, but he knew there were centrifugal tendencies enough in so large a body of

States to counteract any danger of the opposite kind. No, gentlemen, it is Union, Union, Union, the first, the last, the constant strain of this immortal address.

And what could my poor voice add, if I were presumptuous enough to attempt to do it, to the parting counsels of Washington? I say again, if their influence ceases to be felt, it is not because Washington is dead, but because we are dead and cold, buried in the grave of criminal indifference and apathy, absorbed in the gilded cares of that prosperity which we enjoy under the constitution which he did so much to procure for us; or, what is worse, misled by prejudice, by false theories of government, by imaginary sectional interests, or, still worse, blinded by party and maddened by faction. I agree with Gen. Foote, that it is time for every man to utter his voice in accordance with the parting voice of Washington. I know it is said, and by many excellent and patriotic, but, as I think, greatly mistaken citizens, that the Union is not seriously threatened; that the alarm is factitious; that the danger is wholly imaginary, or greatly overrated. I wish I could think so, but I must say that in the result of all the anxious inquiry I have been able to make, and of all my observation of the state of opinion and feeling in different parts of the country, I have come to the conclusion that the Union is in great danger.

I am not so much moved by the doings of organized bodies, of legislatures, of conventions, or by acts of riot, disorder, and lawlessness in any part of the country. These things carry with them their own corrective, to a certain extent, in the North and South. I know how much has been dóne by excellent and patriotic citizens of the South, to stay the disaffection to the Union in that quarter, and I agree with the sentiment of Mr. Webster, in the admirable letter just read, that ninety-nine hundredths of the people of my section of the country are for the constitution and the laws. For that reason, I say, I am not so much led to the opinion I have expressed by public acts and demonstrations, as I am most deeply grieved by symptoms I have seen in both extremes of the country, of a deep feeling of bitterness and ill-will, a spirit

of denunciation of the motives, character, and policy of the opposite sections of the Union, and of all at home who are suspected of having any charity or sympathy with their fellow-citizens at a distance. This, sir, is what grieves and alarms me. Why, if the several portions of the country belonged to different nations; if they were alien in language, in religion, and in race; if they were sworn, like Hannibal at the altar, to wage a war of destruction against each other, they could not use stronger or more bitter language than I have read within a few weeks by men, both at the North and the South, who entertain extreme opinions on the agitating subjects of the day. I say it is this which gives me the greatest alarm for the continuance of the Union. The outward facts are but the manifestation of the spirit of disaffection and bitterness which, if not checked, sooner or later, or rather very soon, *will* cause the Union to crumble.

I am not an alarmist, I never have been. If I may allude to a matter so unimportant, I would say that, in all my addresses to the public, I have ever looked on the bright side in reference to the future of America. But if there is to be no relaxation of those unkind feelings between the different sections of the country, if men will not make up their minds to live in good feeling and good faith under the constitution and the laws, that constitution which was framed by our fathers, as good, as wise, as patriotic as ourselves, and under which the country has enjoyed a degree of prosperity unexampled in the world; if they will go on indulging this fierce spirit of mutual hostility, it will, at no distant day, result in a separation of the States, to be followed by a war, or rather a series of wars, which will change the aspect of this country, and injuriously affect the cause of constitutional liberty forever. For *I* regard it as demonstrable that, in the event of a separation, as certainly as the sun will set in the west, the sun of the republic will go down from the meridian and set in blood. I know that some persons of sanguine temperament, dallying, as I think, unwarrantably with these dreadful futurities, have persuaded themselves that it would only be a change of two confederacies instead of one, and that in

other respects all would go on much as it did before. Sir, I am very loath to enter into any speculations of this kind, on one side or the other; but, in my humble judgment, there will not be two confederacies, nor eventually any confederacies, but as many despotic governments as, in the chances of conquest and reconquest, military chieftains may be able and willing to establish. Let Germany teach us. How did she come out of the chaos of the dark ages, after a thousand years of internecine war? Did she come out of it with two or three confederacies? She counted more than three hundred independent principalities, as they called themselves, but all lying at the mercy of the nearest despot and the strongest army.

I presume not to look into that dark abyss. I turn from it with the same horror, a thousand fold increased, that I felt when in my youth I was surprised on the black and calcined edge of the crater of Vesuvius, while the sides of the mountain were already quivering with the convulsive throes of an approaching eruption. To attempt to give form and outline, to measure the force, to calculate the direction of the molten elements, boiling and bellowing in the fiery depth below, and just ready to be let loose by the hand of God on their pathway of destruction, would be as unavailing and presumptuous in the political as in the natural world. One thing, however, I think is certain. We talk of the separation of these States, assuming that they would still, in other respects, remain the States which they now are; but I think it is certain as demonstration, that their ancient boundaries, founded, in many cases, not at all on features of physical geography, running as they do in open defiance of the mountains and rivers, drawn without the slightest regard to military defence, as if it were the design of Providence that we should be bound together, not by material ligatures, but by the cords of love, boundaries resting on charters, on prescription and agreement, and rendered at last sacred by the constitution and Union of the United States, I think it certain that some of those boundaries would fall the first sacrifice to a separation of the Union. Do you suppose, Mr. Chairman, that thirty-one States, when the constitutional ties which now bind them are broken, and

when a new scramble for separate power shall begin, are going to pay regard to those unseen and mystical intrenchments, within which stout little Rhode Island, — in comparison with some other States, rather a cornfield or a flower-garden than a State, — lies as safely fortified as your own imperial New York, which holds the Hudson in the hollow of her hand, and extends her colossal limbs from the lakes to the ocean? When the Union is dissolved, do you think that holy constitutional spell will remain unbroken, which prevents your powerful neighbor, Pennsylvania, enthroned upon the Alleghanies, with the broad Susquehannah for her sparkling cincture, and the twin tributaries of the Ohio for the silver fillets of her temples, from raising so much as a finger against gallant little Delaware, which nestles securely within the fringes of the gorgeous robe of her queenly sister?

Before the revolution there were controversies on the subject of boundary between many of the conterminous States. They were adjudicated by the Privy Council, often arbitrarily enough, generally against the larger and in favor of the weaker colonies. But the decision executed itself. *Pacis imponere morem* was the motto of the home government. They decided as they pleased. If the colonies liked the decision it was well; if they did not they might do something else, for which there is a homely word, which I will not repeat. When the royal government was thrown off, some of these controversies survived and some new ones sprung up. There had been, or were, disputes between Pennsylvania and Virginia, Pennsylvania and Connecticut, New York and Massachusetts, Massachusetts and all the other New England colonies. But first, the old confederation, with its tribunals, (such as they were,) and then still more, the happy constitution of 1789, breathed their vitality and power into the ancient muniments of the land. Disputes were settled, controversies adjusted. The genius of the Union, with the law of the land in the right hand and the law of love in the left, perambulated (to use the surveyor's expression) the lines between border States, and discord ceased. But, gentlemen, if

you divide this Union, if you take from these boundaries the character of constitutional security which is attached to them in the way I have described, what then is to happen? When the constitution shall be swept away; when the States shall start on a new career of selfish and ambitious ascendency, inflamed by the passions invariably raging at such times between border governments, they will not be held back by parchment titles proceeding from dead kings and queens of England, whose bones for two hundred years have been huddled up in the crypts of Westminster Abbey. When I was in London a few years ago, I was instructed to procure a copy of a patent granted by the Duke of York, afterwards James II., to be used in a controversy between New Jersey and Delaware, about Pea Patch Island, of which, I suppose, you have all heard. I also had to procure a large folio volume of documents from the Royal State Paper Office, to be used in a controversy between my own State of Massachusetts and Rhode Island as to boundary, which ran back to the charter of 1629, and which, whether it is settled at the present day, I am ashamed to say I do not certainly know. And now, sir, when this family of States, no, not family of States, (for we are going to reject that kindly name and the blessed thing it expresses,) but when this group of hostile and rival States shall rush forth against each other, with hostile projects and heated passions, on a new political career, can their hands be kept from each others' throats by dusty parchments, signed by hands which are themselves long since turned to dust? When we have repudiated our Madison and Hamilton, yes, sir, your Hamilton; when we have repudiated their work, I don't think we shall pay superstitious deference to the work of Charles, and James, and Elizabeth. When we have turned a deaf ear to the voice of Washington, and Adams, and Jefferson, and Franklin, the Moses and the prophets of our political dispensation, do you think we are going to permit a creature like the Duke of York, whom his own people, aye, his own daughters, drove with scorn from the throne, to rise from the dead after two hundred years and govern us by a paper sceptre?

Then, gentlemen, as to the Supreme Court of the United States. I do not know what others may think on the subject, but for myself, sir, (addressed to Chancellor Walworth, who sat by Mr. Everett's side,) I will say, that if all the labors, the sacrifices, and the waste of treasure and blood, from the first landing at Jamestown or Plymouth, were to give us nothing else but the Supreme Court of the United States, this revered tribunal for the settlement of international disputes, (for such it may be called,) I should say the sacrifice was well made. I have trodden with emotion the threshold of Westminster Hall and of the Palace of Justice in France; I thought with respect of a long line of illustrious chancellors and judges, surrounded with the insignia of office, clothed in scarlet and ermine, who within these ancient halls have, without fear or favor, administered justice between powerful litigants. But it is with deeper emotions of reverence, it is with something like awe, that I have entered the Supreme Court at Washington. Not that I have there heard strains of forensic eloquence rarely equalled, never surpassed, from the Wirts, the Pinkneys, and the Websters; but because I have seen there a bright display of the perfection of the moral sublime in human affairs. I have witnessed, how from the low, dark bench, destitute of the emblems of power, from the lips of some grave and venerable magistrate, to whom years and grey hairs could add no new titles to respect, (I need write no name under that portrait,) the voice of justice and equity has gone forth to the most powerful States of the Union, administering the law between citizens of independent States, settling dangerous controversies, adjusting disputed boundaries, annulling unconstitutional laws, reversing erroneous decisions, and, with a few mild words of judicial wisdom, disposing of questions a hundred fold more important than those which, within the past year, from the plains of Holstein, have shaken the pillars of continental Europe, and all but brought a million of men into deadly conflict with each other.

When the Union is broken, when the States are separated, what is to become of your Supreme Court? How then are

you to settle great and difficult questions? And plenty of them, believe me, you will have. Think of these mighty rivers, running up, and down, and across the country in every direction, and the controversies which will present themselves about their navigation; is there to be any way of settling them? Again, hostile tariffs, designed to undermine the revenue and commerce of neighboring States, will infallibly be enacted. And then this very question which now agitates the Union. What, in the name of Heaven, are you to do with all these controversies, when you have lost this great and august tribunal?

Gentlemen, when this time comes, if Pennsylvania, for instance, should look round her and find that Virginia has pushed up a narrow strip forming a couple of counties, behind her western boundary, to keep her entirely aloof from the left bank of the Ohio, and if she shall take it into her head to redress this irregularity, as she would be apt to think it, what will be the result? Do you think, Chancellor, (addressing Chancellor Walworth,) the remembrance of the case of Olmstead will induce her to remain quiet? If New York should take it into her head to revive her claim to a monopoly of the steam navigation of her waters, and give effect to her grant to the representatives of Fulton, who presented to New York and the world the great mechanical miracle of modern times, would the case of Gibbons and Ogden prevent her from executing this purpose? No. When we come to that, the day of chancellors and judges is passed. We shall shut up the volumes of Peters, and Wheaton, and Dallas, and Cranch; we shall repudiate the authority of the Kents, and the Storys, the Walworths, and the Marshalls; we shall go to the arsenals of the old despotisms for their accursed logic, the *ultima ratio regum*, and settle all disputes at the point of the pike and the mouth of the cannon.

There are some other topics on which I intended to speak, but I must stop. I thank you for your encouragement, gentlemen, but my strength, not great when I started, is quite exhausted. I can only allude to the disastrous effects of a separation of the States on all the relations of the coun-

try at home and abroad; to the complete demoralization of society, by substituting insecurity and conflict for peace and quiet; to the blight which will fall upon the new States and Territories, springing up like an exhalation from the soil throughout the continent. And then, sir, to think of our position before the world, how deplorably will that be changed! The United States, a republic now so great and powerful, and so respected, raised to an importance which will enable us before long to hold the balance of public opinion between the contending empires of the world, what will it be when broken up and frittered away to twenty or thirty petty sovereignties, and, in the lapse of time, perhaps to two or three hundred miserable principalities?

But, sir, I must take my seat. I thank you, Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, for the kind attention with which you have listened to me, and I beg to join my vows with yours, that the Constitution of the United States, with all its privileges and blessings, may be perpetuated to the latest posterity.

CONDITIONS OF A GOOD SCHOOL.*

I RISE, Mr. Chairman, at your request, to express the great satisfaction with which I have witnessed the exercises of the day. I came here as a parent, citizen, and friend of the school, with no expectation or intention of taking any part in the proceedings, beyond that of a gratified spectator; but it would be churlish to refuse to comply with your request, that I would address a few words to the company. I can say with great sincerity, that I have attended the exercises of this morning, the specimens exhibited to us of reading and elocution, with much pleasure, as I did the more strenuous exercises of last Monday's examination at the school-house. Taken together, sir, they show the Cambridge High School to be in a sound and improving condition; for, if I mistake not, I see the marks of progress in the school, as compared with its condition last year. This is the more satisfactory, because I believe you consider, sir, (addressing Mr. Smith,) that you have labored under some disadvantage in the course of the past year, in consequence of the frequent changes in the body of teachers. Still, however, the superintendence has remained unchanged, the general system of government and instruction has gone on, and I believe those gentlemen, who witnessed the examination and exhibition on former occasions, will agree with me that there is not only no falling off, but decided progress the present year. This is as it should be; in fact, any other state of things would be

* Remarks made at the close of the exhibition of the Cambridge High School, August 2d, 1851.

unsatisfactory. Every thing else around us is in progress. The standard of excellence in education, as in all other things, is constantly advancing; and the school that does not go forward, that even stands still, will soon find itself in the background.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, there are few things in which the rapid progress of the country is so apparent as in its institutions for education. The learned Secretary of the Board of Education (Rev. Dr. Sears) has just alluded to the defects of the schools in some remote parts of the Commonwealth, unfavorably situated in this respect. I dare say his representations are correct; but the younger part of this audience would not believe me, no one scarcely whose own recollection did not confirm it would believe me, if I were to describe the state of what were called good schools when I was myself a school-boy, more years ago, Mr. Chairman, than I believe I shall tell you. I allude to the condition of the best public schools of that day. The instruction in what are commonly called the English branches was confined to reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography, all taught according to very defective methods, and with the help of poor manuals. The books for reading and speaking were either foreign, some of them consisting of matter selected without judgment and taste, and ill-adapted to this country, or, if of domestic manufacture, not much better adapted, on that account, to form the taste of the young American speaker or reader. In fact, our native literature, at that time, afforded but scanty materials for a useful and interesting selection. In grammar, we had a very imperfect abridgment of a work of but moderate merit in its original form. For arithmetic we depended on the work of Pike. I desire to speak respectfully of it, as I learned from it what little I learned at all of the noble science of numbers; and, in fact, in the elementary rules, there cannot be room for much diversity of method. But good or bad, there were few schools that carried the pupil far beyond the *Rule of Three.* Single and double fellowship was rather a rare attainment, and alligation, medial and alternate, a thing to talk of. As for logarithms, geometry and its various appli-

cations, and algebra, they belonged to a *terra incognita*, of which no school-boy ever heard, who had not an older brother at college. As to the blackboard, I never heard of such a thing at school. Geography was taught, at that day, from very imperfect compends; it was confined to a rehearsal of a few meagre facts in physical geography, and a few barren statistical details, which ceased to be true while you were repeating them. The attention of the learner was never called to the philosophy of this beautiful branch of knowledge; he was taught nothing of the relations in which man stands to the wonderful globe on which he is placed. No glimpse was given him of the action and reaction upon each other, in this department of knowledge, of nature and man. A globe, I believe, I never saw at a public school near enough to touch it. I am not sure that I was ever in the same room with one, at that period of my life, though I will not speak with entire confidence on that point. A large and accurate map was never exhibited in school fifty years ago. I do not speak of such beautiful maps as those now constructing under the superintendence of Professor Guyot, with their admirable ethnographical indications, isothermal lines, vegetable boundaries, oceanic currents, and careful delineations of those breaks in the mountain chains, which have determined the paths of civilization. I do not speak of these refinements with which the eyes of the young student of geography are daily feasted at the present day, but of large, distinct, well-executed maps of any kind; I never saw one at school. The name of natural or moral philosophy was never heard in our English schools at that day; it was much if some small smattering of those branches was taught in the upper classes at our best academies. The same may be said of all the branches of natural science, such as chemistry, zoölogy, and botany, which have been so well unfolded to you at the High School during the last two years, partly in the stated routine of instruction, and partly in the admirable lectures kindly given to you by Professor Agassiz. There was no philosophical or scientific apparatus furnished at the schools in my day, with the exception, as I remember, in a single instance, of a rickety

gimcrack that was called a *planetarium*, and showed how the heavenly bodies do *not* move. As for a school library, with which, my young friends, you are so well provided, there was not in any school I ever attended so much as half a dozen books bearing that name. There was indeed at the academy at Exeter, which it was my good fortune to attend for a few months before I entered college, a library, containing, I believe, some valuable, though probably rather antiquated volumes. It was my privilege, while I was a pupil, never to see the inside of that apartment; privilege, I say, sir, for it was the place where the severer discipline of the institution, in rare cases of need, was administered.

> Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et sæva sonare
> Verbera.

We, little fellows, sir, got to have the most disagreeable associations with the very name of library. I ought to add, in justice to our honored preceptor, good Dr. Abbott, that the use of the library for any such purpose was a very rare occurrence. He possessed the happy skill, Mr. Smith, which I am gratified to say has not died with him, of governing a school by persuasion and influence, and not by force and terror.

As to the learned languages and classical literature generally, they were very poorly taught in those days. I do not like to speak disparagingly of men and things gone by. The defects were at least *vitia ævi non hominum*, but defects they were of the grossest kind. The study of the Latin and Greek was confined to cursory reading of the easier authors; a little construing and parsing, as we called it. The idiom and genius of the languages were not unfolded to us; nor the manner of the different writers; nor the various illustrative learning necessary to render the text which was read, intelligible. We got the lesson to recite, and that was all. Of Prosody, we were taught little; of versification nothing. I was never set to make an hexameter or a pentameter verse at any school, or, I may add, college, in my life; nor did I ever do it, till I was old enough to have children at school, who asked my assistance.

As for text-books and editions, they were all foreign, and, I may add, compared with those of the present day, both native and foreign, all poor. Master Cheever's accidence, Corderius, and Eutropius, with an English translation in parallel columns, were the books with which the study of Latin was commenced half a century ago.

Such were the schools; and the school-houses were in keeping with them; for the most part cheerless and uninviting in the extreme; cold in winter, hot in summer, without ventilation, destitute of every thing required for accommodation, comfort, or health.

But these days of physical hardship and discomfort, of defective teaching and defective learning, are past. You can hardly believe that they ever existed. In the immense strides taken by the country, in every direction, since the beginning of this century, nothing is more distinctly marked than the improvement of the schools. It must be so, in a healthy state of society, for the education of the young, the formation of the minds and characters of the next generation, is the flowering out of the community. It is to the social and intellectual world, what the vernal outburst of nature is to the natural world; with the mighty difference that inanimate nature, of necessity, repeats herself from year to year with an august uniformity, while man is endowed with a capacity still more sublime of perhaps indefinite improvement.

We shall feel more forcibly the importance of this improvement in the schools, when we consider how many things must conspire and work together to produce it. As earth, air, water, and sunshine, must coöperate for the growth of vegetable nature, so all the best and most powerful influences and most favorable circumstances must be combined into a harmonious system, to make education, on any thing of a large scale, what it ought to be. And this happy combination of means and influences has in point of fact in this country, especially in this part of it, been called into action.

Not to speak of the legislation, by which the duty of educating the young is enforced by public authority, there must, in the first place, be liberal pecuniary appropriations made

by the community. We, New Englanders, are constantly charged, and in very exaggerated terms, with excessive love of money. Now it happens that a good system of public education is one of the most expensive of luxuries; and where is the country which has so freely indulged in it? You may recollect, sir, that I stated on this platform last year, that the annual appropriations of the city of Cambridge for the support of her schools, a city of fifteen or sixteen thousand inhabitants, among whom are none of great wealth, exceed the entire annual income of all the funds bestowed upon our ancient and venerable University, and applicable to the business of instruction, since its foundation. I speak of the college proper, and not of the professional schools connected with it. The annual expenditure of Boston for schools and schooling is more than half of the entire expenditure of the Commonwealth for the support of all the public establishments and the salaries of all the public officers. These munificent appropriations, as you all know, are not provided for out of the income of ancient endowments; they are met by taxation from year to year. The money-loving people of Massachusetts, as they are called by foreign and domestic fault-finders, happen to be the people who lay upon themselves, in their little municipal democracies, the heaviest tax paid by any people in the world for purposes of education.

These liberal pecuniary appropriations, however, are but the first step; they give you school-houses, school libraries, apparatus, and fuel, and the salaries of teachers; but the teachers themselves are not to be had merely by paying for them. A class of skilful, accomplished, and conscientious teachers can only be gradually formed. They must be men and women, a considerable part of them, who have chosen the work of education as the business of their lives; who give to it their time, their abilities, and their hearts. Such a class of teachers is not to be had by asking for it. It must form itself in the bosom of an intelligent and virtuous community, that knows how to prize them, that holds them in high esteem, as some of its most honored public servants. There are portions of our country, in which, if you were to stud them

thick with our beautiful school-houses, with all their appliances, apparatus, and libraries, you could not work the system for want of teachers, nor get the teachers merely by advertising for them. Sir, I say it for no purpose of compliment in this place; the school-teachers in this community constitute a class inferior in respectability to no other, rendering the most important services, by no means over-compensated, rather the reverse. I consider their character and reputation as a part of the moral treasure of the public, which we cannot prize too highly.

Closely connected with the teacher, and of the utmost importance in a good school system, is the school committee, a most efficient part of the educational machinery. Much of the prosperity of our schools depends upon these committees. They stand between all the interests, parents, pupils, and the public, connect them all, mediate between them all. An intelligent committee is the teacher's great ally. They witness his labors and mark the proficiency of the pupils. They counsel him in cases of doubt; share or assume the responsibility in cases of difficulty. A community may think itself highly favored when gentlemen of respectability in the several professions, and in the active callings of life, can be found, as in the city of Cambridge at the present time, to undertake this laborious and responsible office. Nor will an efficient school system readily be sustained where this cannot be done. I own, sir, I witness with admiration the spectacle of gentlemen, whom I know to be burdened with heavy and incessant duties of their own, and are yet willing, day after day, and week after week, in summer and in winter, to devote themselves to a laborious, thorough, and conscientious examination of the schools; besides looking in upon them frequently, and being always accessible for counsel and direction, in the intervals of the periodical visitations.

But, sir, all this is not enough. In order that the school should prosper, no small part of the work must be done at home. Let the father and the mother, who think that their child has made but little progress at school, bear this in mind. I am almost tempted to say, without intending a paradox,

that half of the government, if not of the instruction of the school, must be done at home. This I will say, that if nothing is done at home to support the teacher, his labor is doubled. The parent must take an interest in his boy's or his girl's pursuits, and let that interest be seen. It is shocking to reflect how often the child is sent to school "to get him out of the way." There will be no good schools in the community where that is the prevalent motive. No, he must be sent there for his good and yours. Your heart must go with him. He is not an alien and a plague, to be got rid of for so many hours. He is a part of yourself; what he learns, you learn; it is your own continued existence, in which you love yourself with a heavenly disinterestedness. And yet you are not to let your parental fondness blind you. Do not listen to every tale of childish grievance against the master. The presumption is, that nine times out of ten, the grievance is imaginary; in truth, the presumption is always so, generally the fact is so. Then, too, the parent's coöperation is of the utmost importance in other ways. For many of the short-comings of scholars, the parents are the party to blame. It is their fault, if he stays at home for a breath of cold air or a drop of rain. It is the fault of a father or mother, if the poor child cannot get his breakfast in season, or if his clothes are not in wearing condition. Let the child see betimes that in the opinion of his parents, going to school is one of the most important things to be attended to in the course of the day, and he will so regard it himself.

And this is a result not less important than all the rest. In order to a good school, there must be a good spirit among the scholars. Where all the other requisites alluded to exist, this is not very likely to be wanting; but it may be, it sometimes, under particular circumstances, is wanting. But if there is a fine spirit of generous docility on the part of the children, the school will almost of necessity be a good one. It will, if I may say so, keep it itself. A good school always does, to a considerable degree, keep itself. When I hear of a good school, I involuntarily think there must be good materials to make it of. Our worthy friend, Mr. Upham, has

just told us, that the High School at Cambridge is regarded as a model High School. Would any one who heard of it by this description, doubt that Mr. Smith had good elements to deal with? I certainly do not mean to unsay any part of what I have been saying, as to the variety of influences and agencies which must coöperate to form a good school or a good system of schools; nor am I insensible how much may be done by a kind and intelligent teacher, aided by an efficient committee, to improve and elevate a school of the most unpromising description; but where both conditions unite, where accomplished and faithful teachers, effectually countenanced by the public, are called to the instruction of well-principled and well-mannered children, ardent and emulous to improve themselves, it is a sight for an angel to behold with complacence.

And now, sir, I have dwelt so long, so much beyond my purpose when I began, on these general reflections, I can but add a thought or two addressed particularly to our young friends. I have described to you the great defects of the schools as they existed in my school-boy days. Let the comparison between them and the schools of the present day awaken you to new diligence. Remember that you are favored with the means of acquiring in the morning of your days, and under circumstances the most favorable to acquisition, that which we, if we have acquired it at all, have been obliged to pick up by the dusty road side of life, and at an age when men begin to be perplexed with care and burdened with duty. You will prove yourselves degenerate children, if you do not far excel your fathers.

Finally, my young friends, let your exercises this week suggest an important lesson to you. If in the course of your examinations the other day, it happened to any of you to fail in any part of what you were directed or expected to perform, I dare say it occurred to you, that a few moments more, at the proper time in the course of the year; a little longer study; another turn of the leaves of the dictionary; a steadier exertion of the memory, would have prevented the failure. Reflect then that the entire season of youth, all your schooling

and all its studies and attainments, are but the preparation for the arduous examinations, the conspicuous exhibitions, the strenuous contests of life. As you pass your time and improve your opportunities at school, so will your success be, not certainly and irrevocably, but with great probability and in a majority of cases, in after-life. "If the spring," says Dr. Blair, "put forth no blossoms, summer will display little beauty, and autumn afford no fruit; so if youth be wasted without improvement, manhood will be contemptible, and old age miserable." If these golden hours of youth are thrown away, you throw away the best hope of usefulness and prosperity in this world, and that which affords the best human promise of happiness hereafter.

BENEFICIAL INFLUENCE OF RAILROADS.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR:—

IT is not easy for me to express to you the satisfaction with which I have listened to the very beautiful and appropriate speech with which his Excellency, the Governor-General of Canada, has just delighted us. You know, sir, that the highest art is to conceal art, and I could not but be reminded of that maxim, when I heard that gentleman, after beginning with disabling himself and cautioning us at the outset that he was slow of speech, proceed to make one of the happiest, most appropriate, and eloquent speeches ever uttered on an occasion like this. If I were travelling with his lordship in his native mountains of Gael, I should say to him in the language of the inhabitants of those regions, *sma sheen*, very well. But in plain English, sir, that which has fallen from his lordship has given us all new cause to rejoice that "Chatham's language is our mother-tongue."

I do not rise, sir, to make a long speech. I think it would be rather out of taste, for any one who is at home in Boston or vicinity, unless in the performance of official duty, to make any thing which could be called a long speech on this occasion. All the crowded hours of this busy day belong to our much honored guests, to those distinguished visitors who adorn the occasion with their presence. From them, indeed, sir, the company cannot hear enough, to gratify the earnest desire which is felt to listen to their voices, and to catch their words of encouragement and congratulation.

* Remarks at the dinner given to the Earl of Elgin and suite, at the Railroad Jubilee in Boston, on the 19th of September, 1851.

Besides, sir, there never was an occasion which stood less in need of a laborious commentary to set forth its importance. If ever there was any thing which might be left to speak for itself,* it is this mighty and all but animated system of railroads, that now embraces New England and the neighboring States and Provinces, and which, more than realizing the accounts of those enormous sea-monsters of which we read in northern legends, winds its sinuous way through the gorges of the hills, leaps across the rivers, stretches over the plains, clings with one of its Briarean arms to Boston Bay, grapples to Diamond Rock with another, seizes with the right upon Providence and New York, and Albany, and Buffalo, and the furthest South, and the furthest West; while on the left he is already stretching forth his iron feelers upon New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. In the presence of this miracle of science, and art, and capital, I feel, sir, that we have no need of elaborate dissertations.

We have, sir, in this part of the country long been convinced of the importance of this system of communication; although it may be doubted whether the most sagacious and sanguine have even yet fully comprehended its manifold influences. We have, however, felt them on the seaboard and in the interior. We have felt them in the progress of our manufactures, in the extension of our commerce, in the growing demand for the products of agriculture, in the increase of our population. We have felt them prodigiously in transportation and travel. The inhabitant of the country has felt them in the ease with which he resorts to the city markets, whether as a seller or a purchaser. The inhabitant of the city has felt them in the facility with which he can get to a sister city, or to the country; with which he can get back to his native village; with which he can get a mouthful of pure mountain air, or run down in dog-days to Gloucester, or Phillips's beach, or Cohasset, or Plymouth, or New Bedford.

* At this moment, the sound of the steam whistle was heard from the neighboring station of the Providence Railroad.

I say, sir, we have felt the benefit of our railway system in these and a hundred other forms, in which, penetrating far beyond material interests, it intertwines itself with all the concerns and relations of life and society; but I have never had its benefits brought home to me so sensibly as on the present occasion. Think, sir, how it has annihilated time and space, in reference to this festival, and how greatly to our advantage and delight! When Dr. Franklin, in 1754, projected a plan of union for these colonies, with Philadelphia as the metropolis, he gave as a reason for this part of the plan, that Philadelphia was situated about half-way between the extremes, and could be conveniently reached even from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in eighteen days! I believe the President of the United States, who has honored us with his company at this joyous festival, was not more than twenty-four hours actually on the road from Washington to Boston; two to Baltimore, seven more to Philadelphia, five more to New York, and ten more to Boston.

And then Canada, sir, that once remote, inaccessible region, but now brought to our very door. If a journey had been contemplated in that direction in Dr. Franklin's time, it would have been with such feelings as a man would have now-a-days, who was going to start for the mouth of Copper Mine River and the shores of the Arctic Sea. But no, sir, such a thing was never thought of, never dreamed of. A horrible wilderness, rivers and lakes unspanned by human art, pathless swamps, dismal forests that it made the flesh creep to enter, threaded by nothing more practicable than the Indian's trail; echoing with no sound more inviting than the yell of the wolf and the warwhoop of the savage; these it was that filled the space between us and Canada. The inhabitants of the British Colonies never entered Canada in those days but as provincial troops or Indian captives; and lucky he that got back with his scalp on. This state of things existed less than one hundred years ago; there are men living in Massachusetts who were born before the last party of hostile Indians made an incursion to the banks of the Connecticut River.

As lately as when I had the honor to be the Governor of the Commonwealth, I signed the pension warrant of a man who lost his arm, in the year 1757, in a conflict with the Indians and French in one of the border wars, in those dreary Canadian forests. His Honor the Mayor (Mr. Bigelow) will recollect it, for he countersigned the warrant as Secretary of State. Now, sir, by the magic power of these modern works of art, the forest is thrown open, the rivers and the lakes are bridged, the valleys rise, the mountains bow their everlasting heads; and the Governor-General of Canada takes his breakfast in Montreal, and his dinner in Boston, reading a newspaper leisurely by the way which was printed a fortnight ago in London. In the excavations made in the construction of the Vermont railroads, the skeletons of fossil whales and palæozoic elephants have been brought to light. I believe, sir, *if a live* spermaceti whale had been seen spouting in Lake Champlain, or a native elephant had walked leisurely into Burlington from the neighboring woods of a summer's morning, it would not have been more wonderful than our fathers would have thought Lord Elgin's journey to us this week, could it have been foretold to them a century ago, with all the circumstances of despatch, convenience, and safety.

But, sir, as I have already said, it is not the material results of this railroad system in which its happiest influences are seen. I recollect that seven or eight years ago there was a project to carry a railroad into the lake country in England, into the heart of Westmoreland and Cumberland. Mr. Wordsworth, the lately deceased poet, a resident in the centre of this region, opposed the project. He thought that the retirement and seclusion of this delightful region would be disturbed by the panting of the locomotive, and the cry of the steam whistle. He published one or two sonnets in deprecation of the enterprise. Mr. Wordsworth was a kind-hearted man, as well as a most distinguished poet, but he was entirely mistaken, as it seems to me, in this matter. The quiet of a few spots may be disturbed by a railroad; but a hundred quiet spots are rendered accessible. The bustle of the station-

house may take the place of the druidical silence of some shady dell; but gracious heavens! sir, how many of those verdant cathedral arches, entwined by the hand of God in our pathless woods, are opened, for the first time since the creation of the world, to the grateful worship of man by these means of communication!

How little of rural beauty you lose, even in a country of comparatively narrow dimensions like England, how less than little in a country so vast as this, by works of this description. You lose a little strip along the line of the road which partially changes its character, while, as the compensation, you bring all this rural beauty,

"The warbling woodland, the resounding shore,
The pomp of groves, the garniture of fields,"

within the reach, not of a score of luxurious sauntering tourists, but of the great mass of the population, who have senses and tastes as keen as the keenest. You throw it open, with all its soothing and humanizing influences, to thousands who, but for your railways and steamers, would have lived and died without ever having breathed the lifegiving air of the mountains; yes, sir, to tens of thousands, who would have gone to their graves, and the sooner for the privation, without ever having caught a glimpse of the most magnificent and beautiful spectacle, which nature presents to the eye of man;—that of a glorious combing wave, a quarter of a mile long, as it comes swelling and breasting toward the shore, till its soft green ridge bursts into a crest of snow, and settles and dies along the whispering sands!

But even this is nothing compared with the great social and moral effects of this system, a subject admirably treated last Sunday in many of its aspects, in a sermon by Dr. Gannett, which has been kindly given to the public. All important, also, are its political effects in binding the States together as one family, and uniting us to our neighbors, as brethren and kinsfolk. I do not know, sir, (turning to Lord Elgin,) but in this way, from the kindly seeds which have

been sown this week, in your visit to Boston, and that of the distinguished gentlemen who have preceded and accompanied you, our children and grandchildren, as long as this great Anglo-Saxon race shall occupy the continent, may reap a harvest worth all the cost which has devolved on this generation.

THE HUSBANDMAN, MECHANIC, AND MANUFACTURER.*

I AM really, sir, much obliged to you and the company for this very friendly reception. If I still filled the place which I formerly, through the favor of the people of the Commonwealth, had the honor to fill, I should know better how to take it. I should regard it, in a good degree, as a tribute of respect to the office. But being nothing but a poor old hunker of an ex-governor, I hardly know how to thank you as I ought, for so friendly and cordial a welcome.

I am present to-day, sir, with a real and deep interest in the occasion. You have spoken of the Society of Middlesex Husbandmen and Manufacturers, as one of fifty years' standing. For more than half that time, I have had the honor to be a member of it; an unprofitable one, I must confess; and I attempted, a good many years ago, to perform, at the request of the Society, that duty which has been so ably and acceptably performed by the gentleman on my left, (Hon. Linus Child,) who has just addressed us, in another place.

I deem the great objects of the society and those of the Mechanic Association, whose members unite with it in this festival, of the utmost importance. They comprehend no small part of all that has been done for the culture and civilization of man. We do not, perhaps, enough reflect how much we owe to the arts of the husbandman, the mechanic, and the manufacturer; how much they do for us all, every

* Remarks made at the festival of the Middlesex Society of Husbandmen and Manufacturers, held at Lowell, on the 24th September, 1851, Judge E. R. Hoar in the chair.

day of our lives. Strip society of all that these arts do for it, and you reduce man at once to pastoral and savage life. You turn him out, like the wandering Arab or Tartar, to roam, with his flocks and herds, over arid deserts and dreary *steppes;* or like the aborigines of this continent, to earn a precarious living by hunting and fishing.

But although reflecting persons feel, when they consider the subject, that it is the arts and industry of the husbandman, mechanic, and manufacturer, by which man has been elevated in the social scale, and brought within the reach of moral influences, we do not enough consider that we have not yet gone as far as we can or ought; that vast as the progress is, which has been made in the cultivation of the useful arts of life, particularly of late years, we are still, no doubt, in the infancy of improvement; that man always must be in this respect in a state of infancy, because there are absolutely *no* bounds to his possible progress. The individual man grows old; but the race does not grow old; a tide of new life is for ever pouring in; fresh minds start into being, adding to their native powers all the advantage of the teachings of their predecessors; and thus keeping the race, (where no causes of degeneracy exist,) always young, vigorous, and progressive.

It has ever been a favorite idea of mine, sir, that we live on the verge of new improvements and discoveries equal to any yet made; that in the earth we tread, the air we breathe, the water we drink, and the substances of all kinds — mineral, vegetable, and animal — which we daily handle, there are the materials and elements of new discoveries, which, when made, will astonish the world. Yes, sir, the quarry and the forest, the soil and the air, the streams and the winds, are full of elemental principles, and hidden arts, and unseen adaptations to human comfort; — they are replete, bursting, I might say, with great truths. The intelligent artisan, I appeal to the worthy President of the Mechanic Association, (Mr. Francis,) if he has not experienced the emotion, the intelligent artisan can almost hear them address him like the imprisoned genius in the eastern tale, imploring him to touch

the spring, to speak the magic word, which shall call them into being.

I would apply these remarks to the husbandman, as well as to the mechanician, although, as you reminded us, sir, in your instructive discourse, from the earliest records of our race, the calling of the husbandman is coeval with man; and although the farmers, as a class, are said to be rather disposed to adhere to old ways. Yet, sir, I have no doubt that in the several departments of husbandry, in what relates to climate, soils, manures, animals, implements, seeds, roots, grains, and grasses, vast improvements are yet to be made; — improvements equal to what has been witnessed in any other branch of industry.

You will be surprised perhaps, sir, to hear me express the opinion that any improvement can be effected in reference to *climate;* — that being a thing outside, beyond, above us; which we must take as kind Providence pleases to send it. But much can be done, sir, to modify the influence of climate. In the neighborhood of large towns, (and the railways are constantly enlarging this neighborhood,) a very great business is carried on in the way of raising fine fruit, — particularly grapes, — and flowers under glass. I am afraid to repeat the estimates I have heard on this subject. It is an increasing business; and by the use of hot air, hot water, and steam, it will yet be carried a good deal further. I have not the least doubt that fuel enough is burned *to waste* annually, in every farmer's house in Middlesex county, to heat a conservatory, which, with careful culture, would furnish grapes in a single year enough to pay the outlay of the building.

Sir, the great subject of shelter, (which is the question of climate in another shape,) has not been enough considered. Whenever you cut down a large piece of woodland, you change the climate of the tract of land which was shielded by it from the prevailing winds. When you clothe the summit of a hill with a thriving plantation, you make a milder climate for the slope which is thus sheltered. I have seen tender shrubs killed by removing a building, which protected them from the north-east; and every one knows that delicate

fruits rarely fail to ripen in a thickly built city, which are very uncertain in the neighboring country. In short, sir, if any one doubts the extent to which climate consists in shelter, let him remark the difference between the north and the south side of a high compact wall, when the snow is going off in the spring. You will sometimes have a little glacier one side of the wall, and dandelions in blossom the other.

I saw the other day at Nahant, a very striking illustration of the effect of shelter, in producing a change of climate. On the highest part of that peninsula, — a spot over which the north-west wind in winter comes charged with needles' points and razors' edges, and where in the spring the east wind distils from his dripping wings a chilly dampness, that carries a raw feeling to your very bones, — I say, sir, on this spot, and on the northern slope of it, the perseverance and skill of an intelligent gentleman has created an entirely new climate. He has clothed the most elevated portion of the promontory with trees for shade. His cottage is hidden in a grove of his own planting, and that commenced (I think) less than twenty years ago. On the north-west slope of his grounds, he has a garden filled with the choicest fruits of the season; not raised under glass, but in the open air and on standard trees. I saw there the most beautiful pears I have seen this season, with peaches, plums, and apples. Well, sir, this as I said has not been effected by glass, by furnaces, or by hot walls; but by shelter, and not much of that. Rough slats of wood, higher or lower, as required, some of them twelve or fifteen, others twenty or twenty-five feet high; nailed up an inch or two apart; these have produced the mighty effect and created the climate of Provence on the cliffs of Nahant. A solid fence would not stand the mighty power of a north-wester on this exposed spot; the thin slats a few inches apart, stand very well, and seem to answer the purpose as effectually.

Well, my friends, you will be ready to exclaim, " Oh, yes, this is a single case, a very special instance, in which, by a great outlay of money, a desired result has been produced

on a small scale." I have no doubt Mr. Frederic Tudor, (I trust he will pardon me for making free with his name,) has expended a good deal of money on his house and grounds, at Nahant, but it did not strike me that the fence of slats, the main instrument of effecting the change of climate, could have cost a great deal. I think any farmer, who lives near a saw-mill, could, for five dollars, buy slabs enough to do all that has been done by Mr. Tudor, in this respect.

And now, sir, having alluded to this gentleman's operations at Nahant, and the expense bestowed upon them, I will observe, that they furnish another striking illustration of what has been done, in the way of improvement, by intelligence and perseverance in our own day and neighborhood. The gold expended by this gentleman at Nahant, whether it is little or much, was originally derived, not from California, but from the ice of our own Fresh Pond. It is all Middlesex gold, every pennyweight of it. The sparkling surface of our beautiful ponds, restored by the kindly hand of nature as often as it is removed, has yielded and will continue to yield, ages after the wet diggings and the dry diggings of the Sacramento and the Feather Rivers are exhausted, a perpetual reward to the industry bestowed upon them. The sallow genius of the mine creates but once; when rifled by man, the glittering prize is gone for ever. Not so, with our pure crystal lakes. Them, with each returning winter, the austere but healthful spirit of the North,

> —— with mace petrific, cold and dry,
> As with a trident smites, and fixes firm
> As Delos floating once.

This is a branch of Middlesex industry that we have a right to be proud of. I do not think we have yet done justice to it; and I look upon Mr. Tudor, the first person who took up this business, as a great public benefactor. He has carried comfort in its most inoffensive and salutary form, not only to the dairies and tables of our own community, but to those of other regions, throughout the tropics; yes, sir, to the

furthest East. If merit and benefits conferred gave power, it might be said of him, with more truth than of any prince or ruler living,

—— super et Garamantas et Indos
Proferet imperium.

I think, my friends, you will not be sorry in reference to this product of our own Middlesex, to hear a little anecdote of what once happened to myself. When I had the honor to represent the country at London, I was a little struck one day, at the royal drawing-room, to see the President of the Board of Control, (the board charged with the superintendence of the government of India,) approaching me with a stranger, at that time much talked of in London, the Babu Dwarkanauth Tagore. This person, who is not now living, was a *Hindoo* of great wealth, liberality, and intelligence. He was dressed with oriental magnificence; he had on a rich cashmere shawl, held together with a large diamond broach on his head, by way of turban, and another cashmere round his body. His countenance and manners were those of a highly intelligent and well-bred person, as he was. After the ceremony of introduction, he said he wished to make his acknowledgments to me, as the American Minister, for the benefits which my countrymen had conferred on his. I did not at first know what he referred to; I thought he might have in view the Mission Schools, knowing as I did, that he himself had done a great deal for education. He immediately said that he referred to the cargoes of ice sent from America to India, conducing not only to comfort but health; adding that numerous lives were saved every year by applying lumps of American ice to the head of the patient, in cases of high fever. He asked me if I knew from what part of America the ice came. Well, sir, it gave me great pleasure to tell him that I lived, when at home, within a very short distance of the spot from which it was brought. It was a most agreeable circumstance to hear, in this authentic way, that the sagacity and enterprise of my friend and neighbor had converted the pure waters of our lakes into the means,

not only of promoting health, but saving life at the antipodes. I must say, I almost envied Mr. Tudor the honest satisfaction which he could not but feel, in reflecting that he had been able to stretch out an arm of benevolence from the other side of the globe, by which he was every year raising up his fellow men from the verge of the grave. How few of all the foreigners who have entered India, from the time of Sesostris or Alexander the Great to the present day, can say as much! Others, at best, have gone to govern, too often to plunder and to slay. Our countryman has gone there, not to destroy life, but to save it; — to benefit them, while he reaps a well-earned harvest himself.

And thus having got you, my friends, to the banks of the Ganges, in my rambling discourse, I am going to bring you back to Middlesex, — to Lowell itself, — by a short cut; and furnish you, at the same time, another illustration of the progress of the arts you cultivate, and of that connection between the husbandman and the manufacturer, which was so ably set forth by the orator of the day. You are all aware that great quantities of coarse cottons used to be brought thirty years ago from India. It was an important branch of commerce; the advertising columns in our newspapers were filled with long lists of hard Hindoo names of goods imported from Calcutta, and now seldom heard of. Of the younger portion of this company, few, I suppose, have ever seen a piece of this India cotton, such as was formerly imported into the United States in great quantities. I will presently show you a specimen of it, bought and worn by me forty-four years ago; — but I must first tell you on what occasion, and for what purpose.

In the month of February, 1807, I was sent for a few months to the academy at Exeter. There was at that time among the pupils of the academy a military company, of which all the boys, who were emulous of serving their country in arms as well as arts, were members. I joined it, sir, and was tolerably successful as a soldier. I did not get to be a commission or even a warrant officer; but I rose in due time to be right hand man — or rather boy — of the rear

rank of the fourth section; which, for a redheaded urchin under thirteen years of age, and standing four feet six in his shoes, was thought to be doing famously. Well, sir, our corps had a uniform, and that uniform was a jacket and overalls of plain white India cotton. It was intended, I suppose, by this pacific garb, to tame down the terrors of our array; to smooth, in some degree, the wrinkled front of grim-visaged war; and to show that, even while preparing for its dire summons, we were still willing to put on the vestments of white-robed peace. At any rate, sir, we wore white jackets and trousers; and here is my jacket, which has, by I know not what domestic chance, been preserved to the present day.

Here it is, sir, an authentic specimen of the India cotton once brought in great abundance to this country. The name of such a fabric is unknown to me; whether it is from a piece of Baftas, or Sanahs, or Beerboom Gurrahs, or Mow Mahmoodies, or Gutchpoor Mammicollies, I pretend not to say. I can only say that they used to come by the ship-load; and specie by the ship-load went back to pay for them. It is, as you see, coarse as hop-sack; you could almost shoot peas between the threads. If you ever wove a piece of cloth like that at Lowell, you would think it dear at five cents per yard;—and yet I assure you that to the best of my recollection, this very piece cost, at retail, when it was bought at Exeter, in New Hampshire, forty-four years ago, twenty-five cents per yard!

Now, sir, compare the cloth of which this poor little jacket is made, with the cottons furnished at a third of the price, at the present day, by the manufacturers of Middlesex, and see the progress of the useful arts. Then remember that the cottons of India were to be paid for in specie, the least advantageous form of trade; and that the cottons of this country are manufactured from a material which grows on the soil of the United States; and is woven in your own looms, by those who eat bread raised by your own husbandmen. Recollect all this, and you will, I think, understand a little

better what Middlesex manufacturers have done for Middlesex husbandmen;—and what both, while they sustain each other, have done for the rest of the community.

I beg leave, Mr. President and gentlemen, in taking my seat, to thank you again for your most kind reception.

TREATMENT OF ANIMALS.*

GENTLEMEN:—

I DO not take the chair this evening either as a scientific or practical farmer. I have no right to occupy it in either capacity; but I should wish to be regarded as a citizen, deeply impressed with the importance of Agriculture, as the interest, which in many respects lies at the foundation of every other interest in a civilized country, especially as that which feeds and clothes them all. It is also to a great extent the depositary of the political power of the State. It is impossible that a person who has contemplated with any degree of attention the condition of man, where his nature has been most improved, should not be convinced of the importance of this leading pursuit.

The subject of discussion this evening is "Farm Stock," under which comprehensive name may be included all the domestic animals associated with man, as the humble partners of his industry or as purveyors to his wants. These are, I need scarce say, the horse, the ox family, the swine, the sheep, the goat, the dog, and a few other quadrupeds, and various members of the winged race. The list varies a little in different countries and climates. The Laplander has added the reindeer, the Arab the camel, the Hindoo the elephant, the Peruvian the llama.

These animals, with their proper care and treatment, form one of the most important topics in all discussions relative to

* Remarks made on taking the chair, at the meeting of the Legislative Agricultural Society, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, in Boston, on the 17th of February, 1852.

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agriculture. I should be disposed to say "the most important," if I did not feel that there is a temptation to give that designation to every branch of the subject, when we take it up for separate consideration. But certainly, the subject of "Farm Stock" leads directly to inquiries of the highest order; and forcibly, I think, shows the importance of agricultural education.

Allow me to dwell a moment on this point. In all that regards the soil, methods of culture, and implements of husbandry, we deal with lifeless matter, operating by mechanical forces or chemical affinities; a vast field of inquiry, in which the most important results have been attained. Where husbandry has been greatly improved, thin and sterile soils have been transformed by a mixture of those materials in which they were deficient; others have been regenerated by drainage; others rendered fertile by irrigation; and improved implements of the most varied kinds, such as McCormick's reaper, have put a new face upon agriculture. Further improvements in this department will no doubt be made; but in all this we deal with the properties of inorganic matter.

When we turn to the subject of crops, to the various articles of vegetable growth which spring from the soil, as the food or the clothing of man, or for manufacturing purposes of any kind, we evidently encounter a higher principle, that of organized vegetable life; — the curious structure and functions of every living thing which grows out of the ground, from the humblest herb, which reaches its maturity and is gathered or perishes in a few weeks, to the oak, which braves the storms of centuries. Every one feels that when we enter upon this branch of agricultural inquiry, we have to deal with higher principles, and a class of objects in which the lowest and most imperfectly organized is infinitely beyond the reach of the most consummate skill of the engineer or of the mechanician. A man may make a chronometer which will carry a ship in safety to the furthest ends of the earth. He may construct a telescope with which he can resolve the nebula in Orion. But if he should devote his whole life to the effort, and gather into his tubes and retorts every element in exact

proportion which enters into its composition, he could not put together a living blade of grass. There is a secret in that word *life* which defies his most subtile operations and his most delicate reagents.

And yet this is comparatively an humble branch of agricultural inquiry. The subject of discussion this evening far transcends it. Higher principles rise to view. This plain, business-like designation of "Farm Stock," ushers us, so to say, into the sanctuary of animated nature. Mystery sits guardian at the portal. The vegetable world, as I have said, has organic structure and principles of life, assimilation, growth, and reproduction, which bear a certain analogy to the same qualities and processes in animated natures, but which still fall vastly below those natures in sensation and instinct, the name which we give to that lower degree of intelligence and reason with which brute animals, as we call them, are endowed.

Now, the nature, laws, and requirements of this organization, of these partially intelligent and rational instincts, force themselves upon us, when we take up the subject of this evening's discussion; and turn our thoughts to those humble partners of our toils with which Providence has associated us. I say with which Providence has associated us; for I think there are few things in which the wisdom and goodness of a superintending Providence are more apparent, than in the relation established between man and those domestic animals which compose his family.

I suppose there was a time in the infancy of our race, when the horse, the ox, the swine, the sheep, the ass, the goat, the dog, were as wild as the deer and buffalo, the wolf and the tiger at the present day,—as wild though not as savage. What could have conducted man to the selection of those animals with which he has surrounded himself, to share his labors and minister to his wants, but the unseen power of Providence guiding him to those whom time and patience would enable him to domesticate, to the exclusion of others destined to preserve their native ferocity? It is evident to

my mind, that man was led into these associations by a wisdom beyond his own; that those higher principles which led him to organize families, communities, and nations, have led him also into these humbler, but scarcely less important associations with the domestic animals. That there is a mysterious community between us and them is strikingly shown in the wonderful phenomenon of vaccination; a mild and gentle disease which we have borrowed from the cow, and which furnishes us an all but infallible protection against one of the most frightful maladies that lay waste mankind. Perhaps it was with reference to this community of nature between men and the lower animals, that the Roman jurists were led to define the law of nature as that law which is common to all animated beings.

But I feel that it would be out of place to indulge further in this train of remark. I will only intrude upon your patience by two practical observations on the consequences which flow from the nature of animals as I have described it; and which bear directly upon our daily treatment of them.

The first remark is, that as they are endowed with an animal nature quite similar to our own, they are subject to *laws of health* in a great degree analogous. If a farmer would have his stock in good order for work, or milk, or meat, it is just as necessary that they should be kept in good health, as that we ourselves should be in good health for the discharge of the duties or the enjoyment of the blessings of life. I do not say that any of the domestic animals, certainly not that any of the larger ones, have a fibre as delicate as our own, or are so easily affected by disturbing causes. Yet I rather think we go much too far in the other extreme, and expect our domestic animals to live and work under conditions incompatible with any thing like the healthy play of the muscular and vital powers. I can never believe that a horse and a man are so very different in this respect, that while a man requires a moderate temperature, pure air, work and exercise proportioned to his strength, it suits a horse to be shut up in a heated stable, taken out and driven till he is ready to drop,

and then be put back again into the heated stable to drink from a trough where the water has been drooled* over till it makes you sick to look at it, and to breathe an atmosphere loaded with the exhalations of the dung-heap. A sufficiency of wholesome food, given at regular intervals, an adequate supply of clean water, free access of fresh air, and work within his strength, are just as necessary to the health of the horse or ox as of the man, and if these necessary conditions are withheld, the effect upon one will be very similar to the effect on the other.

The other remark which I would make springs from the same principle, and is of a kindred nature. These domestic animals not only have active powers like our own, subject to the same laws of health, but they have a nervous system closely resembling ours. They are sensible to all the degrees and varieties of pain; and, as if to mark a sacred community of suffering between us and them, they express it in the same way that we do. Though Providence has given to man what it has denied to the lower animals, the power of describing his sufferings in words, yet, in the extremity of pain, he abandons language, and takes refuge in groans and cries. The suffering beast and the suffering man speak the same inarticulate language. And the poor dumb animal is entitled to the same exemption from gratuitous pain. The person who subjects his horse or his ox to unnecessary suffering, may walk on two legs and counterfeit humanity, but he is a brute.

But the domestic animals have a higher claim to kind treatment. They are capable of attachment; they are grateful for good usage; they are influenced by the indescribable magic of the human voice, when it speaks the tones of love. I remember reading in the newspaper a short time since, a letter from an emigrant to Oregon, who had crossed the western desert. He said that when the hard journey was about two thirds over, and the whole party, man and beast, were almost

* One of the expressive provincial terms brought by our forefathers from England, and erroneously stigmatized as Americanisms.

broken down by the sufferings and privations of the weary march, there was in the large melancholy eye of the patient ox an expression of uncomplaining endurance, which was enough to move a man to tears. We have all read of the dog who watched the dead body of his master, starting at every flutter of his garments, till he died himself of starvation. And will you beat and kick and goad and starve creatures like these? For myself I want no better test of a considerate, prudent farmer, than his treatment of his animals. Prudent, did I say; it is a matter which rises far above prudence. It belongs to duty and morals. If I was obliged to choose between them, I had rather, so help me Heaven, go before my great and final Judge, with the unenlightened faith of the "Poor Indian,"

> "Who thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
> His faithful dog shall bear him company;"

than with the religion of the professing Christian who goes to church on Sunday, and on weekdays beats his oxen over the face with a walnut whip-handle; or lashes the legs and flanks of his overloaded horse, till the strained tendons are ready to snap from their attachments.

I beg pardon, gentlemen, for taking up so much of your time. I thank you for your kind attention, and I now commit the subject of discussion to those who are much better able to do it justice.

EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION.*

THE question before the Association is on the motion of the Rev. Mr. Alger, that the report of Mr. Barnard should be accepted and printed. Before putting the question, I beg leave to express the interest with which I have listened to the report, my sympathy with the objects of the present meeting, and my warm approval of the system of benevolent operations pursued at the Warren Street Chapel. My testimony is of no great value, inasmuch as I have been less conversant than I could wish with the affairs of the institution, having been resident in Boston but a small part of the time since its establishment. The report, however, speaks for itself. The statement of facts which it contains, the bare enumeration of its benevolent labors, and the simple eloquence of this recital, supersede the necessity of much comment. The gentlemen who have preceded me have supplied all that was wanting (if any thing was wanting) in the way of general reflections upon the very interesting and important system of practical benevolence pursued at the Warren Street Chapel, and the other institutions resembling it in Boston.

Understanding, however, that it is not the practice of the person who has the honor to fill the chair at this anniversary meeting to confine himself to a silent participation in its doings, I will, with the permission of the audience, embrace the opportunity of making a few remarks upon a topic which has been alluded to by his honor the mayor, and the worthy su-

* Remarks made by Mr. Everett, as chairman of the anniversary meeting of the Association for the support of the Warren Street Chapel, in Boston, on the 18th of April, 1852.

perintendent of the public schools, (Mr. Bishop,) I mean the adaptation of the Warren Street Chapel to meet the wants which grow out of the new condition of things existing in the community; for it cannot be denied that a state of things in a high degree novel has come rapidly over our beloved and time-honored city, changing very materially the character of its population; a change of pressing urgency, whether as respects us who are immediately concerned, or the influences under which our children are to be brought up, and the condition of society which awaits them when grown to manhood. If I mistake not, the most superficial contemplation of this subject will throw much light upon the value of an institution like that whose anniversary has brought us together this evening.

You will all understand me to allude to the prodigious immigration into the country which has taken place within the last few years, and which now amounts to little less than half a million per annum; a phenomenon, I believe, unparalleled in the history of the world. Whether this immigration is destined to go on increasing, as some suppose, or has reached its term, and is likely henceforward to fall off, is a question to be settled by time and experience alone. It will, no doubt, however, continue for a long time to be very considerable. There is no reason to think, that, while the greater part of us are on the stage, there will not be an annual influx of large numbers of foreigners. With his honor the mayor, I use that word in no invidious sense; but, with him, acknowledge the new-comers as brethren of the great human family.

Now, this prodigious immigration is, of course, not to be an idle statistical fact. It has already produced, and will continue to produce, important consequences, and, as usually happens in human things, both for good and for evil. Of the latter description is the rapid increase of that sort and degree of poverty which demands public and private relief. I am aware that not a few immigrants are persons of substance, and bring a good deal of property with them, which they invest in the purchase and cultivation of land. Others bring health, strength, and skill, and become valuable citizens in this way.

But, of course, a number are persons of straitened means; many are flying from want. What little they can scrape together is consumed in the expense of removal from home, the cost of the outfit and passage, and their establishment here. There is no margin for accidents. If they miscarry in their adventure; if, on getting here, they fail to meet the relatives and friends who have encouraged them to come over; if they want the energy required for a new country; if they want self-control to resist the temptations of cheap indulgence; above all, if health fails them, they drop at once into dependence. If they keep up the semblance of a household, the main resource is too often the dismal basket which we see going round the streets on the arms of the unhappy children, devoted, almost from the cradle, to this wretched industry; and, if this resource fails, the almshouse is too often the only substitute. I suppose that it is in this way that the chief increase of pauperism, induced by immigration, takes place.

I am aware that it is not the only way. An impression exists, founded, I fear, in fact, but, I trust for the honor of humanity, somewhat exaggerated, that a practice prevails in some parts of Europe, especially in England and Ireland, of carrying on a transportation of what may be called professed pauperism at public expense. The almshouses are emptied of their inmates, not excepting poor lunatics, who are thrown, without remorse, upon the United States. Such a practice I should regard as little better than highway robbery, or piracy upon the high seas; but I cannot think it exists to any considerable extent.

We must not infer its existence from the considerable number of paupers that are found in the train of immigration. Society in Europe consists of a gradation, of which, except from description, we know but little here, — from heights of fortune almost fabulous, to depths of misery more profound than any of which we have much experience. The line is difficult to be drawn between the classes adjacent to each other. Whenever the population is in excess, and the ablebodied men cannot always find work, and the wages of labor for

those who do are barely sufficient to keep soul and body together, by the side of the class which crowds the almshouse, there is a still more numerous class of kindred and friends that hardly keep out of it. Of those whom we call pauper-immigrants, many, no doubt, have been helped to come to this country by relations and friends who stand a step above them in the social scale, who have found their way to America, and sent back their first earnings to help their weaker brethren to the land of promise. If some of these should relapse into the state of dependence here, to which they have been accustomed at home, we can hardly complain, that, in taking so much of the labor, skilled and unskilled, of the healthy, industrious, and serviceable portion of the community, we should have to take at the same time a share of its infirmity and want. With the stout and vigorous who are able and willing to work, who bring with them what we most want, strong hands to cultivate our boundless wastes of fertile land, and to aid us in the great constructions necessary for the development of the natural resources of the country, we must not murmur if there is also poured in upon us no inconsiderable amount of dependent and often helpless unthrift and poverty.

This is in the nature of human things, and is not to be complained of. The difficulty is that the increase of immigration has been so great and rapid, that, at first, the provisions to receive and dispose of it are inadequate. The old standing laws, which did very well for two hundred years, do not meet the new exigencies. The resources of public and private benevolence are heavily burdened; and when the best nas been done, no very great impression seems to have been made on the mass of suffering. Too many mendicants swarm in our streets; and our hospitals, almshouses, and lunatic asylums are crowded with the misery of Europe.

These are, no doubt, unwelcome facts, and, if belonging to a state of things likely to be permanent, calculated at first to produce discouragement, and even alarm. I cannot deny that, at times, I have so regarded them; but upon the whole I think there is no ground for apprehension. We may be

somewhat incommoded; but I do not believe the framework of society among us is going to be broken down, or seriously shaken. There is land enough in America for the inhabitants of all Europe, if they choose to come here; and the tide will no doubt continue to flow till the old world is relieved of its superabundant population, and the inducements to emigrate are outweighed by the restoration of a healthier state of things at home.

In the mean time we must make the best of what is not to be avoided. We must first, by judicious legislation on the part of Congress or the separate States, (and if Congress will not give us the requisite laws, the States must do the best they can for themselves,) endeavor to alleviate the burden which is so suddenly cast upon us. It is fair and just that immigration to a certain extent should be a self-supporting operation. The vigorous and healthy portion of it, who enter immediately into the enjoyment of the great advantages which the country holds out to all who choose to come to it, should bear a proportionate part of the burden of the pauperism that comes with them. This is a result which can be brought about without difficulty and without hardship by judicious laws steadily executed. It is, I am persuaded, owing principally to the novelty of the existing state of things, to the want of experience, the want of time, and the difficulty of getting any matter of business through Congress, that the relations of foreign pauperism have remained so long in an unsatisfactory state.

Still, however, when all has been done that can be accomplished by the authority of Congress, the State government, or that of the city, the legitimate sphere of private benevolence will be but little narrowed. It was not intended, my friends, in the great economy of Providence, that it should be narrowed. "Ye have the poor always," — always will have. It is doubtful whether civilized society will ever exist in a state of such glittering prosperity, that this sober and sobering tint will not cast its shade over the brighter lights of the picture. I agree with my worthy friend, the superintendent of the schools, that it is extremely questionable whether the virtues

of which our poor nature is capable, could be carried to the attainable point of perfection, without the kindly exercise of the duties of Christian benevolence toward our suffering fellow-creatures. At any rate, however desirable it might be to live in a community where there are no objects of charity, there is not the least reason to think that such a state of things will ever exist here. Even if we could by a wise course of policy bring the permanent elements of our population into such a state, our lot is cast at one of the great points of communication between America and Europe; we shall, for an indefinite period, have to take charge of a considerable amount of foreign poverty; and after society, as a political and municipal power, has done all that humanity warrants to limit its amount, it will remain for private benevolence, in all its forms, to carry on the blessed work of relief.

And here comes up the practical problem, which you, sir, (Mr. Barnard,) have done so much to solve. How shall this relief be afforded in such a way as to do the greatest amount of permanent good, with the least admixture of temporary evil? Reflecting persons have long since come to the conclusion that mere almsgiving at our doors, or in the street, is seldom a deed of real charity. There are, no doubt, a few cases in which the want is so sharp and urgent, that it must be relieved upon the spot; but almsgiving as a resource, almsgiving which, though casual on one side, is calculated upon by the other party, is worse than worthless, either as a charity or a dependence. That there should be any considerable numbers that live by it is shocking. It is grievous to reflect, that in this great, prosperous, and liberal city of Boston, there are not hundreds, but thousands, who, when they issue from their cellars and sheds in the morning, do not know whence the day's food is to come. This is a state of things at once reproachful to the community, and ruinous to its victims. It sinks them to the lowest point of depression, physical and moral. It implies an amount of suffering which the heart aches to reflect upon, together with an amount of crime not inferior to the suffering. What else can you expect from the poor creatures, when two are engaged in a death-

struggle for the bread of which there is not enough for one? Does not such a state of things infallibly lead to all the varieties of crime against property, — pilfering, fraud, theft, robbery; nay, more, to the darkest deeds of blood, — to the murder of the born and unborn?

Not only is mere almsgiving productive of evil rather than good, but even our system of public charity — the poor-house establishment — though perhaps as well administered here as in any part of the world, is, I fear, far from doing all that could be desired. It is true that the almshouse relieves the wants of physical nature; the naked are clothed, the hungry fed, habits of excess are stopped, and employment is provided for those able to work. But I fear the great instrument of improvement, the intellectual, moral, and spiritual enlightenment of its inmates, is not very successfully employed. I *doubt if*, as a class, the inmates of our almshouses are made better by being the adoptive children of the public. I know that, in general, this very important part of the social system is thought, in this country, to be in a pretty satisfactory state, owing, probably, to the fact that few but those who are incurably broken down, become permanent recipients of the public bounty; but in England, although supported at an annual cost of twenty-five or thirty millions of dollars, the almshouse is considered as an expensive evil, tolerated only because the sagacity of the benevolent has not been able to devise a substitute not open to still greater objections.

And thus, my friends, we are brought to the moral of my remarks, — the superiority of the Warren Street system, which aims to relieve suffering by raising the intellectual, moral, and religious character of the poor; not only for the sake of giving them, in this way, greater facilities toward earning a livelihood, but for the sake of imparting to them that self-respect which is the chief safeguard against a life of dependence. This is the great benefit of all education; not the positive knowledge it bestows, however useful and convenient, but the elevation of mind and the sense of character derived from the possession of any kind of useful knowledge;

from being placed in conscious communion with nature, with kindred mind, with the spiritual world, with God himself.

It is in this way that we realize all that imagination has dreamed of the hidden virtue and occult qualities of things. The enlightened knowledge of their material properties inspires the mind with a mysterious elevation, and endows it with spiritual treasures, beyond all that alchemy or astrology could promise. In reference to the science of the stars, I am ready to repeat what the old poet has said of their influence: —

> "I 'll not believe that the Arch-architect
> With all these fires the heavenly arches deckt
> Only for show, and, with their glistering shields,
> To amaze poor shepherds watching in the fields.
> I 'll not believe that the least flower which pranks
> Our garden borders or the common banks,
> And the least stone, that in her warming lap
> Our kind nurse earth doth covetously wrap,
> Hath some peculiar virtue of its own,
> And that the glorious stars of heaven have none."

If they do not teach us our nativities, they teach us, what it more imports us to know, that "the hand that made" us and "them is divine."

On the other hand, the utterly ignorant person leads the existence of a brute beast, of a poisonous weed, of a dull clod. Napoleon said that he supposed there were persons buried in the gloomy depths of Paris who had never heard his name, or had no distinct idea who or what he was. I fear that there is many a poor creature roaming our streets, who has no idea, I do not say of the history or geography of the land in which he lives, but no idea of moral relations, — none of the duties of parent and child, of magistrate and citizen, — no idea of life, of time, of eternity, of Christ, or of God.

Who does not feel, that, so long as this is the case, true charity is not to feed the hungry, but to impart spiritual food to the starving soul. This, sir, is the great object of your

institution and of your labors; an object compared with which the benevolence which begins and ends in almsgiving deserves not the name of charity.

But I must crave the indulgence of the audience for having taken up so much of their time, at this late hour, with a train of remark in which their own reflections, prompted by the report of the evening, will have anticipated me.

FESTIVAL OF THE ALUMNI OF HARVARD.*

BRETHREN, —

I BID you a cordial welcome to these academic festivities. We fulfil a long-cherished desire in holding this joyous meeting of so many of the children of our venerable *Alma Mater*. We indulge the fond hope that this day's success may lead to a regular celebration of the feast of the Alumni. We trust, if it have not yet arrived, that the time is near at hand, when a periodical if not an annual festival of this kind shall bring together, from the North and from the South, from the East and from the West, from all the borders of their dispersion, the grateful children of Harvard, to renew the kindly associations of early days, and to pour into the cup of life, in which time and fortune and care have mingled their various ingredients, one sweet drop of balm from the academic Gilead. We are all aware of the difficulties which have of late stood in the way of such a meeting as we now witness. I am sure you are all sensible to the courtesy of a portion of our brethren who have removed, the present year, the chief of those obstacles.

The duties of the chair, on the present occasion, have at once been rendered in some respects more difficult, and in some respects easier of performance, by the rich intellectual treat which we have enjoyed on the other side of the street. Comparatively easy, inasmuch as I shall readily be excused from attempting to go over any part of the ground which has

* At the dinner table on the 22d of July, 1852, being the annual celebration of the Alumni of Harvard College.

been so ably travelled by the orator of the day;* but still difficult, in performing even the humble part which custom assigns to the chair on an occasion like this, to gain audience from ears in which the charm of such a voice is still lingering. He has treated with so much taste, judgment, and power, — with such choice of learning and beauty of illustration, — all the appropriate topics of the occasion, that common prudence teaches me not to attempt to say in other words what he has said in a manner not to be mended.

> "To gild refined gold, to paint the lily,
> To throw a perfume on the violet,
> To smooth the ice, to add another hue
> Unto the rainbow, or, with taper light,
> To seek the beauteous eye of Heaven to garnish,
> Is wasteful and ridiculous excess."

Instead of engaging in any such foolish attempt, I ought rather to apologize to you, brethren, for being here at all. I feel that it is little better than high-treason against that impersonal despotic sovereign who has lately set up his throne among us under the name of "Young America." A few weeks since, I received a letter from a literary friend at the South, a careful student of our language, asking of me if I could, by chance, give him any information as to the etymology and real meaning of the phrase "old fogy." There was an inquiry to put to a man who entered college forty-five years ago this Commencement! It was like questioning a man whose father had fallen into the hands of justice, as to the comparative strength of manilla and hempen rope. I, however, put as good a face as I could on the matter; I answered that I was aware, in a general way, what the phrase implied; it was the essence, the quintessence, of all that is obsolete, square-toed, and behind the age; that in the language of our school-boy declamation, "the atrocious crime of being fifty or sixty years old was one not to be palliated or denied:" but, as for throwing any light on *such* a subject, I should as soon think of throwing light on the dark side of

* Hon. R. C. Winthrop.

the moon. Whether the phrase comes from "fog," (watery vapor,) to indicate the cloudy stupidity which of course settles upon a man who has reached that very uncertain period of life which is called "a certain age;" whether it is from "fog," as signifying the yellow, withered grass, which covers the fields in autumn, and appropriately symbolizes

> "The lean and slippered pantaloon,
> With spectacles on nose,"

who, though turned of fifty, presumes to take up the room on Commencement days and at Alumni feasts, which were better left to the young and *verdant*, — I say, brethren, on these points I did not undertake to decide. In fact, I was rather nettled at having the inquiry addressed to me. I thought my friend might have sought the information of some one who could speak from experience, if any such individual could be found, which, however, may be doubted: for as "enough," applied to money, means a little more than a man has; so I suppose "old fogy" (though I really know nothing about it) means a person at any rate a little older than the one of whom the inquiry is made. Of course, brethren, it does not include any one at this table; least of all, any of us youthful fellows, who entered college as lately as 1807.

But short as the time is since I entered college, (only half as long as that which has elapsed since the close of the seven years' war,) it has made me the witness of wonderful changes, both materially and intellectually, in all that concerns our *Alma Mater*. Let me sketch you the outlines of the picture, fresh to my mind's eye as the image in the *camera*, which the precincts of the college exhibited in 1807. The Common was then uninclosed. It was not so much traversed by roads in all directions; it was at once all road and no road at all, — a waste of mud and of dust, according to the season, without grass, trees, or fences. As to the streets in those days, the "Appian Way" existed then as now; and I must allow that it bore the same resemblance then as now to the *Regina Viarum*, by which the consuls and proconsuls of Rome went forth to the conquest of Epirus, Macedonia, and the East.

Neither Church street nor any of the streets north of Kirkland street, (not then so called,) nor Quincy street, nor any of its parallels, nor Cambridge street, nor, I think, Broadway, nor Harvard street, nor Mount Auburn street, had then been opened. The old Charlestown Road, now known as Kirkland street, (probably the first road opened in Massachusetts after the landing of the venerable progenitor of the orator of the day,) and the old road through Cambridgeport, — not a very old road then, for it was laid out about 1793, — furnished the only direct communication with Boston. The only public vehicle was an old-fashioned two-horse stage-coach, which made the trip twice a day. The railway, I need not add, is a thing of yesterday. What Steward Gannett would have thought, if told that in forty years his quiet mansion would give way to a station-house, it would be hard to say.

As to public buildings in the neighborhood of the University, with the exception of the Episcopal church, no one of the churches now standing was then in existence. The old parish church has disappeared, with its square pews, and galleries from which you might almost jump into the pulpit. It occupied a portion of the space between Dane Hall and the old Presidential House. I planted a row of elm and oak trees a few years ago on the spot where it stood, for which, if for nothing else, I hope to be kindly remembered by posterity. The wooden building now used as a gymnasium, and, I believe, for some other purposes, then stood where Lyceum Hall now stands. It was the county court house; and there I often heard the voice of the venerable Chief Justice Parsons. Graduates' Hall did not exist; but on a part of the site, and behind the beautiful linden trees still flourishing, was an old black wooden house, the residence of the professors of mathematics. A little further to the north, and just at the corner of Church street, which was not then opened, stood what was dignified in the annual college catalogue (which was printed on one side of a sheet of paper, and was a novelty) as "The College House." The cellar is still visible. By the students, this edifice was disrespectfully called "Wiswall's Den," or, for brevity, "the Den." I lived

in it in my freshman year. Whence the name of "Wiswall's Den" was derived, I hardly dare say: there was something worse than "old fogy" about it. There was a dismal tradition that, at some former period, it had been the scene of a murder. A brutal husband had dragged his wife by the hair up and down the stairs, and then killed her. On the anniversary of the murder, and what day that was no one knew, there were sights and sounds, — flitting garments daggled in blood, plaintive screams, *stridor ferri tractæque catenæ*, — enough to appall the stoutest sophomore. But, for myself, I can truly say, that I got through my freshman year without having seen the ghost of Mr. Wiswall or his lamented lady. I was not, however, sorry when the twelvemonth was up, and I was transferred to that light, airy, well-ventilated room, No. 20 Hollis; being the inner room, ground-floor, north entry of that ancient and respectable edifice.

As to academic buildings, properly so called, neither Graduates' Hall, Dane Hall, Holworthy, University, or Gore Hall, nor Divinity Hall, nor the Scientific School, nor the Observatory, then existed. Of the fifteen or twenty dwelling-houses in or near the college inclosure, the old Presidential House and the house east of it alone were standing in my time, and one or two then standing are gone. The college buildings then in existence were Massachusetts, Harvard, Hollis, Holden, and Stoughton, the latter of which was built but three years before I entered. On the lower floor of Harvard were the chapel and commons hall; above were the library and the philosophy chamber. But Holden, although the smallest of the five buildings, was, in some respects, the most remarkable. Its western end was divided into four recitation-rooms; its eastern end contained, on the ground-floor, the chemical lecture-room and laboratory; and up stairs the anatomical lecture and dissecting-rooms. In these last-named rooms was given all the instruction to the students of the medical school, and to the undergraduates of the senior class who chose also to attend the lectures. In the four rooms just mentioned, at the western end of the building, the four college classes attended their daily recitations, not in subdivisions as now, but

altogether; the classes being about as large as at present. Yet there was no crowd or inconvenience. There was room for every tutor, and every professor, every course, and every class. The smallest classes filled it; but the largest did not crowd it. Nor was the want of elbow-room ever felt, till we moved out of Holden into ten or fifteen spacious lecture-rooms and recitation-rooms in the other college halls, in which we have suffered greatly for want of accommodation ever since. I really think the name of "Holden" must have something to do with its capacity for *holding* everybody and every thing.

As to these beautiful grounds, now so great an ornament to the institution, they were far less so then. A handsome white paling bounded them on the west; and there, I think, the change has not been an improvement. Within the grounds, a low unpainted board fence ran along south of Massachusetts and east of Hollis and Stoughton, at a distance of two or three rods, forming an inclosure of the shabbiest kind. The college wood-yard was advantageously posted on the site of University Hall; and further to the north-east, stretched an indefinite extent of wild pasture and whortleberry swamp, the depths of which were rarely penetrated by the most adventurous freshman. Of the trees which add so much to the beauty of the grounds, the largest only date from a period before my day. A large majority of the rest were subsequently planted under the direction of Mr. Higginson, the college steward, and Mr. Lowell, a distinguished member of the Corporation; gentlemen of taste and intelligence, who, by this act of liberal forethought, have earned the thanks of every son of Harvard.

Such was the physical aspect of things within the precincts of the University forty-five years ago. Of the intellectual progress which has been made within the same period, time would fail me to speak in fitting terms. It is a common impression among "outsiders," that institutions like this are of a stereotyped character; fixed, rigid, jealous of innovation, slow to adopt improvements. I leave other collegiate institutions in Europe and America to speak for themselves; but I

aver for Harvard, that, during the last half century, she is not obnoxious to the charge. As long as my experience goes back, she has kept up with the progress of the age. Her growth in every thing that pertains to a place of education has been not less signal than in those material aspects I have hastily sketched. With the exception of the medical department, of which the germ existed, all the professional schools have been added to the University since my graduation; and within the college proper, the means of instruction have been multiplied, and the standard of attainment raised in full proportion to the progress of the country in all other respects. When I entered college, four tutors and three professors formed the academic *corps*, — men never to be mentioned by me but with respect and gratitude; but composing an inadequate faculty, compared with the numerous and distinguished body by which instruction is now dispensed. There was no instruction in any of the modern languages, except in French to those who chose to pay for it. The professors were those of divinity, mathematics, and Hebrew; and this venerable language was, I think, required to be studied by every student, whatever his destination in life. A classmate of mine used to boast that he beat us all in this department, though I believe it sometimes happened to him to get hold of the wrong line in the Latin translation at the bottom of the page, in the Hebrew psalter, and so make a misfit all the way down. I do not hesitate to assure our younger brethren, that they enjoy far greater advantages in the means and encouragements to improvement, and, more important than any other, a far higher standard of excellence, than were ever enjoyed by their fathers. And this in every department of knowledge; — in the study of the ancient and modern languages, in exact science, in the kingdoms of nature, in ethics, and in the philosophy of the mind. So far from resisting innovation, if there has been a tendency to extremes in either direction, it has been in too great a readiness to change.

I do not certainly deny that in this University, as in every other which deserves the name of a place of high education, there is a principle of stability as well as a principle of move-

ment. There ought to be: the conservative element is as important in our natures and in all our relations as the progressive element. A wise, practical philosophy combines the two. Their union is a primordial law of the universe. The force which draws the planets downward to the sun is as important in the system as that which impels them in the opposite direction; nay, it contributes as much to their onward movement along the eternal pathways of the sky. The harmonious adjustment of the struggling principles preserves the sacred equilibrium of the universe. In an institution for the education of the young, their attention must of necessity be directed rather to the acquisition of the knowledge already recorded, than to the extension of its limits; and under all circumstances, (except as far as mere chance is concerned,) the first step toward the discovery of new truth is thoroughly to master what is already known.

For this reason, in a place of liberal education, those demonstrated principles of science which were true when the morning stars first sang together, and will be true when the heaven has departed as a scroll; those laws of organic and animated nature which laid down the lowest pavements of the everlasting hills, and gave form and sense to the perished myriads which inhabited them, — monsters that have, as it were, been recalled to life by the Orator of the day; those creations of the cultivated intellect which have stood the test of time, the shock of wars, the vicissitude of races; that immortal Iliad which charmed the young civilization of Greece; — the wondrous strains of the tragic trio of Athens; those glorious oratorical thunders which have been so worthily described to-day; the eloquence, the poetry; that divine Æneid, which satisfied the polished culture of Rome, and which with the literature of Greece has stood the fastidious test of modern criticism; above all, those great moral sentiments which bind the rational universe from the throne of God to the lowest intelligence which kneels at his footstool; — I say these great fundamental ideas, conceptions, and laws, and the scientific and literary forms in which they have been clothed and enunciated from the days of Homer, Plato, and Euclid, to

those of Shakspeare, Bacon, and Newton, and other kindred minds of ancient and modern times, ought, in all countries and in all ages, to find a home and an altar in a place of liberal education. Woe to the man, and woe to the college, and woe to the country, that seeks to break up this great intellectual community of our race; to cut asunder all these grand moral traditions; and to launch the individual man or the individual generation upon an ocean of vague and sceptical speculation, without looking to the recorded wisdom of the past for compass, chart, or pilot!

Heaven knows I am no enemy to progress. In my humble measure I have longed for it, and toiled for it; in reference to some deep questions, I have wept and prayed for it; but let it really be progress. Movement is not necessarily progress; it may be sideways or backward. I doubt that progress which denies that the ages before us have achieved any thing worth preserving. I believe in both parts of the apostolic rule, — Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good. True progress is thoughtful, hopeful, serene, religious, onward, and upward. To the youthful mind especially, an entirely unsuggested and original course is an arrogant delusion. No such thing is possible. It will lean on some support and follow some guide; and the alternative is that of the truths which have stood the test of ages, and of which a great and liberal seat of learning should be the intelligent expositor; and the doubtful neologisms of the day, which, nine times out of ten, are superseded by the equally doubtful neologisms of to-morrow. That navigator is best fitted to discover new worlds, whether of matter or of mind, who, like Columbus, has learned from the elder pilots the depths and shallows, the islands and the continents, of the known seas. He may launch boldly forth; and if driven by stress of weather to a port of refuge, he will take care to cast anchor in *terra firma*, and not in the "scaly rind" of some uncouth sea-monster, where the best ground-tackle will stand him in little stead.

These, however, are great topics of discussion, better fitted for the lecture-room than the dinner table; and I would end, brethren, as I began, by bidding you welcome to this academ-

ical festival. Let us bring to it a kindly feeling of attachment to each other, and of reverence to our common intellectual parent. Let us cherish the memory of the teachers of our youth, and return them an ample, though perhaps a tardy justice, for the care and pains to which, probably, at the time we were too little sensible. Let us especially not forget the great and good men from Harvard down, — the long line of benefactors of earlier and later days, — to whom we owe the enjoyment of these privileges and blessings. Let us do something, if I may use the expression, to organize our attachment to our Alma Mater, so as to strengthen her in her relations with society, and increase her means of usefulness.

And now, brethren, I think the less of ceremony on this occasion the better. We are honored with the company of several distinguished friends not belonging to our body, whose voices you will deem it a privilege to hear. There are those of our own academic family at the table, who never speak but to please, instruct, and animate. There is not a class present from which you would not be glad to hear. The chair will exert itself to call upon those gentlemen and brethren to whom that mark of respect is first due, and trusts that such omissions as may take place from the want of time will be ascribed to any other cause than intentional neglect.

EDUCATION AND CIVILIZATION.*

THE morning is far advanced, Mr. Chairman, and I really do not like to consume any portion of a day like this, which belongs to our young friends. I feel as if it was wrong for the veterans to occupy any of the time which belongs on this occasion to the cadets. Still, however, it is a fundamental principle of our Massachusetts school system, that the authority of the school committee is paramount, in all matters within their sphere, and I will not set our young friends so bad an example as to call it in question

I regret, sir, that it was not in my power to attend the examinations yesterday. I have just returned from an excursion to the White Mountains, and found so many things requiring my attention had accumulated in my absence, that it was impossible for me to spare the day. An examination like that which was held yesterday is a more satisfactory test of the condition of a school, than such an exhibition as we have witnessed this morning, however pleasing and well conducted. A diligent study and a thorough knowledge of the elementary branches of learning form the great object of school education, as far as the intellect is concerned, and how far that object is attained can, of course, be much better seen in an examination, than in an exhibition like that which we have attended with so much pleasure this morning. I am happy to understand from several members of the committee, that the examination was of the most satisfactory character; showing that the school continues to deserve its high repu-

* Speech at the Exhibition of the Cambridge High School, on the 7th of August, 1852.

tation. Such I had no doubt would be the case, from opportunities I have enjoyed of informing myself as to its condition. Of the estimation in which I have held it, I have given the best proof which a parent can give.

On the exercises of this morning it is not necessary to comment at length. They have spoken for themselves. Among those to which I listened with the greatest pleasure, was the recitation in moral philosophy. It showed, on the part of our young friends composing the class, an acquaintance with this difficult and important subject, far beyond what is usually possessed by persons of their age. I was rather sorry, Mr. Smith, that want of time obliged you to omit the recitation on the Constitution of the United States. That, too, is a very important subject, and one on which none too much knowledge prevails, even in our own country. As to foreign countries, I saw three or four weeks ago, rather a striking specimen of the ignorance prevailing on the subject of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, on the part of very well-informed persons. A member of Parliament, of great intelligence, by way of correcting a statement made by one of his colleagues, informed the House of Commons that the Senate of the United States is chosen for life.

With regard to the exercises in reading and speaking, which have taken up the greater part of the forenoon, I would not have it inferred from the remark made by me a short time since, that I look upon them as unimportant branches. Far, very far from it. They are of great importance and value. Provided a man has any thing to say worth hearing, the better he says it, the more he will be listened to. I am afraid, even, that on many occasions the manner is more thought of than the matter. Lord Chesterfield tells us that the bill for introducing the reformed Calendar, or New Style, as it is commonly called, into England, was brought forward in the House of Lords by the Earl of Macclesfield, a man of science, — President of the Royal Society, if I am not mistaken, — and well acquainted with the astronomical merits of the

question, but a dull speaker. As the project encountered some prejudice, there was danger that it would fail. Lord Macclesfield, however, engaged the coöperation of the Earl of Chesterfield, who, though no mathematician, was an accomplished speaker. He knew but little of the merits of the question, scientifically considered, but he made such good use of what he did know, and unfolded the subject in such a clear and persuasive manner that the bill prevailed, and the New Style was adopted in England. It became necessary, as you are aware, to carry forward the current computation of time eleven days. The first of August became the twelfth; and it is an amusing example of the extent of popular delusion, that when the son or grandson of Lord Macclesfield offered himself, years afterwards, as a candidate for Parliament, he was called upon by the voters at the hustings to "give them back the eleven days out of which his father or grandfather had cheated them." It might not be easy to produce a grosser specimen of ignorance and want of candor in our own electioneering annals, and that is saying a good deal.

The attendance of this day, this respectable assembly, the frequency of similar occasions in this community, the legislation of the Commonwealth on the subject of our schools, attest the great interest which is taken by the people of Massachusetts, in common with their fellow-citizens in many other parts of the country, in the cause of popular education. It is a legitimate interest. It is an all-important cause in every free country, and there are, as it seems to me, peculiar reasons why, in America, there should be the deepest sense of the importance of public education, as a great system of general mental culture, to which, as far as human causes go, we are indebted for the blessings of our civilization. There is one particular fact, of a historical and local nature, stamped, as it were, upon the face of the continent itself, to which, perhaps, all the attention has not been paid which it merits, and which, of itself, is sufficient to justify the lively interest that has been taken from the first in the cause of education, and

the vast importance attached to the establishment and support of schools in New England and in our sister States, who have followed our example in this respect.

About twenty centuries ago, with the exception of the very small country of Greece, which lay in the eastern extremity of Europe, nearly the whole of that continent was in a state of barbarism. The enlightenment of Rome then commencing, the mysterious culture of the Etruscans, of which, all but a few doubtful traces have perished, and the feeble reflection of the literature of the Greeks in the colonies established by them in the south of Europe, furnish the only exception to this remark. The rest of Italy, the greater part of Gaul and the Spanish peninsula, all Germany and the Netherlands, the entire north of Europe, with the British islands, were wrapt in thick mental darkness; their inhabitants being but *little* if at all superior to our savages in intellectual improvement. Twenty centuries have produced the change we witness; and have carried the arts of life and every branch of culture, in almost all parts of Europe, to their present wonderful state of perfection. But twenty centuries are so vast a period, so far beyond the grasp of individual experience, the change wrought has been so gradual, that it requires some effort to comprehend its nature, and to do justice to the causes which have produced it.

Now a similar change has taken place on our American continent, but in a much shorter time. In the comparatively brief period of about two hundred years, substantially the same transformation has been brought about in a considerable part of our Western continent, which has been the work of fifteen or twenty centuries in Europe. Within two hundred years the barbarous native races have disappeared, and the children of civilized Europe and their descendants have succeeded to them; and have introduced, as far as circumstances admitted, the culture of the old world, with all the improvements which have sprung from the novel and peculiar state of things here existing. This, indeed, has been accomplished in much less than two centuries. Last Tuesday I descended the banks of the Connecticut River by railway.

Less than a hundred years ago, the peaceful and prosperous villages on that beautiful river were invaded by bands of French and Indians, and their inhabitants carried captive into Canada. The traces of the native population are not yet obliterated at their favorite resorts; sonorous Indian names yet designate some of the noble streams, the sparkling lakes, the cloud-capt hills of New England, (may they never give way to the simpering affectations of modern taste!) and recent traditions of the red man still hover, like spirits loath to depart, around the waterfalls and carrying places.

Here they had lived and possessed the land from time immemorial. We call them *Aborigines* as the Athenians called themselves *Autocthones*. We know nothing older. We cannot go beyond them in the history of our continent, nor assign any date to their occupation of it. But all their traditions, the size of the enormous trees which have grown upon the mounds erected by them, their physiological peculiarities, the highly artificial structure of their languages, which, without being sentimentally expressive, are grammatically complicated, and the silence of general history as to their immigration to America, all lead to the inference that the red races have been in possession of this continent as long as the white races have been in possession of Europe. Yet, for want of intellectual culture, for want of those instruments and means by which it is perpetuated and diffused, for want of the alphabet, the arts of writing, of reading, and printing, (whether this be regarded as cause or effect,) in a word, for want of that which our schools spread throughout the community, and hand down from generation to generation, no great progress was made in mental improvement by the aboriginal tribes of North America. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, from their first appearance in this continent to the date of the landing at Jamestown and Plymouth,—a period which I take to be fully as long as that which has elapsed since the landing of the first Egyptian or Phœnician colonists in Greece, —not one effectual step had been taken by the northern tribes towards the rational enjoyment of the great heritage which Providence had placed in their hands. Nothing, compara-

tively, had been done by them to subdue the wilderness, to open the soil to the sun, to substitute the broad expanse of corn-fields and gardens which surrounds us, for the dismal, unfertile waste; and still less, if possible, for the higher arts of life. I do not now refer to the semi-civilization of the Aztecs, if it may be so called, which, if carefully weighed, furnishes no qualification to these remarks. What miracles of beneficence might have been wrought by an overruling Providence, in coming times, to guide the red man on the path of intellectual and spiritual progress, it would be as presumptuous as unavailing to conjecture; but up to the time of the European colonization, it may be truly said that, in all America now occupied by the United States and the British Provinces, not even a commencement of civilization, as we understand it, had been made by the native tribes.

But a foreign race, with the Bible and the spelling-book in their hands, — the manuals of divine and human learning, — makes its appearance on these shores, and a marvellous change at once begins. Few they were and feeble; they sowed in weakness, but they soon raised in power. Vastly outnumbered they were by the native races, and surpassed by them in most of the elements of physical strength; but the arts of cultivated life gave them an early foothold, and before long an exclusive possession of the soil. Deeds of violence and oppression no doubt accompanied the change, which humanity deplores and justice execrates. That I am in no degree insensible to their atrocity, I need not say after one of the declamations to which you have listened this morning.* But there were deeds of violence and cruelty on both sides, and unless we adopt the wild and extravagant idea, that Providence never intended the American continent for the abode of a civilized race of European origin, we must set down the deplorable acts to which I have alluded to the account of human frailty; taking care, while we justly rebuke our ancestors for the wrongs which they committed, and

* An extract from an address by Mr. Everett, in which the cruel treatment, at the close of King Philip's war, of his wife and child, are described.

which were incidental to their age, and their unenlightened views of social duty, that we do not ourselves countenance wrongs of equal magnitude, that beset and stain our own more favored times.

But my present purpose is not to discuss this great and painful topic. I wish to point out to you the wonderful effect produced in a couple of centuries, through the action direct or indirect of cultivated mind, as a peculiar reason why the people of America should cherish that system of popular education, by which this culture is universally diffused and transmitted from generation to generation. What words can do justice to the transformation! How much of the native forest, with the ferocious animals that filled it, has disappeared; what hundreds and thousands of villages have been scattered through the land; what a network of roads, and canals, and railways has been thrown over its surface, penetrating its furthest recesses, now climbing the faces of steep hills, now bridging pathless swamps, now coquetting with sinuous streams; what forests of masts have been transferred from the mountain side to the shores of the sea, thence to be wafted to the remotest haunts of commerce; what crowded cities have been built, filled with the accumulated bounties of nature, products of art, and creations of mind; what institutions for objects of education, philanthropy, public spirit, and religion, all called into being within two hundred years in what had been for uncounted ages an untrodden wilderness, and all by the application of those elements of mental culture, which are imparted in our public schools to each successive generation! With this great fact woven into and running through their whole history, is it to be wondered at that the American people have ever regarded the cause of education and the support of the schools as of paramount importance?

There is one other idea connected with this subject, which I will just allude to, without attempting now to illustrate it. It is this, that the same difference which exists between a barbarous and civilized community exists between those members of the latter who are, and those who are not, educated. The wholly untutored white man is little better than

the wholly untutored red man. It is true his condition is benefited by living in an enlightened community, but as far as his individual progress and mental growth are concerned, I do not know that the unhappy being who, by his own fault or the fault of others, grows up in a civilized community without partaking of the advantages which it holds out for mental and moral improvement, presents a better specimen of our common humanity, than the benighted native of the wilderness.

But it is fully time to close these remarks; let me do it with a single word of counsel to our young friends, who are still to enjoy the advantages of this institution, — a bit of advice suggested by one of the laws of our nature. The force of habit is very great. I remember hearing an anecdote of one of the members of the Massachusetts Convention of 1820, who was so regular in his daily attendance, that he went up to the State house the day after the convention was dissolved, and wondered his colleagues did not appear. Now I hardly suppose any of you will actually go down to the school-house in vacation, but if you should be tempted to continue in the holidays, your habit of studying six, eight, or ten hours a day, as you do in term time, let me caution you against it. Such uninterrupted exertion all the year round will not be good for your health. Give yourselves a little repose as a matter of duty. If your parents propose to you some little excursion do not churlishly refuse. Take the times and seasons as they come along, enjoy term time as much as you please, but do not murmur at vacation. Make it a season of relaxation, and if possible, of pleasure, in order that when it is over, you may rush back to your duties with a keener zest. With this parting counsel, I bid you, my young friends, an affectionate farewell, and tender to you, Mr. Smith, and you, gentlemen of the committee, my best wishes for the continued prosperity of the Cambridge High School.

DINNER TO THOMAS BARING, ESQ.

On Thursday, the 16th of September, 1852, an entertainment was given at the Revere House, by the Committees of Finance and of Accounts of the city of Boston, to Thomas Baring, Esq., M. P. The more immediate occasion of the dinner was the successful termination of the negotiation for a loan of a million of dollars, made on account of the waterworks of the city. The mayor presided, and though it was understood there were to be no set speeches, most of the persons present were called upon. In reply to a call from the chair, Mr. Everett spoke as follows: —

I THANK you, sir, for informing the company that your call must be altogether unexpected to me. No preparation, however, is necessary on such an occasion as this; the feelings which belong to it suggest themselves spontaneously. I beg to assure you, sir, of my cordial concurrence in all that has fallen from you in honor of the name and house of Baring. Like several gentlemen here present, I have reason to entertain the warmest feelings of personal regard to that name and house. Our respected guest, even if he were not too well known to us to need any recommendation, could not have brought a stronger one than that which he carries in his name. His position and character at home, as a merchant, a citizen, and a member of Parliament, fully entitle him to our friendly regards as an individual; while the family to which he belongs is, on public grounds, associated with more than one important event in the political history of the United States.

I will advert only to the share of the late lamented uncle of our friend in the negotiation of the treaty of Washington. When I went to London in November, 1841, as minister of the United States, the relations of the two countries were in a highly embarrassed and threatening condition. Questions

of the most difficult kind had been accumulating for twenty-five or thirty years. The North-Eastern Boundary dispute had, in fact, existed for a still longer period. It had proved too strong for some of the ablest administrations which were ever intrusted with the government of either country; it had exhausted nearly all the resources of diplomacy; and it was of such a nature in itself, that an unfortunate occurrence on the frontier might at any time induce a rupture. There also was the very delicate affair of the "Caroline," and the arrest and trial of McLeod, which seemed fraught with the most alarming consequences; while the two governments were brought to a direct issue on the coasts of Western Africa, in reference to points of international law, on which the sensibility of the American people has ever been most easily touched. I allude to these difficulties, now happily, in common with others not less formidable, amicably settled, only to tell you, Mr. Chairman, not merely how they weighed upon my mind when I went to London in 1841, but also what relief I experienced on being informed by Lord Aberdeen, that the Queen's government had prevailed upon Lord Ashburton to go to the United States, as a special envoy, to make a final and decisive attempt at a general settlement.

Too much praise cannot, as I think, be bestowed upon him for consenting, at a time of life when he might well have claimed to be *emeritus*, to cross the Atlantic in midwinter, and put his reputation at stake in a negotiation incumbered with so many difficulties. But he came in the true spirit of honorable conciliation. He was met in the same spirit by Mr. Webster, the United States' Secretary of State. They negotiated, not to gain advantages for their respective countries at the expense of justice, but to devise a basis of settlement equally advantageous and honorable to both. Bringing this spirit to the task, one after another of the formidable questions to which I have alluded, was equitably disposed of, and in four months from the time the negotiation commenced, the Treaty of Washington was signed. I believe I express the general opinion of well-informed men in saying, there were not two other individuals at that time in the service of

the United States and Great Britain, so likely to accomplish this great object in a manner satisfactory to both countries. I could say more on this subject if time and place admitted further detail.

With respect to the more immediate occasion of this friendly meeting, though I suppose it would be rather out of order to advert to matters of business, I rejoice that our respected guest has the opportunity, from personal observation, of forming an opinion of the ability of the city of Boston to meet her engagements. I should wrong her to speak of her disposition to do so. One might say to the inquirer who asks what security she can give, "look around you." Our laws make the property of every citizen liable for the debts contracted by the city. Every house, and every warehouse and the property they contain, is pledged to sustain the public faith.

Ample as this is to protect a debt ten times as great as any that is ever likely to be contracted, the aggregate of the property, now existing in the city, is but a part of the security which Boston offers to her creditors. Her numbers and with them her resources are doubling in periods of twenty years. Security equal to all that now meets the eye is waiting its hour to spring into being, at the call of enterprise, thrift, and skill. It sleeps in the quarry and the clay-pit; it reposes beneath the rich strata of the iron, the coal, and the copper mine; it lives and moves fathom deep beneath the surface of the ocean; it waves in the forest, and whitens in the cotton field, and foams and dashes at a thousand waterfalls; the fertile land yields it at home, and the wide ocean wafts it from every resort of foreign trade. These are the elements of our prosperity, which, woven together by the hand of inventive and untiring industry, will, under the smile of Providence, double the aggregate of the wealth of Boston in the coming twenty years. I will mention only one statistical fact. By the valuation of 1780, the entire property of Massachusetts, then including Maine, amounted to eleven millions of dollars. By the valuation of 1850, the property of Boston alone was

estimated, if I recollect aright, at two hundred and seventy-eight millions. No one, I think, will consider me extravagant if I calculate that in 1870 the valuation will be five hundred million dollars.

But, sir, I must leave this train of reflection and end as I began, with expressing my cordial sympathy with you on this occasion; which leaves us nothing to regret but that our respected guest is obliged by his duties elsewhere, to make us so short a visit.

On the 22d of September, 1852, another dinner of a more public character was given to Mr. Baring by a large and highly respectable company, consisting principally of the leading merchants of Boston, the Hon. S. A. Eliot in the chair. In reply to a toast by Hon. William Appleton, Mr. Everett spoke as follows:—

MR. ELIOT AND GENTLEMEN:—

Our excellent friend and representative (Mr. Appleton) who has just sat down, has not only declined to make a speech himself, but has aimed such a point-blank shot at me as nearly to silence me. I must, however, thank both him and the distinguished guest of the evening for their most obliging notice. The voice of kindly appreciation from the honored and intelligent, especially when sanctioned by a company like this, never palls upon the ear nor fails to reach the heart. But I will not consume another moment of your time by any thing personal to myself, even in the way of acknowledgment. We are at home, and we wish to make our respected guest feel at home. We will discuss what concerns ourselves exclusively, another time.

I am greatly indebted to you, sir, for giving me an opportunity to join you in this tribute of respect to Mr. Baring, who is, on every ground, entitled to the favorable opinion and friendly regards of this company. This is a topic on which delicacy forbids me to say, on the present occasion, all that might with truth be said at another time and place; besides that our respected guest has made it almost impossible

for me to give utterance to my feelings, without seeming to engage with him in an exchange of compliments. This, however, I may say without impropriety even in his presence, that he is a respected and most efficient member of a family and house which now for nearly or quite a century have stood before the public, not merely of England and America, but of all Europe and the furthest East, in a position of high responsibility and importance; exercising an influence on the commerce of the world, and contributing to the stability of its financial relations; exposed to the searching scrutiny of mankind, sharpened by the strongest inducements of public and private interest, in times of difficulty and peril; and all this without ever having the shadow of a reproach cast upon their good name. Of all the millions, I had almost said the uncounted millions, which have passed through their hands, not one dishonest farthing has ever stuck by the way. Through times in which the governments of Europe have been shaken to their centre, — in which dynasties whose roots strike back to the Roman empire have been overturned, and emperors and kings have been driven into exile, the commercial house of which our friend is a member, (connected as I believe it has sometimes been with the great financial arrangements of the day, to an almost fearful extent,) has stood firm for a hundred years on the rock of honor and probity, beyond reproach and beyond suspicion.

I need not remind you, sir, that there are the most grateful associations between this country and the house and family of Baring, not merely of a private and commercial, but of a public nature. I have within a few days, and in the presence of some of those whom I have now the honor to address, expressed my feelings of affectionate attachment to the memory of the lamented, let me add, beloved Lord Ashburton. However grateful the employment and appropriate to this occasion, I will not now revert to that topic.

All personal feelings apart, I think you do well, Mr. President, to pay this tribute of respect to the virtues of practical life, not perhaps duly estimated as the subject of public honors, even in this community. You do well to show on a

proper occasion, that it is not merely political eminence or military achievement that you know how to appreciate. You do not allow the triumphs of the senate or the camp, however brilliant, to monopolize your admiration. You are sensible that there is a wisdom, a courage, and an honor, of the counting-house and the exchange always as respectable, and when called into action on a large scale, not less important than those of the cabinet and the field. When you do honor to our respected guest and the house to which he belongs, it is not to the vast undertakings in which it embarks and the millions it sways, but to the liberality and good faith which preside in all its transactions.

I am aware, sir, that there are in all countries, and especially in our own, some popular prejudices against great accumulations of property. We hear, occasionally, of the supposed antagonism of labor and capital. The dangerous power of what has been called "the dynasty of accumulated wealth" is sometimes spoken of in our political circles. It would be too much to contend that property in masses is never abused. Capital and credit, as well as the want of both, are subject to abuse; but I see no reason in the nature of things to assume a necessary antagonism between labor and capital; on the contrary they seem to me the most faithful of allies and best of friends. I think, too, I have observed that those who are loudest in their denunciations of the dangers to be dreaded from accumulated wealth, confine their fears to their neighbors. They are very apprehensive that others may abuse the power which property is supposed to confer; while they pursue themselves, with laudable self-reliance, undisturbed by theory, the acquisition of the shining mischief, particularly when it comes in the shape of a good salary.

Instead of considering accumulated capital as fraught with danger to public liberty, observation will, I think, teach us to regard it not only as an important instrument of public and private prosperity, but as a sure indication of a country governed by law. What is capital? It is nothing but the fruits of labor saved, instead of being consumed from hand

to mouth. It will not accumulate to any great extent, where it is not protected by law. Look at the countries where capital does, and those where it does not abound. Compare England and the United States on the one hand, with Turkey and Persia on the other. The worse governed a country, the poorer it will be found, however rich in the gifts of nature. There will no doubt be some accumulations of capital in the worst governed country; but it will be timid and furtive, and lose nearly all its power to benefit society, by the necessity of seeking concealment. There are rich Jews at Bagdad, and rich Armenians at Damascus; but their wealth is invested in precious stones, and buried in cellars and caverns: while from time to time it is extorted from its rightful possessors under the torture of the bastinado, inflicted by greedy provincial satraps, in order to furnish them the means of buying the favors of remorseless viziers and sultanas at the seat of government. How different the case in a free country! There capital walks boldly abroad; seeks investment; gives life to commerce, manufactures, and the arts; traverses the land side by side with her sister credit, scattering plenty by the way; smites the everlasting hills with her magic wand, and bids their adamantine portals fly open before the loaded train; puts an iron curb into the foaming jaws of Niagara, and throws a bridge across his roaring whirlpools; unites the Atlantic with the Pacific and Europe with America by her railroads and ocean steamers; and brings the remotest borders of the country into living contact by her electric telegraphs.

But does it stop here? No, sir, in a free and prosperous country like that of our respected guest and our own, it is characteristic of capital that if it gathers largely in, it dispenses liberally abroad. Who is it that takes the lead in every measure of Christian charity and enlightened public spirit? Our guest can answer for all but himself in his own country; I may ask you, sir, (to Mr. Appleton,) with respect to this community. Or rather I will not ask you, sir, but almost any one sooner, who it is that builds the hospital, endows the asylum, the house of refuge, the college, the athenæum, gives sight to the blind and hearing to the deaf, and

shelter to the houseless, and performs the thousand other blessed offices of open-handed and warm-hearted Christian love?

Even if this were otherwise, from the very nature of things, there can be no antagonism between capital and the other interests of society, for it seeks of necessity those investments which promote the public accommodation and benefit. In a country like England and America, the owner of capital really reaps the smallest portion of the advantages which flow from its possession; he is but a kind of head bookkeeper or chief clerk to the business community. He may be as rich as Crœsus, but he can neither eat, drink, nor wear more than one man's portion. The houses and warehouses, the ships and railroads which he builds or buys are for the accommodation of others — of the public. I remember hearing a jest made about Mr. Astor's *property*, which contained I thought a great deal of meaning, — a latent, practical philosophy. Some one was asked whether he would be willing to take care of all Mr. Astor's property, eight or ten millions of dollars, (and that *we* think a great property; with you, sir, on the other side of the water, it would be a mere "flea-bite,") merely for his board and clothes. "No," was the indignant answer; "do you think me a fool?" "Well," rejoins the other, "that is all that Mr. Astor himself gets for taking care of it; he's *found* and that's all. The houses, the warehouses, the ships, the farms which he counts by the hundred and is obliged to take care of, are for the accommodation of others." "But then he has the income, the rents of all this mighty property, five or six hundred thousand dollars per annum." "Yes, but he can do nothing with this income but build more houses and warehouses and ships, or loan more money on mortgage for the convenience of others. He's *found*, and you can make nothing else out of it."

In the country of our guest, and in Europe generally, capital is more frequently called upon than it is with us to exert an influence on public affairs. It rises there to the importance of a fourth estate of the realm, and in despotic governments is often the only effectual check on power. In looking

lately at some extracts from the memoirs of Count Mollien, Minister of Finance under Napoleon, I was surprised to see how much deference the imperial autocrat was obliged to pay to the chief of his treasury. Had he done it more he might have worn his crown to the grave. That honest minister more than once put a drag chain on the wheels of conquest, while they were rolling over prostrate Europe.

The necessary connection of capital with politics in Europe is curiously illustrated by an anecdote related to me from a very high source, and showing with what vigilance the great movements of the times are watched by the leading bankers. I heard it a few years ago from the Duke of Wellington, and as there is nothing confidential in it, I will take the liberty of repeating it to the company, though, as a general rule, there is nothing I more carefully avoid than repeating in public what has fallen in private, in my hearing, from the lips of distinguished men. During my last residence in England, I happened to remark to the Duke of Wellington, that I was in London in the month of June, 1815, when the news of the battle of Waterloo arrived, and I mentioned some circumstances that fell under my observation relative to its effect on the public mind. The Duke said, "You will perhaps be surprised to hear, that the intelligence of that event did not first reach London through the official despatch, but through a private channel." Considering the importance of the event, not inferior to any thing since the battle of Pharsalia, and that no time would naturally be lost in transmitting the intelligence from head-quarters, I was certainly surprised to hear this.

The truth was as follows: — In consequence of the immensely critical state of affairs, — all the armies of Europe, not less than a million of men, being already congregated in Belgium or on the march toward it, — and the results of the approaching shock being likely to be of great moment to the whole financial as well as the whole political world, — the great banking house of Rothschild had sent a confidential agent to watch the progress of events, and to transmit to London the earliest news of any important occurrence. This agent seems

to have united discretion with sagacity. He did not repair to head-quarters, nor leap into the flaming crater of war. He forbore (very properly) to place himself

> Between the pass and fell incensed points
> Of mighty opposites;

but as Louis XVIII. was then at Ghent, he justly concluded that if any important event occurred, the king of the French would be the first to hear of it; and that his immediate vicinity would be the best post for news. He accordingly repaired to Ghent and took up his lodgings directly opposite the house where the king was temporarily residing. It was midsummer, and doors and windows were all open. The country was full of rumors; the great actions of the 16th, 17th, and the greatest of all, that of the 18th, had now been fought; — the sweep of these mighty blows was felt in the air, but nothing was distinctly reported.

At length, on the 19th of June, if I recollect the date aright, our vigilant agent saw an officer, evidently of rank, arrive in hot haste, throw himself from his panting horse, rush unannounced into the house and into the apartment where the king was, and where he could be seen by the agent through the open windows, and approach the king without ceremony. After a few hasty words from the officer, the king threw his arms round his neck and kissed him; and as soon as he was released from his majesty's embrace, he was hugged and kissed by all the princes, ministers, and chamberlains in the room. This was enough for the agent; he did not wait to hear the precise tenor of the news. He was sure that nothing but an event most important and auspicious could so have broken down the etiquette that "doth hedge a king." In fact, this general embracing among a room full of *men* probably struck his cold Anglo-Saxon temperament more than it would that of the fervid and demonstrative South. At any rate he had seen enough. He leaped on his horse, rode at the top of his speed to Ostend, took passage in a pilot boat which was kept waiting, and arrived in London. He reported to his employer what he had seen; he could do no more; and Baron Roth-

schild concluded, as his agent had done, that some very important and auspicious event had occurred at the theatre of war. Late at night on the 21st, Major Percy arrived with the despatch of the Duke of Wellington, announcing the VICTORY AT WATERLOO.

In these days of submarine telegraphs, we can scarce believe that the official news of this "battle of giants," which was fought in the neighborhood of Brussels on the 18th, did not reach the government in London till late in the night of the 21st of June; three mortal days of expectation and suspense!

But it is high time that I should leave the field of Waterloo and come nearer home. I do so, sir, that I may end as I began, by expressing my cordial sympathy with you in the feelings which have brought us together this evening. Our kindly associations with the commercial house of which our guest is a member are not of yesterday. That house itself was established long before the United States had an independent existence; and from the first organization of our government, with scarce an interruption, they have been its bankers. If for a moment I may venture upon the sacred domain of private life, I would remind you that more than a half century ago, the distinguished relative of our honored guest, the late beloved and lamented Lord Ashburton, came to the United States for that treasure, the "price" of which, according to Holy Writ, "is far above rubies;" a lady of whom, as she is no longer living, I may without indelicacy say, that she united to all a woman's graces that intelligence and culture which are of no sex, and which, wherever they are found, do honor to our common nature.

When a few years later the Berlin and Milan decrees and the orders in council had swept the commerce of the United States from the ocean, one of the most influential voices that was heard in England, in favor of the neutral rights of America, was that of Alexander Baring. The war of 1812 found the Barings bankers of the United States, and of course agents for the payment of the dividends on the government stocks in Great Britain. The question soon arose among

the foreign stockholders whether the dividends would continue to be paid. The public bankers were of necessity without direct remittances in time of war; for aught I know they were without instructions; but when quarter-day came the dividends were paid, for the honor of the United States, and continued to be to the end of the contest. There was war on the land and war on the sea; but deep peace in Bishopsgate street. And when, after a lapse of thirty years, the questions of difficulty and magnitude almost defying compromise, to which I alluded the other evening, had arisen between the two countries and a rupture seemed all but inevitable, Lord Ashburton was found willing at an advanced period of life, with nothing in the world to gain and every thing of reputation to put at risk, to cross the Atlantic in the month of February, with the olive-branch in his hand, and a warm desire at heart to settle every matter in controversy, on terms equally honorable to both countries. You have but anticipated me, gentlemen, in the cheers with which I was about to ask you to receive the toast with which I propose to conclude the remarks too long obtruded upon you (cries of "go on," "go on.") No, gentlemen, the bell is ringing nine, the gratification of listening to other gentlemen is in reserve for you, and I will only ask you to join me in saying,

PROSPERITY TO THE HOUSE AND FAMILY OF BARING.

NOTE TO THE ANECDOTE RELATIVE TO THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

I was under the impression, when I related this anecdote, that the Duke of Wellington informed me that his official despatch was anticipated by the agent of the Rothschilds, *by a few hours only.* I have since been led to suspect that my recollection in this respect may have been inaccurate. While writing out these remarks for the press, I have turned to the account given by Alison in his history of Europe (Vol. xiv. p. 84) of the reception of the news of the battle of Waterloo in London, where I find the following curious note:—"It is singu-

lar how frequently a rumor of a great and decisive victory prevails at a great distance, in an inconceivably short space of time after the actual occurrence. In the London papers of Tuesday the 20th of June, a rumor was mentioned of Napoleon 'having been defeated in a great battle near Brussels, on Sunday evening, in which he lost all his heavy artillery.' The official despatches did not arrive in London till midnight on Wednesday." Alison then alludes to similar rumors as having existed in reference to the battle of the Metaurus, which decided the fate of the Second Punic war, and the battle of Platæa, rumors which prevailed at great distances, in inconceivably short periods of time after the actual events. The historian then adds, "It would seem that an unerring instinct tells mankind when actions of vast moment have been fought, and leads them to make almost supernatural efforts in the transmission of accounts of them. The same paper (*Courier*, 20th June, 1815) mentions that '*Rothschild had made great purchases of stock, which raised the three per cents. from* 56 *to* 58.' Perhaps, in the latter instance, this may explain the prodigy."

That the purchase of stock by Rothschild may explain the *rumor* is quite true; but something was wanting to explain the *purchase*. This is done by the anecdote above referred to; but, as the purchase is recorded in a paper of June 20th, we must for that purpose suppose the agent to have arrived from Belgium a day or a day and a half before the official despatches, which did not reach London till midnight on the 21st. This is not impossible. Cardinal Wolsey first attracted the notice of Henry the Seventh, and laid the foundation of his future greatness, by making the journey from Richmond to Bruges in Flanders, transacting important business with the Emperor Maximilian, and returning to Richmond *between four o'clock Sunday afternoon, and the Wednesday night following*.

May I be pardoned if, in a place like this, I express the emotion with which I reflect, that while I was repeating by way of pleasantry the above anecdote, related to me by the

Duke of Wellington, that great statesman and still greater warrior had ceased to live. The news of his death has reached us while I am writing these lines. It is within my personal knowledge that his feelings toward the United States were of the most friendly character, and that his great influence was at all times exerted to promote harmony between the two countries. I hope it may not seem improper in me to add, that I regarded the honor of making his acquaintance and sharing the courtesy which he bestowed so liberally on all who approached him, as one of the highest privileges incident to my official character. Nothing as I think was more characteristic of him, at this period of his life, standing as he did before his death in some respects alone upon the pinnacle of this world's honors, than his childlike simplicity of manners and utter freedom from pretension.

PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE.*

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen:—

I wish I could find words that would fully express the gratitude I feel to our worthy friend, the secretary, for the kind manner in which he has announced me, or to you for your most flattering response. In lieu of any acknowledgment from me, I will ask each kind friend present to search his own heart, and to find there the emotions which he will feel must warm mine at such a welcome.

I am fully sensible, sir, how little as a farmer I deserve your notice. I am one neither theoretically nor practically, though always a great friend of the agricultural interest. But though not able to judge as a connoisseur of your pursuits, I take part with unaffected interest in your anniversary. It has gratified me on more than one account. It is an occasion sacred to good feeling. Since I left home I have hardly heard a word of political discussion, nor have I witnessed the slightest trace of that asperity of parties, which, if it be a necessary incident of free governments, all will admit is a necessary evil. Instead of this, sir, I have the pleasure to find myself seated between his Excellency the Governor and his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor; I passed a considerable part of the morning in the same carriage with them; I doubt not they would do me a kindness as soon as any person in this room would do it, as I am sure, on my own part, I would render them any good office in my power, as readily as I would render it to any other gentleman present.

* In reply to a complimentary toast at the public festival of the Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Society, held at Northampton, 7th October, 1852.

I take an interest in your festival, sir, for other reasons. The valley of the Connecticut River is a very important part of the State. The good old county of Hampshire has been divided into three; but the silver band, which unites them into one geological and agricultural community, gives a peculiar character to this portion of the Commonwealth. It is a threefold cord twined by the hand of Providence, not to be broken while the earth lasts. It is with more than usual gratification, that I have availed myself of your kind invitation to escape, at this delightful season of the year, from the confinement of the city, to breathe the free air of the open country, and to contemplate the varied and animating spectacle which your society spreads before us, in this most magnificent amphitheatre.

Yet, sir, I am not of those who draw contrasts between the town and country, as if the city was nothing but the abode of suffering and vice, and the country as universally the home of Arcadian innocence. These are ideas which we get from the novels we read in our youth, or from the descriptions of the cities of Europe, where a different state of society from ours exists. Cowper has gone so far as to say of the cities of the old world: —

> "God made the country and man made the town."

In any practical sense of the words, town and country were made by the same common Father of all, and in this part of the world, I take the state of society, both as to material prosperity and moral condition, to be about as good in the towns as in the villages.

But, notwithstanding this, sir, I must say that for me there is and always has been an indescribable charm in rural nature; in these fertile fields loaded with the promise of spring or the bounties of harvest; these pastures alive with flocks and herds; these broad meadows and woodlands hung with the variegated drapery of autumn to which your secretary alluded, each tree with its peculiar tint, scarlet and orange and violet and gold, as the hand divine has touched with the

same pencil, oak or elm or maple or beech; these stately avenues of elms and trim rows of maples, and the quiet villages reposing in their shade; the single farm-houses scattered by the road side; the village school-house and the village spire; and in this part of New England, the queen of all her rivers, now meandering through alluvial plains, now sweeping boldly round the base of majestic hills, now dashing over rocky barriers or forcing her way through mountain passes; and all this made doubly grateful and soothing by the rapid transition which the railways enable us to make, from the burning pavement and bewildering din of the thronged street, to the soft green and sacred rest of some pleasant country town.

But this, sir, is not all. I have long known Northampton. I used to come here in my younger days to see my friends Cogswell and Bancroft at Round Hill, and in their refined and congenial society, to enjoy your scenery and admire the fertility of meadow and upland and hill and forest. But the emotions excited in my mind at Northampton do not rest with the gratification of a taste for the useful or the beautiful. There is that in your scenery which addresses a higher principle, the highest in our natures. I witnessed it in all its power this morning, as I drove in an open carriage with the Governor and Lieutenant-governor through your magnificent meadows. We passed first through a sort of vapory sea which seemed to surge over the face of the plain, and as it melted into air, (you recollect, Governor, I called your attention to it at the time,) we saw at a distance wreath after wreath of silvery mist slowly moving up the side of the hill. It seemed as if nature with her clouds of incense was doing homage to the mountain majesty of Holyoke, sparkling as he was with a diadem of dew-drops, and robed in the purple of the morn. I felt as if man, the rational worshipper, were bound to unite in vocal strains of adoration with the silent anthems of plain and stream and hill, and I was ready to repeat the lovely words which Milton puts into the mouth of our first parents: —

"Ye Mists and Exhalations, that now rise
From vale or steaming lake, dusky or gray,
Till the sun paints your fleecy skirts with gold,
In honor to the world's great Author rise;
Whether to deck with clouds the uncolored sky,
Or wet the thirsty earth with falling showers,
Rising or falling still advance His praise."

But, Mr. President, I must not take up more of your time with the expression of these emotions and sentiments, however natural or pleasing. The occasion demands a more practical train of thought. What is the state of agriculture among us? Is it on the advance? Is there improvement in the processes of husbandry as practised among us? Is there an increase in the aggregate of agricultural products in the Commonwealth? and if these questions are answered in the affirmative, is the state of things such as to authorize the hope that the improvement will go on, and keep pace with the progress of society in other respects?

I am not as well informed as I wish I was on all the points involved in this inquiry. I should have been far better gratified to hear the intelligent gentleman (Mr. Gould) whose address has furnished us so much instruction and pleasure in another place, speak upon these topics. As far, however, as my information extends, I have no doubt that the questions I have just stated should be answered in the affirmative. I am fully persuaded that within the last thirty years, though there is still much room for improvement, our agriculture has upon the whole kept pace with our commerce and manufactures, with the useful arts, with the fine arts, with literature and science, in all which such undoubted progress has been made; and as the causes which have led to this improvement are permanent in their nature, they will, if no great disasters befall the country, continue to operate, and some of them with constantly increasing force. These causes are,—

First, the increase of agricultural knowledge; the radicle and the plumule (to quote the words of Mr. Gould in his admirable address) of all improvement in husbandry. Our agriculture remained stationary for nearly two hundred years,

because little or nothing was added to the traditionary stock of information which our ancestors brought from Europe. As New England was first settled before agriculture had been treated scientifically in the mother country, their information on the subject must have been originally defective; and owing to want of frequent and close intercourse with Europe, they appear to have remained in ignorance of the discoveries which, at a later period, were from time to time made in the old world. I think we find no traces, for nearly two hundred years, of much acquaintance, in this part at least of the United States, with what was doing for the improvement of husbandry in England, France, and Belgium.

But about the beginning of this century, the start appears to have been taken. One of the first steps toward the diffusion of agricultural knowledge, was the establishment of cattle-shows, which began in Berkshire county, and spread by degrees through the State. The press about the same time began to lend its efficient aid. The transactions of the trustees of the State Agricultural Society, formed a very valuable publication; and it is matter of regret that it has long been discontinued. Next followed the agricultural newspapers, some of which, as Mr. Gould justly said, are of the "second class" of publications, but several of them are deserving of all praise. The New England Farmer, edited by Mr. Thomas G. Fessenden, was perhaps the pioneer of the journals of this class, and deserves a kindly remembrance. Through these various channels much agricultural information has been diffused through the community. Every European improvement is immediately made known on this side of the Atlantic; every thing done in any one part of our vast country is promptly communicated to every other part; and as the natural consequence, we are already in this department as in others, beginning to repay our intellectual debt to Europe.

It would be impossible on an occasion like this, to enumerate all those who have coöperated in this great and meritorious work of diffusing useful knowledge on the subject of husbandry, but it would be unjust not to say that we are in-

debted to the valley of the Connecticut River for two most important contributions. The first is the geological survey of the State made at two different periods by President Hitchcock, the reports of which contain a vast deal of information on the subject of the soil. I am sure, sir, that the venerable President, so honored and useful in his other relations to the community, is entitled to a distinct tribute of gratitude on this score from the farmers of the State. His geological surveys have been imitated in many other States of the Union, but in none of them has the task been more creditably performed. The other contribution made to agricultural knowledge from the valley of the Connecticut, to which I alluded, is that contained in the agricultural survey of the State by Rev. Mr. Colman, then of Deerfield. This was an undertaking which, as well as President Hitchcock's second survey,* I had the honor of recommending to the legislature. The work was not completed, having extended only to four or five counties, but the four annual reports made by Mr. Colman embody a great deal of information. It is a matter of sincere congratulation, that the legislature of the Commonwealth has lately taken a very important step in the establishment of a board of agriculture. His Excellency the Governor is entitled to the thanks of our farmers for the countenance he has extended to the measure, of which also his honor the Lieutenant-governor has been a firm and influential friend. If the new board does as much for the improvement of agriculture as the board of education on which it is partly modelled has done for *that* great interest, it will indeed prove a public blessing.

Another active cause of the start which our agriculture has taken within the last thirty years, I find in the great increase of disposable capital and its liberal investment in the soil. Capital performs the same functions in agriculture that it does in commerce or manufactures. No great improvements can be expected, unless with the aid of capital, which

* The first geological survey of Massachusetts took place under the administration of Gov. Lincoln.

can afford to lay out of the interest while the experiment is going on, and if need be, bear the burden of failure. In order to carry on husbandry to the greatest advantage, there must be sufficient means, not for costly buildings or tasteful embellishments; these gratify the eye, and when they can be afforded, are a praiseworthy object of expenditure; but they add nothing to the productive value of an estate. But in order to the *progress* of agriculture there must be a sufficient quantity and variety of land, — good buildings well adapted to their several objects, — durable fences, plenty of stock of all kinds, superior implements, and the means of commanding an adequate supply of labor. All this requires capital.

It is within rather a recent period that great investments for the purposes of agricultural improvement have been made even in England, where capital is so abundant. But at the present time sums are expended for this object which are are almost fabulous. The outlay of the late Lord Leicester, better known as Mr. Thomas Coke, for improving his light soils in Norfolk; the expenditure of the Duke of Portland on the water meadows of Clipstone; and that of several great proprietors in tile-draining, almost surpass belief. Mr. Colman, in his work on the agriculture of Europe, gives very interesting details on this subject. I never wish to see the time when any such accumulations of property as are required for these gigantic operations, shall be made in this country; they are out of proportion to every thing else that exists among us; but all will agree with me that great benefit has accrued to our husbandry from the capital, which, for thirty years past, has been flowing from the seaboard to the interior. Houses, barns, and fences have been built, wet meadows drained, rocky wastes cleared and brought into tillage, improved breeds of animals imported, and in many parts of the State an almost entirely new face put upon the country. This species of investment may not in all cases yield the largest immediate return; but I really think it is that which, in the long run, is most advantageous to the community.

Another circumstance which, if I am not mistaken, has contributed, especially of late years, to the improvement of

our agriculture, or which certainly has prevented it from experiencing a drawback in consequence of a scarcity of labor, is the great immigration from Europe. Many causes had combined to drain the Atlantic States, and especially the interior of our own State, of a large portion of the flower of our youth. Commercial life has been too often regarded by our young men as preferable to farming, and has tempted them from the country to town. I believe they make a mistake even in reference to the acquisition of property. A very intelligent gentleman, not now living, (the late Mr. John Lowell,) told me many years ago, that he himself or some friend, — I forget which, — made a list of twenty individuals who went from the country to town and engaged in trade, and of twenty others who stayed on the farms where they were born. At the end of twenty-five years, the advantage was on the side of the farmers. More of them had prospered; and in the aggregate they had acquired more property. Such, however, has not been the general impression; and it has too often happened, that some of our best young men have left farms on which they might have done well, to engage in trade in which they have failed. Many, too, have been tempted by the rich lands of the West; and now, lately, California, under the excitement of the gold fever, has more than decimated some portions of New England. There is, perhaps, not a village in Massachusetts that has not sent a representative to San Francisco and the Sacramento. It is obvious that these circumstances must have affected our agriculture unfavorably, by making labor scarce and dear. It seems, therefore, an almost providential appointment, which, at the very moment when this drain was acting most severely upon us, has opened the sluiceways of foreign immigration. Such a phenomenon as that which has been exhibited within the last few years, — a thousand emigrants and more landing upon our shores every day in the year, — is without a parallel in the history of the world. I am not insensible that it is attended with some inconveniences, especially at the places of debarkation. The public charitable institutions in our seaports are burdened by a crowd of new-comers, but what ben-

efit is there under heaven that has not some such drawback? Upon the whole, I am satisfied that we ought to regard this prodigious immigration as a great movement in human affairs, equally beneficial to the old world and the new. The old world is relieved of its surplus population. Many of the immigrants bring capital and skill. Of those who bring neither, nearly all bring the capacity to labor. We have land enough and to spare; labor is of the utmost importance to us, and I am confident that we are deriving benefits from this source far outweighing the inconveniences with which those benefits are qualified.

But I must hasten on, — I fear I detain you too long, — to another source from which our agriculture has derived great improvement. I allude to the railways which, within thirty years, have thrown their network over the State. It is mainly in consequence of the railways that capital, as I have already observed, has flowed back from the seaboard to the interior. But for these great facilities of communication, it would be a far less frequent thing for those who have left the country and prospered in the city, to come back in the decline of life to their native village. Then, too, what a vastly increased value is given by the railroads to the land and its products. The effect may be greatest in the immediate vicinity of the large towns, but I am sure you feel it here, in the greater ease of getting your supplies from the seaboard and sending your produce of all kinds to market. The saving in the condition of the live-stock sent to the cattle fairs at Brighton and Cambridge, — to say nothing of the saving in time and keep, — must in the aggregate be enormous. On the score of humanity alone, it was worth a handsome outlay, to put a stop to such a spectacle as I used constantly to witness from my windows at Cambridge, when I filled one of the offices to which the worthy secretary has so kindly alluded. The sight of a drove of cattle or a flock of sheep the day before the cattle fair, (and that day the day of sacred rest,) worried and hunted by dogs and men through the streets of Cambridge, till they were parched with thirst, foot sore, and half maddened; — the sound of the bellow-

ings, the bleatings, and the barkings of the animals, — of the blows and outcries, and too often the blasphemies of the men, were almost enough to make a man forswear animal food, and live upon sawdust pudding the rest of his life; which I suppose, with that diet, would not be a very long penance. But these things are, I am glad to say, much less frequently witnessed than formerly.

It is now seventeen years this blessed day, for it was on the 7th of October, 1835, that a meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, to take measures for completing the subscription to the Western Railroad. It was really a capital meeting. Perhaps, Mr. President, you were there; at any rate you would have enjoyed it. We had a most respectable deputation from Albany, another from Berkshire, another from the river, others from other parts of the State, and a noble turn out from Boston. Men of all parties united in the work. In the remarks which I had the honor of submitting to the assembly that evening, I ventured to say, that after the great questions of independence and liberty, I believed that the doors of Faneuil Hall were never opened for an object of greater importance to the city and the State. On the 14th of April following, I had the exquisite satisfaction of putting my name to the act authorizing a subscription on the part of the Commonwealth for one million dollars of the capital stock of the road. There was a talk of attempting to reconsider the bill after it had passed its last stage, but you might as well have tried to reconsider a law of Cyrus the Elder. The bill was in the council-chamber and approved by me, before the ink was dry with which it was signed by the president of the senate. Some persons said we were extravagant, — that we were bankrupting the treasury, — that we were laying a mortgage on every farm in the State. Sir, I believe that those who thought and said these things were quite sincere in their opinion, I will only say I differed from them. On the 3d of October, 1839, we opened the road to Springfield; it has since been continued to Albany. It has not cost a dollar to the public or to any individual, except what has been paid in

virtue of voluntary subscription; it is paying seven or eight per cent. interest; it yields the treasury a handsome income on the investment, and I believe it quite within bounds to say, that it is every year of our lives adding a million of dollars to the income of the citizens of this Commonwealth. A mortgage on every farm! Why, Mr. President, if you or I could pocket the amount of all the mortgages which have been lifted from the farms of this State, in consequence of the enhanced value they have derived from this great work, we could afford to pay the whole cost of the railroad from Longmeadow to Northfield, and have a pretty surplus over to go up into Vermont and down into Connecticut.

But I must pass from this to the last cause which I shall mention as materially conducing to the improvement of our husbandry. It has been glanced at in the report from the committee on manufactures, to which we have listened in another place; I allude to the introduction, on a large scale, of one of the other great branches of industry, namely, manufactures. This has operated in favor of our husbandry in many ways. It diminishes the number of competitors in the production, while it multiplies the mouths for the consumption of the fruits of the earth. It brings an effective demand for agricultural produce to the farmer's door. Without interfering with any controverted points of political economy, I may say without fear of contradiction, that the most prosperous state of society is that, where all the great branches of industry are successfully carried on, side by side, feeding, clothing, supplying, and thus sustaining each other. Whoever has observed the change that has taken place, in our own State, within thirty years, in the immediate neighborhood of the large manufacturing establishments at Waltham, Cabotville, Lowell, Lawrence, can estimate the justice of these remarks. Paradoxical as it may sound, it is the neighboring farmer, who derives the greatest benefit from a large manufacturing establishment. It has been calculated, that in the aggregate the capitalist has not realized six per cent. upon his manufacturing investments; but the creation of

new markets for agricultural produce has given value to land which had scarce any value before, and greatly increased the value of that which previously yielded a small income.

This region, sir, has profited largely in this way, but is destined to derive still greater benefit, — incalculably greater benefit, in time to come, from the growth of manufactures. It is not alone by enriching your meadows, that your noble river contributes to your agricultural prosperity. I do not undervalue its importance in this respect; Heaven forbid! I know from what a magnificent range of country it gathers up, through a hundred tributaries, the prolific seeds of plenty. I know, sir, that in every bundle of broomcorn that is cut in your valley, there are elements of growth from the highlands of Canada, from the green mountains of Vermont, from the white hills of New Hampshire, poured down to form the fertilizing deposit which your glorious Nile annually spreads upon your lowlands. But while this agency will continue to operate to the end of the world, there is another by means of which the Connecticut River will render still greater benefits to your husbandry. Its rapids and falls have already become the seats of important manufacturing establishments, and are destined at no remote period to concentrate an amount of productive industry in this immediate neighborhood, beyond any thing to be found in any other locality. I speak from no bias of interest, Mr. President, when I say that before the last tints of the rose of youth upon the fairest cheek in this assembly shall have softened into the autumnal hue of declining years; before the lad, whom I saw at the end of this table a moment since, shall have a head as gray as mine, there will be a city of fifty thousand inhabitants at the falls of Hadley. I hope that boy will remember what I say, and if some fifty years hence he shall stand where I stand, and make a speech at the anniversary of this society, let him say that he remembers how a poor old hunker of an ex-governor in 1852, had enough of young America in his veins to lift the veil which hides the future, far enough at least to discern the coming fortunes of Holyoke.

Sir, as I intimated, I have no interest in the prediction. I should not be a dollar the poorer if the new dam was to follow the old one down stream to-morrow; nor a farthing the richer if by the hand of a higher power, its braces and its abutments were turned into a mass of red sandstone, as firm as that which lies at the basis of Mount Holyoke. But I say that the seventy weeks in the book of Daniel were not surer to be fulfilled, than the prospects of the new city to be realized. It was perhaps begun a little too soon, but the population of the United States will soon overtake it. It must be a long start, which does not soon vanish before the growth of a population of twenty-four millions, which doubles itself in twenty-five years. Such a dam, such a water power I never saw!

Sir Walter Scott, in one of his poems, makes the old monk of Melrose say to William of Deloraine, who had come to get the magic book from the tomb of the wizard,—

> "Warrior, I could say to thee
> The words that cleft Eildon hills in three,
> And bridled the Tweed with a curb of stone."

What the words were, that cleft Mount Holyoke and Mount Tom in twain, is known only to Him by whom "the everlasting mountains were scattered." But I can tell you, sir, the words that have bridled the noble river that flows between them with a curb of stone, and have taught it, instead of wasting itself on the points of jagged barren rocks and brawling ledges, to pour through copious floodgates over the untiring wheels of productive industry. These mighty words are Enterprise, Capital, and Mechanical Skill; Enterprise to conceive the plan, Capital to furnish the means, and Engineering Skill to accomplish the work. It is these, and not the fabled powers of necromancy, that have planted themselves below the falls at Hadley; have taught the mighty river to flow backwards from before their gigantic masonry; and thus laid the foundations of a city which will yet with its suburbs spread for miles along the bank, and be felt in the enhanced value of every farm in the county.

But I crave your pardon, sir, for the length of my remarks. I end as I began, with the expression of my thanks to the company, now doubly due, for the patience with which you have listened to me; and I beg to offer you, in resuming my seat, my cordial wishes for the health and prosperity of every individual in this assembly.

THE DEATH OF DANIEL WEBSTER.*

Mr. Mayor and Fellow-Citizens: —

I never rose to address an assembly, when I was so little fit, body or mind, to perform the duty; and I never felt so keenly how inadequate are words to express such an emotion, as manifestly pervades this meeting in common with the whole country. There is but one voice that ever fell upon my ear, which could do justice to such an occasion. That voice, alas! we shall hear no more for ever. No more at the bar will it unfold the deepest mysteries of the law; no more will it speak conviction to admiring senates; no more in this hall, the chosen theatre of his intellectual dominion, will it lift the soul as with a swell of the pealing organ, or stir the blood as with the tones of a clarion, in the inmost chambers of the heart.

We are assembled, fellow-citizens, to pour out the fulness of our feelings; not in the vain attempt to do honor to the great man who is taken from us; most assuredly, not with the presumptuous hope on my part to magnify his name and his praise. They are spread throughout the Union. From east to west, and from north to south, (which he knew, as he told you, only that he might embrace them in the arms of a loving patriotism,) a voice of lamentation has already gone forth, such as has not echoed through the land since the death of him who was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.

* Remarks made at a public meeting of the citizens of Boston in Fanueil Hall, on the 27th of November, 1852, on occasion of the decease of Daniel Webster, at Marshfield, on the 24th.

You have listened, fellow-citizens, to the resolutions which have been submitted to you by Col. Heard. I thank him for offering them. It does honor to him, and to those with whom he acts in politics, and whom I have no doubt he well represents, that he has stepped forward so liberally on this occasion. The resolutions are emphatic, sir, but I feel that they do not say too much. No one will think they overstate the magnitude of our loss. Who that is capable of appreciating a character like that of Daniel Webster, who of us, fellow-citizens, that has known him; that has witnessed the masterly skill with which he would pour the full effulgence of his mind on some contested legal and constitutional principle, till what seemed hard and obscure became as plain as day; who that has seen him, in all the glory of intellectual ascendency,

"Ride on the whirlwind and direct the storm"

of parliamentary conflict; who that has drunk of the pure fountains of wisdom and thought in the volumes of his writings; who alas, sir, that has seen him

"in his happier hour
Of social pleasure, ill-exchanged for power,"

that has come within the fascination of his benignant smile, has felt the pressure of his hand, and tasted the sweets of his fireside eloquence, will think that the resolutions say too much?

No, fellow-citizens, we come together not to do honor to him, but to do justice to ourselves. We obey an impulse from within. Such a feeling cannot be pent up in solitude. We must meet, neighbor with neighbor, citizen with citizen, man with man, to sympathize with each other. If we did not, mute nature would rebuke us. The granite hills of New Hampshire, within whose shadow he drew his first breath, would cry shame; Plymouth rock, which all but moved at his approach; the slumbering echoes of this hall which rang so grandly with his voice; that "silent but majestic orator," which rose in no mean degree at his command on Bunker

Hill, — all, all would cry out at our degeneracy and ingratitude.

Mr. Chairman, I do not stand here to pronounce the eulogy of Mr. Webster; it is not necessary. Eulogy has already performed her first offices to his memory. As the mournful tidings have flashed through the country, the highest officers of nation and State, the most dignified public bodies, the most prominent individuals, without distinction of party, the press of the country, the great voice of the land, all have spoken and with one accord of opinion and feeling; with a unanimity that does honor at once to the object of this touching attestation and to those who make it. The record of his life, from the humble roof beneath which he was born, (with no inheritance but poverty and an honored name,) up through the arduous paths of manhood, which he trod with lion heart and giant steps, till they conducted him to the helm of State, — this stirring narrative, not unfamiliar before, has, with melancholy promptitude, within the last three days, been again sent abroad through the length and breadth of the land. It has spread from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Struggling poverty has been cheered afresh, honest ambition has been kindled, patriotic resolve has been invigorated; while all have mourned.

The poor boy at the village school has been cheered as he has read that the time was, when Daniel Webster, whose father told him he should go to college if he had to sell every acre of his farm to pay the expense, laid his head on the shoulder of that fond and discerning parent, and wept the thanks he could not speak. The pale student who ekes out his scanty support by extra toil, has gathered comfort, when reminded that the first jurist, statesman, and orator of the time, earned with his weary fingers by the midnight lamp, the means of securing the same advantages of education to a beloved brother. Every true-hearted citizen throughout the Union has felt an honest pride as he reperuses the narrative, in reflecting that he lives beneath a constitution and a government under which such a man has been formed and trained, and that he himself is compatriot with him. He

does more, sir; he reflects with gratitude that in consequence of what that man has done, and written, and said, in the result of his efforts to strengthen the pillars of the Union, a safer inheritance of civil liberty, a stronger assurance that these blessings will endure, will descend to his children.

I know, Mr. Mayor, how presumptuous it would be to dwell on any personal causes of grief, in the presence of this august sorrow which spreads its dark wings over the land. You will not, however, be offended, if by way of apology for putting myself forward on this occasion, I say that my relations with Mr. Webster run further back than those of almost any one in this community. They began the first year he came to live in Boston. When I was but ten or eleven years old, I attended a little private school in Short street, (as it was then called; it is now the continuation of Kingston street,) kept by the late Hon. Ezekiel Webster, the elder brother to whom I have alluded, and a brother worthy of his kindred. Owing to illness or some other cause of absence on his part, the school was kept for a short time by Daniel Webster, then a student of law in Mr. Gore's office; and on this occasion, forty-seven or eight years ago, and I a child of ten, our acquaintance, since then never interrupted, began.

When I entered public life, it was with his encouragement. In 1838, I acted, fellow-citizens, as your organ in the great ovation which you gave him in this hall. When he came to the department of State in 1841, it was on his recommendation that I, living in privacy beyond the Alps, was appointed to a very high office abroad; and in the course of the last year, he gave me the strongest proof of his confidence, in intrusting to me the care of conducting his works through the press. May I venture, sir, to add, that in the last letter but one which I had the happiness to receive from him, alluding with a kind of sad presentiment, which I could not then fully appreciate, but which now unmans me, to these kindly relations of half a century, he adds:—"We now and then see stretching across the heavens a clear, blue, cerulean sky, without cloud or mist or haze. And such appears to

me our acquaintance from the time when I heard you for a week recite your lessons in the little school-house in Short street, to the date hereof," 21st July, 1852.

Mr. Chairman, I do not dwell upon the traits of Mr. Webster's public character, however tempting the theme. Its bright developments in a long life of service are before the world; they are wrought into the annals of the country. Whoever in after-times shall write the history of the United States for the last forty years, will write the life of Daniel Webster; and whoever writes the life of Daniel Webster, as it ought to be written, will write the history of the Union from the time he took a leading part in its concerns. I prefer, on this mournful occasion, to allude to those private traits which show the MAN, the kindness of his heart, the generosity of his spirit, his freedom from all the bitterness of party, the unaffected gentleness of his nature. In preparing the new edition of his works, he thought proper to leave almost every thing to my discretion as far as matters of taste are concerned. One thing only he enjoined upon me with an earnestness approaching to a command. "My friend," said he, "I wish to perpetuate no feuds. I have lived a life of strenuous political warfare. I have sometimes, though rarely, and that in self-defence, been led to speak of others with severity. I beg you, where you can do it without wholly changing the character of the speech, and thus doing essential injustice to me, to obliterate every trace of personality of this kind. I should prefer not to leave a word that would give unnecessary pain to any honest man, however opposed to me."

But I need not tell you, fellow-citizens, that there is no one of our distinguished public men, whose speeches contain less occasion for such an injunction. Mr. Webster habitually abstained from the use of the poisoned weapons of personal invective or party odium. No one could more studiously refrain from all attempts to make a political opponent personally hateful. If the character of our congressional discussions has of late years somewhat declined in dignity, no portion of the blame lies at his door. With Mr. Calhoun, who

for a considerable portion of their joint lives was his chief antagonist, and with whom he was brought into most direct collision, he maintained friendly personal relations. He did full justice to his talent and character. You remember the feeling with which he spoke of him at the time of his decease. Mr. Calhoun, in his turn, entertained a just estimate of his great opponent's worth. He said, toward the close of his life, that of all the leading men of the day, "there was not one whose political course had been more strongly marked by a strict regard to truth and honor than Mr. Webster's."

One of the resolutions speaks of a permanent memorial to Mr. Webster. I do not know what is contemplated, but I trust that such a memorial there will be. I trust that marble and brass, in the hands of the most skilful artists of the country, will be put in requisition to reproduce to us, and nowhere so appropriately as in this hall, the lineaments of that noble form and beaming countenance, on which we have so often gazed with delight. But after all, fellow-citizens, his noblest monument must be found in his works. There he will live and speak to us and our children when brass and marble have crumbled into dust. As a repository of political truth and practical wisdom applied to the affairs of government, I know not where we shall find their equal. The works of Burke naturally suggest themselves to the mind, as the only writings in our language that can sustain the comparison. Certainly no compositions in the English tongue can take precedence of those of Burke, in depth of thought, reach of forecast, or magnificence of style. I think, however, it may be said, without partiality, either national or personal, that while the reader is cloyed at last with the gorgeous finish of Burke's diction, there is a severe simplicity and a significant plainness in Webster's writing that never tire. It is precisely this which characterizes the statesman in distinction from the political philosopher. In political disquisition elaborated in the closet, the palm must perhaps be awarded to Burke over all others, ancient or modern. But in the actual conflicts of the senate, man against man and opinion against

opinion; in the noble war of debate, where measures are sustained and opposed, on which the welfare of the country and the peace of the world depend, where sometimes the line of intellectual battle is changed in a moment, — no time to reflect, no leisure to cull words, or gather up illustrations, but all to be decided by a vote, although the reputation of a life may be at stake, — all this is a very different matter, and here Mr. Webster was immeasurably the superior. Accordingly, we find historically, (incredible as it sounds, and what I am ready to say, I will not believe, though it is unquestionably true,) that those inimitable orations of Burke, which one cannot read without a thrill of admiration to his finger's ends, actually emptied the benches of parliament.

Ah, gentlemen, it was very different with our great parliamentary orator. He not only chained to their seats willing, or if there were such a thing, unwilling senators, but the largest hall was too small for his audiences. On the memorable 7th of March, 1850, when he was expected to speak upon the great questions then pending before the country, not only was the senate chamber thronged to its utmost capacity, at an early hour, but all the passages to it, the rotunda of the capitol, and even the avenues of the city, were alive with the crowds who were desirous of gaining admittance. Another senator, (Mr. Walker of Wisconsin,) not a political friend, was entitled to the floor. With equal good taste and good feeling, he stated that "he was aware that those great multitudes had not come together to hear him; and he was pleased to yield the floor to the only man, as he believed, who could draw together such an assembly." This sentiment, the effusion of parliamentary courtesy, will, perhaps, be found no inadequate expression of what will finally be the judgment of posterity.

Among the memorable words which fell from the lips of Mr. Webster just before they were closed for ever, the most remarkable are those, which my friend Hillard has just quoted, — "I STILL LIVE." They attest the serene composure of his mind, the Christian heroism, with which he was able

to turn his consciousness in upon itself, and explore, step by step, the dark passage, (dark to us, but to him we trust already lighted from above,) which connects this world with the world to come. But I know not, Mr. Chairman, what words could have been better chosen to express his relation to the world he was leaving: "I still live. This poor dust is just returning to the dust from which it was taken; but I feel that I live in the affections of the people to whose service I have consecrated my days. I still live. The icy hand of death is already laid on my heart, but I shall still live in those words of faithful counsel which I have uttered to my fellow-citizens, and which I now leave them, as the last bequest of a dying friend."

Mr. Chairman, in the long and honored career of our lamented friend, there are efforts and triumphs which will hereafter fill one of the brightest pages in our history. But I greatly err if the closing scene — the height of the religious sublime — does not, in the judgment of other days, far transcend in interest the brightest exploits of his public life. Within that darkened chamber at Marshfield, was witnessed a scene of which we shall not readily find a parallel. The serenity with which he stood in the presence of the King of Terrors, without trepidation or flutter, for hours and days of expectation; the thoughtfulness for the public business, when the sands were so nearly run out; the hospitable care for the reception of the friends who came to Marshfield; that affectionate and solemn leave separately taken, name by name, of wife, and children, and kindred, and friends, and family, down to the humblest members of the household; the designation of the coming day, then near at hand, when "all that was mortal of Daniel Webster would cease to exist;" the dimly-recollected strains of the funereal poetry of Gray, last faint flash of the soaring intellect; the feebly murmured words of Holy Writ from the lips of the good physician, who, when all the resources of human art had been exhausted, had a drop of spiritual balm for the parting soul; the clasped hands; the dying prayer: Oh! my fellow-citizens, that is a consum-

mation, over which tears of pious sympathy will be shed, ages after the glories of the forum and the senate are forgotten.

"His sufferings ended with the day,
Yet lived he at its close;
And breathed the long, long night away
In statue-like repose.

But ere the sun, in all his state,
Illumed the eastern skies,
He passed through glory's morning gate,
And walked in Paradise."*

* Mr. James Aldrich.

THE COLONIZATION OF AFRICA.*

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY:—

It was my intention, when I was requested some weeks ago to take a part in the proceedings of this evening, to give to the subject of the Colonization Society and its operations on the coast of Africa, the most thorough examination in my power, in all its bearings; considering that, whether we look to the condition of this country, or the interests of Africa, no more important object could engage our attention. But during almost the whole of the interval that has since elapsed, my time and my thoughts have been so entirely taken up and preoccupied, that it has been altogether out of my power to make more than the hastiest preparation for the part which I am to take in this evening's proceedings. I am therefore obliged to throw myself upon the indulgence of the audience, with such an imperfect view of the subject as I have been alone able to take under the circumstances in which I have been situated.

The Colonization Society seems to me to have been the subject of much unmerited odium; of much equally unmerited indifference on the part of the great mass of the community; and to have received that attention which it so well deserves, from but very few. We behold it now only in its infancy. All that we see in this country is the quiet operation of a private association, pursuing the even tenor of its way without ostentation, without eclat; and on the coast of Af-

* At the Anniversary meeting of the American Colonization Society, held in Washington City, 18th of January, 1853.

rica there is nothing to attract our attention but a small settlement, the germ of a republic, which, however prosperous, is still just commencing its existence.

But before we deride even these small beginnings, before we make up our minds that the most important futurities are not wrapped up in them, even as the spreading oak is wrapped up in the small acorn which we can hold in our fingers, we should do well to recollect the first twenty-five or thirty years of the settlement of Jamestown, in your State, Mr. President, the parent of Virginia. We should do well to remember the history of that dreadful winter at Plymouth, when more than half the Mayflower's little company were laid beneath the sod, and that sod smoothed over for fear the native savage would come and count the number of the graves. I think, if you look to what has been done in Liberia in the last quarter of a century, you will find that it compares favorably with the most and the best that was done in Virginia or in Plymouth during the same period. These seem to me to be reasons why we should not look with too much distrust at the small beginnings that have been made.

The foundation of this Society was laid in a great political and moral necessity. The measures which were taken for the suppression of the slave-trade naturally led to the capture of slave-ships; and the question immediately arose, what should be done with the victims that were rescued from them. It was necessary that they should be returned to Africa, but they could not, each and all, be sent to their native villages. They had been collected from the whole interior of that country, many of them from a distance of two thousand miles in the interior, and it was out of the question that they should immediately be sent to their homes. If they had been placed upon the coast, in a body, at any of the usual points of resort, the result would have been to throw them at once back again, into the grasp of the native chiefs, who are the principal agents of the slave-trade. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary, if the course of measures undertaken for the suppression of the slave-trade was to be pursued, that some colony should be founded, under the name and influence and

patronage of a powerful European or American state, where these poor victims should be placed at once, safely protected, supplied with necessary provisions of all kinds, civilized if possible, and by degrees enabled to find their way back to their native villages, which some of them, we know, both from the English and American colony, have from time to time done.

This, as I understand it, was one of the first ideas that gave origin to this Society, and, as I said before, it was a political and moral necessity. Then came the kindred object, which was more important, because applicable to a much larger number of persons, of providing a suitable home for that portion of the free colored population of this country that were desirous of emigrating to the land of their fathers. This, at first, as I understand, (for it was before my day,) was an object that approved itself almost universally throughout the country, to the South as well as to the North, to the white as well as to the colored population. Everybody seemed to think at first that this was a practicable, desirable, and most praiseworthy object. By degrees, I am sorry to say, jealousies crept in; prejudices, for so I must account them, arose; and in process of time, it has come to pass that this Society has become, I must say, intensely unpopular with a large portion of the colored population, whose interests and welfare were among the prime objects of its foundation.

I will not undertake, on this occasion, to discuss the foundation of these prejudices. I will not dwell upon those, as they are called, oppressive laws, and that still more oppressive public sentiment in all parts of the country, which render the condition of the colored population, in every part of the Union, one of disability, discouragement, and hardship. In order to meet the objection to the operations of the Society, which arises from the statement that it tends to coöperate with, and to strengthen these oppressive laws and this oppressive public sentiment, I will, for argument's sake, take it for granted, that this legislation and this sentiment are correctly thus characterized; that they are as oppressive, cruel, and tyrannical, as they are declared to be.

Taking this for granted, I ask, in the name of common sense, in the name of humanity, does it furnish any reason why the free colored population of the country should be discouraged from leaving a state of things like this, and going to the land of their fathers; — a continent of their own, where no such legislation, where no such unfriendly public sentiment would exist; a great and fertile land, which is inviting them to come and take possession of it, and in various parts of which there is every thing that can attract and reward the industry of man? It seems to me that the objection which is urged to the Society, that it coöperates with that oppressive state of things here, furnishes the very strongest reason in favor of the emigration.

Let us take a parallel case. Suppose any one had gone among that little company of persecuted Christians in England, in the year 1608, who afterwards became the pilgrim church of Mr. Robinson at Leyden; or suppose any one in 1630 had approached the more important company of Gov. Winthrop, the great founder of Massachusetts; had tried to excite their feelings against the projected emigration; had told them that England belonged to them as much as it did to their oppressors; had urged them to stand upon their rights, and if necessary, bleed and die for them; had depicted the hardships and sufferings of the passage; had painted in the darkest colors, the terrors of the wilderness into which they were about to venture; would that have been true friendship, would it have been kindness, would it have been humanity? Or, to come nearer home, suppose at the present day one should go into Ireland, or France, or Switzerland, or Germany, or Norway, or any of the countries from which hundreds of thousands of men, in a depressed, destitute, and unhappy condition, are emigrating to the United States, to find a refuge, a home, a social position, and employment; suppose any one should go to them and try to stimulate a morbid patriotism, a bitter nationality, telling them the country where they were born belonged as much to them as to the more favored classes, urging them to stay where they were born, telling them that it was doubtful whether they would

get employment in the new country, talking of the expenses, the diseases, the hardships of the poor emigrant, and in this way endeavor to deter them from this great adventure, which is to end in procuring a home and a position in the world, and an education for themselves and their children; would this be friendship, would this be kindness, would this be common humanity? But these are the arguments against emigration to Africa, which are addressed to the free colored population of this country; and it is by appeals like these that the Society and the colony have become, as I am sorry to say I believe is the case, highly unpopular among them.

But I must hasten on from this object of providing a home for the free colored population who wish to emigrate, to another, which was a very considerable and leading object with the *founders* of this society, and that is, the suppression of the foreign slave-trade. It is grievous to reflect, it is one of the darkest things that we read of in history, that contemporaneously with the discovery of this continent, and mainly from mistaken humanity towards its natives, the whole western coast of Africa was thrown open to that desolating traffic, which from time immemorial, had been carried on from the ports of the Mediterranean, the Nile, and the Red Sea, and the shores of Eastern Africa. It is still more painful to reflect that it was precisely at the period when the best culture of modern Europe was moving rapidly toward its perfection; that the intercourse of Africa with Europe, instead of proving a blessing, proved a curse. It was in the days of Shakspeare, and Spenser, and Hooker, and Bacon, and other bright suns in the firmament of England's glory, that her navigators first began to go forth, and, as if in derision, in vessels bearing the venerable names of "The Solomon," and "The Jesus," to the coast of Africa, to bear away its wretched natives into a state of bondage? It was at the very time when, in England and France, the last vestiges of the feudal system were breaking down, when private war was put an end to, and men begun to venture out from the walled towns and dwell in safety in the open country, and to traverse the high-roads

without fear; it was then that these most polished nations began to enter into competition with each other, which should monopolize that cruel traffic, the African slave-trade, which was carried on principally by stirring up a system of universal hostility, not merely between nation and nation, but between tribe and tribe, clan and clan, family and family, and often between members of the same household; for, I am sorry to say, it is no unprecedented thing for these poor creatures to sell their wives and children to the slave-trader.

In this way the whole western coast of Africa became, like the northern and eastern coast, at an earlier period, one general mart for the slave-trade. This lasted for three hundred years. At length the public sentiment of the world, in Europe and America, was awakened. Several of the colonial assemblies in this country passed acts inhibiting the slave-trade; but they were uniformly negatived by the crown. The continental congress, in 1776, denounced the traffic. The federal convention, in 1789, fixed a prospective period for its abolition in this country. The example was followed by the states of Europe. At the present day, every Christian and several of the Mohammedan powers have forbidden it. Yet it is extensively carried on, and some authorities say that the number of slaves taken from Africa has not materially diminished; but I hope this is not true. This state of facts has led several persons, most desirous of putting an end to the traffic, to devise some new system, some new means for its abolition; and all agree, — there is not a dissenting voice on that point, — that the most effectual, and in fact the only substitute, is the establishment of colonies. Wherever a colony is established on the coast of Africa, under the direction of a Christian power in Europe or America, there the slave-trade disappears; not merely from the coast of the colony, but from the whole interior of the country which had found an outlet at any point on that coast. In this way, from the most northern extremity of the French and English colonies down to the most southern limit of the American settlements, the slave-trade has entirely disappeared. The last slave mart in that region, the Gallinas, has within a short time, I believe,

come within the jurisdiction of the American colony of Liberia. Now, along that whole line of coast, and throughout the whole interior connected with it, a line of coast, as I believe, not less than that from Maine to Georgia, from every port and every harbor of which the foreign slave-trade was carried on within the memory of man, it has entirely disappeared. What congresses of sovereigns at Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle could not do, what squadrons of war steamers cruising along the coast could not achieve, what quintuple treaties among the powers of Europe could not affect by the arts of diplomacy, has been done by these poor little colonies, one of which at least, that of Liberia, has, in latter times, been, almost without the recognition of this government, struggling into permanence by the resources furnished by private benevolence. I ask, what earthly object of this kind more meritorious than this can be named? And what career is there opened to any colored man in Europe or America, more praiseworthy, more inviting than this, to form, as it were, in his own person, a portion of that living cordon stretching along the coast, and barring its whole extent from the approaches of this traffic?

But even the suppression of the slave-trade, all important as it is, is but auxiliary to another ulterior object, of still greater consequence; and that is, the civilization of Africa. The condition of Africa is a disgrace to the rest of the civilized world. With an extent nearly three times as great as that of Europe; its known portions of great fertility, teeming with animal and vegetable life; traversed by magnificent chains of mountains, east and west, north and south, whose slopes send down the tributaries of some of the noblest rivers in the world; connecting on the north by the Mediterranean, with the ancient and modern culture of Europe; projecting on the west far into the Atlantic Ocean, that great highway of the world's civilization; on the south-west making an approach to our own South American continent; open on the east to the trade of India; and on the north-east, by the Red Sea and the Nile, locked closely into the Asiatic continent; — one would have thought that with all these nat-

ural endowments, with this noble geographical position, Africa was destined to be the emporium, the garden of the globe. Man, alone, in this unhappy continent has dropped so far into arrears in the great march of humanity, behind the other portions of our race, that the question has at length been started whether he does not labor under some incurable, natural inferiority. Of this, for myself, I have no belief whatever.

I do not deny that among the numerous races on the African continent, as among the numerous races in all the other continents, there are great diversities, from the politic and warlike tribes upon the central plateau, to the broken down hordes on the slave coast, and on the banks of the Congo, and the squalid, half-human Hottentot. But do you think the difference between them is naturally greater, than it is between the Laplander, the Gipsy, the Calmuc, and the proudest and brightest specimens of humanity in Europe or America? I think not.

What then can be the cause of the continued uncivilization of Africa? Without attempting presumptuously to pry into the mysteries of Providence, I think that adequate causes can be found in some historical and geographical circumstances. It seems a law of human progress, which, however difficult to explain, is too well sustained by facts to be doubted, that in the first advances out of barbarism into civilization, the original impulse and guidance must come from abroad. This, of course, leaves untouched the great mystery, who could have made a beginning; but still, as far back as history or tradition runs, we do find that the first impulse came from abroad. From Egypt and Syria the germs of improvement were brought to Greece, from Greece to Rome, from Rome to the north and west of Europe, from Europe to America; and they are now speeding on from us to the furthest west, until at length we shall meet the East again. To what extent the aboriginal element shall be borne down and overpowered by the foreign influences, or enter into kindly combination with them, depends upon the moral and intellectual development of both parties. There may be such

aptitude for improvement, or the disparity between the native and foreign race may be so small, that a kindly combination will at once take place. This is supposed to have been the case with the ancient Grecian tribes in reference to the emigrants from Egypt and the East. Or the inaptitude may be so great, and the disparity between the natives and the foreigners may be so wide, that no such kindly union can take place. This is commonly supposed to be the case with the natives of our own continent, who are slowly and silently retiring before the inroads of a foreign influence.

Now in reference to this law of social progress, there have been in Africa two most unfortunate difficulties. In the first place, all the other branches of the human family that have had the start of Africa in civilization, have, from the very dawn of history, been concerned in the slave-trade, so that intercourse with foreigners, instead of being a source of mutual improvement to both parties, particularly to the weaker, has, in the case of Africa, only tended to sink them deeper into barbarism and degeneracy of every kind. This has been one difficulty. Another is the climate, this vast equatorial expanse, this aggregate of land between the tropics, greater than in all the other parts of the globe together; a fervid, vertical sun, burning down upon the rank vegetation of her fertile plains, and rendering her shores and watercourses pestiferous to a foreign constitution. This circumstance also seems to shut Africa out from the approaches of civilization through the usual channels. The ordinary inducements of gain are too weak to tempt the merchant to those feverous shores. Nothing but a taste for adventure approaching to mania, attracts the traveller; and when Christian benevolence allures the devoted missionary to this field of labor, it lures him too often to his doom.

By this combination of influences, Africa seems to have been shut out from the beginning, from all those benefits that otherwise result from foreign intercourse.

But now, mark and reverence the providence of God, educing out of these disadvantages of climate, as we consider them, and out of this colossal moral wrong, the foreign slave-

trade, out of these seemingly hopeless elements of physical and moral evil, after long cycles of crime and suffering, of violence and retribution, such as history nowhere else can parallel, educing, I say, from these almost hopeless elements, by the blessed alchemy of Christian love, the ultimate means of the regeneration of Africa.

The conscience of the Christian world was at last roused; an end, it was determined, should be put to the foreign slave-trade, but not till it had conveyed six millions of the children and descendants of Africa to the Western hemisphere, of whom about one and a half millions have passed into a state of freedom; and though born and educated, no doubt, under circumstances unfavorable to moral or intellectual progress, sharing in the main the blessings and the lights of our common Christian civilization, have proved themselves, in the example of the Liberian colony, amply qualified to be the medium of conveying these blessings to the land of their fathers.

Thus you see, at the very moment when the work is ready to commence, the instruments are prepared. Do I err in supposing that the same august Providence which has arranged, or has permitted, the mysterious sequence of events to which I have referred, has also called out, and is inviting those chosen agents to enter upon the work? Every thing else has been tried, and failed. Commercial adventure, on the part of individuals, has been unsuccessful; strength, courage, endurance, almost superhuman, have failed; well-appointed expeditions, fitted out under the auspices of wealthy associations and powerful governments, have ended in the most calamitous failure; and it has been proved at last, by all this experience, that the white race, of itself, cannot civilize Africa.

When that most noble expedition, I think in 1841, was fitted out, under the highest auspices in England, to found an agricultural colony at the confluence of the Niger and the Chad, out of one hundred and forty-five white persons that formed a part of it, one hundred and thirty sickened, and forty died. On the other hand, out of one hundred and fifty-eight colored men, that formed part of the expedition, only

eleven sickened, and they were men who had passed some years in the West Indies and in Europe, and not one died. I think that single fact, in reference to the civilization of Africa, is worth, I had almost said, all the treasure and all the suffering of that ill-fated expedition.

Sir, you cannot civilize Africa, you Caucasian, you proud white man, you all-boasting, all-daring Anglo-Saxon, you cannot do this work. You have subjugated Europe; the native races of this country are melting before you, like the untimely snows of April beneath a vernal sun; you have possessed yourselves of India; you threaten China and Japan; the farthest isles of the Pacific are not distant enough to escape your grasp, or insignificant enough to elude your notice; but this great Central Africa lies at your doors, and defies your power. Your war steamers and your squadrons may range along the coast; but neither on the errands of peace, nor on the errands of war, can you penetrate into and occupy the interior. The God of nature, for purposes inscrutable, but no doubt to be reconciled with his wisdom and goodness, has drawn a cordon across the chief inlets, that you cannot pass. You may hover on the coast; but woe to you, if you attempt to make a permanent lodgement in the interior. Their poor mud-built villages will oppose no resistance to your arms; but death sits portress at their undefended gates. Yellow fevers, and blue plagues, and intermittent poisons, that you can see as well as feel, hover in the air. If you attempt to go up the rivers, pestilence shoots from the mangroves that fringe their noble banks; and the all-glorious sun, that kindles every thing else into life and power, darts down disease and death into your languid frame. No, no, Anglo-Saxon, this is not your vocation.* You may direct the way, you may survey the coast, you may point your finger, make hasty expeditions into the interior; but you must leave it to others to go and abide there. The God of nature, in another branch of his family, has chosen out the instruments of this great work, descendants of the torrid clime, children of the burning

* The success of the most recent explorations encourages me to hope that this description of the unhealthiness of Africa may be somewhat overcharged.

vertical sun, and fitted them, by centuries of stern discipline, for this most noble work, —

"From foreign realms and lands remote,
Supported by His care,
They pass unharmed through burning climes,
And breathe the tainted air."

Sir, I believe that Africa will be civilized, and civilized by the descendants of those who were torn from the land. I believe it, because I will not think that this great and fertile continent is to be forever left in a state of barbarity. I believe it, because I see no other agency fully competent to the work. I believe it, because I see in this agency a most wonderful adaptation, and because hopeful beginnings have already been made.

But doubts are entertained of the practicability of effecting this object by the instrumentality that I have indicated. They are founded, in the first place, on the supposed incapacity of the free colored population of this country and the West Indies to take up and carry on such a work; and then on the supposed degradation, and, if I may use such a word, unimprovability, of the native African races, which is presumed to be so great as to bid defiance to any such operation.

Now, I think it would be very unjust to the colored population of this country and the West Indies, to argue from what they have done under present circumstances, to what they might effect under the most favorable circumstances. I think, upon the whole, all things considered, that they have done quite as well as could be expected; that they have done as well as persons of European or Anglo-American origin would have done after three centuries of similar depression and hardship. You will recollect, sir, that Mr. Jefferson, in his valuable work, the "Notes on Virginia," states, in strong language, the intellectual inferiority of the colored race. I have always thought that it ought to have led Mr. Jefferson to hesitate a little as to the accuracy of this opinion, to recollect that in the very same work he was obliged to defend the

Anglo-American race, to which he himself, and to which so many of us belong, against the very same imputation, brought by an ingenious French writer, the Abbé Raynal, whose opinions were shared by all the school of philosophers to which he belonged. It is but a very few years, I do not know that the time has yet ceased, that we Anglo-Americans were spoken of by our brethren beyond the water, as a poor, degenerate, almost semi-barbarous race. In the liberal journals of England, within thirty years, the question has been contemptuously asked in reference to the native country of Franklin, and Washington, and Adams, and Jefferson, and Madison, and Marshall; of Irving, Prescott, Bancroft, Ticknor, Bryant, Cooper, Longfellow, and Hawthorne, and hosts of others: "Who reads an American book?" It seems to me, in view of facts like this, we ought to be a little cautious how we leap to the conclusion, that the free colored African race is necessarily in a condition of hopeless inferiority.

Then in reference to the other difficulty, about the unimprovability of the African. It is said that the Africans alone, of all the branches of the human family, have never been able to rise out of barbarism. Sir, I do not know that; I do not think that anybody knows it. An impenetrable cloud hangs over the early history of mankind in every part of the globe. We well know, in reference to the whole north and west of Europe, and a great part of the south of Europe, that it was utterly barbarous until the light of the Roman civilization shone in upon it, and that in comparatively recent times. We also know, that in very early times, one of the native African races, I mean the Egyptians, attained a high degree of culture. They were the parents of all the arts of Greece, and through them of the ancient world. The Egyptians were a colored race. They did not belong to the negro type; but still they were purely a colored race, and, if we should judge from their present condition, as unimprovable as any of the tribes of Central Africa. Yet we find upon the banks of the Nile, the massive monuments of their cheerless arts, that have braved the storms of time more successfully than the more graceful structures of Rome and of Greece.

It is true that some nations who have emerged from barbarism at a later period, have attained the precedence over Africa, and have kept it to the present day; but I am not willing to believe that this arises from causes so fixed and permanent in their nature, that no reversal, at no length of time, is to be hoped from their operation. We are led into error by contemplating things too much in the gross. There are tribes in Africa which have made no contemptible progress in various branches of human improvement. On the other hand, if we look at the population of all Europe, if we cast our eyes from Lisbon to Archangel, from the Hebrides to the Black Sea, if for a moment we turn our thoughts from the few who are born to wealth, and its consequent advantages, culture, education, and that lordship over the forces of nature which belongs to cultivated mind, — if we turn from these to the benighted, oppressed, destitute, superstitious, ignorant, suffering millions, who pass their lives in the hopeless toil of the field, the factory, and the mine; whose inheritance, from generation to generation, is beggary; whose education, from sire to son, is stolid ignorance; at whose daily table hunger and thirst are the stewards; whose occasional festivity is brutal intemperance; if we could count their numbers, if we could sum up together in one frightful mass, all their destitution of the comforts and blessings of life, and thus form an estimate of the practical barbarism of the nominally civilized portions of the world, we should, I think, come to the conclusion that this supposed inbred essential superiority of the European races does not really exist.

If there be any such essential superiority, why has it been so late in showing itself? It is said that the Africans have persisted in their barbarism for four or five thousand years. Europe persisted in her barbarism for three or four thousand years; and in the great chronology of Divine Providence, we are taught that a thousand years are but as one day. Sir, it is only ten centuries since the Anglo-Saxons, with whose race we are so fond of claiming kindred, were as barbarous and uncivilized as many of the African tribes. They were a savage, ferocious, warlike people; pirates at sea, bandits on

shore; slaves of the most detestable superstitions; worshipping idols as cruel and ferocious as themselves. And, as to the foreign slave-trade, it is but eight centuries, and perhaps less, since there was as much slave-trade, in proportion to the population, upon the coast of Great Britain, as in the Bight of Benin at the present day. The natives of England, eight centuries ago, were bought and sent to the slave marts in the south and west of Europe. At length, the light of Christianity shone in; refinement, civilization, letters, arts, and by degrees all the delights, all the improvements of life followed in their train; and now we talk with the utmost self-complacency of the essential superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, and look down with disdain upon those portions of the human family who have lagged a little behind us in the march of civilization.

Africa, at the present day, is not in that state of utter barbarism which popular opinion ascribes to it. Here, again, we do not sufficiently discriminate. We judge in the gross. Certainly there are tribes wholly broken down by internal wars, and the detestable foreign slave-trade; but this is not the character of the entire population. They are not all savages. Most of them live by agriculture. There is some traffic between the coast and the interior. Many of the tribes have a respectable architecture, though of a rude kind, but still implying some progress of the arts. Gold dust is collected; iron is smelted and wrought; weapons and utensils of husbandry and household use are fabricated; cloth is woven and dyed; palm-oil is expressed; there are schools; and among the Mohammedan tribes, the Koran is read. You, Mr. President, well remember that twenty-one years ago, you and I saw, in one of the committee-rooms of yonder capitol, a native African, who had been forty years a field slave in the West Indies and in this country, and wrote at the age of seventy the Arabic character, with the fluency and the elegance of a scribe. Why, sir, to give the last test of civilization, Mungo Park tells us in his Journal, that in the interior of Africa, lawsuits are argued with as much ability, as much fluency, and at as much length, as in Edinburgh.

Sir, I do not wish to run into paradox on this subject. I am aware that the condition of the most advanced tribes of Central Africa is, in many respects, wretched, and mainly, in consequence of the slave-trade. The only wonder is, that with this cancer eating into their vitals from age to age, any degree of civilization whatever can exist. But, degraded as the ninety millions of Africans are, I presume you might find, in the aggregate, on the continent of Europe, another ninety millions as degraded, to which each country in that quarter of the globe would contribute its quota. The difference is, and it is certainly an all important difference, that in Europe, intermingled with these ninety millions, are fifteen or twenty millions possessed of all degrees of culture, up to the very highest; while in Africa there is not an individual who, according to our standard, has attained a high degree of intellectual improvement; but if obvious causes for this can be shown, it is unphilosophical to infer from it an essential incapacity.

But the question seems to me to be put at rest, by what has been achieved by the colored race in this country and on the coast of Africa. Unfavorable as their position has been for any intellectual progress, we still all of us know that they are competent to the common arts and business of life, to the ingenious and mechanical arts, to keeping accounts, and to the common branches of academical and professional learning. Paul Cuffee's name is familiar to everybody in my part of the country, and I am sure you have heard of him. He was a man of uncommon energy and force of character. He navigated to Liverpool his own vessel, manned by a colored crew. His father was a native African slave; his mother belonged to one of the broken down Indian tribes, some fragments of which still linger in the corners of Massachusetts. I have already alluded to the extraordinary attainments of that native African prince, Abdul Rahaman. If there was ever a native born gentleman on earth, he was one. He had the port and the air of a prince, and the literary culture of a scholar.*

* See some account of this interesting person, in the appendix to this speech.

The learned blacksmith of Alabama, now in Liberia, has attained a celebrity scarcely inferior to his white brother, who is known by the same designation. When I lived in Cambridge, a few years ago, I used to attend, as one of the board of visitors, the examinations of a classical school, in which there was a colored boy, the son of a slave in Mississippi, I think. He appeared to me to be of pure African blood. There were at the same time two youths from Georgia, and one of my own sons, attending the same school. I must say that this poor negro boy, Beverly Williams, was one of the best scholars at the school, and in the Latin language he was the best scholar in his class. These are instances that have fallen under my own observation. There are others, I am told, which show still more conclusively the capacity of the colored race for every kind of intellectual improvement.

Now look at what they have done on the coast of Africa. Think of the facts that were spread before you in that abstract of the Society's doings, which was read this evening. It is only twenty-five or thirty years since that little colony was founded under the auspices of this Society. In that time what have they done; or rather let me ask, what have they not done? They have established a well-organized constitution of republican government, which is administered with ability and energy in peace, and by the unfortunate necessity of circumstances, also, in war. They have courts of justice, modelled after our own; schools, churches, and lyceums. Commerce is carried on, the soil is tilled, communication is opened with the interior. The native tribes are civilized; diplomatic relations are creditably sustained with foreign powers; and the two leading governments of Europe, England, and France, have acknowledged their sovereignty and independence. Would the same number of persons, taken principally from the laboring classes of any portion of England or Anglo-America, have done better than this?

Ah, sir, there is an influence at work through the agency of this Society, and other societies, and through the agency of the colony of Liberia, sufficient to produce these, and still greater effects; I mean the influence of pure, unselfish, Chris-

tian love. This, after all, is the only influence that never can fail. Military power will at times be resisted and overcome; commercial enterprise, however well planned, may be blasted; State policy, however deep, may be outwitted; but pure, unselfish, manly, rather let me say, heavenly love, never did, and in the long run, never will fail. It is a truth which this Society ought to write upon its banners, that it is not political nor military power, but the moral sentiments, principally under the guidance and influence of religious zeal, which have in all ages civilized the world. Arms, craft, and mammon, lie in wait, and watch their chance to mingle in the work, but they cannot poison its vitality.

Whatever becomes of the question of intellectual superiority, I should insult this audience, if I thought it necessary to argue that in the moral sentiments, the colored race stand upon an equality with us. I read a year or two ago in a newspaper, an anecdote which illustrates this in so beautiful and striking a manner that, with your permission, I will repeat it.

When the news of the discovery of gold reached us from California, a citizen of the upper part of Louisiana, from the parish of Rapides, for the sake of improving his not prosperous fortunes, started with his servant to get a share, if he could, of the golden harvest. They repaired to the gold regions, and labored together for a while with success. At length the strength of the master failed, and he fell dangerously sick. What then was the conduct of the slave in those far-off hills? In a State whose constitution did not recognize slavery, in that newly gathered and not thoroughly organized state of society, what was his conduct? As his master lay sick with the typhus fever, priest and Levite came, and looked upon him, and passed by on the other side. The poor slave stood by him, tended him, protected him; by night and by day his sole companion, nurse, and friend. At length, the master died. What then was the conduct of the slave in those distant wastes, as he stood by him whom living he had served, but who was now laid low at his feet by the great Emancipator? He dug his decent grave in the golden sands. He

brought together the earnings of their joint labor; these he deposited in a place of safety, as a sacred trust for his master's family. He then went to work under a Californian sun, to earn the wherewithal to pay his passage home. That done, he went back to the banks of the Red River, in Louisiana, and laid down the little store at the feet of his master's widow.

Sir, I do not know whether the story is true. I read it in a public journal. The Italians have a proverbial saying of a tale like this, that if it is not true, it is well invented. This, sir, is too good to be invented. It is, it must be true. That master and that slave ought to live in marble and in brass; and if it was not presumptuous in a person like me, so soon to pass away and to be forgotten, I would say, their memory shall never perish.

> Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possint,
> Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo.

There is a moral treasure in that incident. It proves the capacity of the colored race to civilize Africa. There is a moral worth in it, beyond all the riches of California. If all her gold, all that she has yet yielded to the indomitable industry of the adventurer, and all that she still locks from the cupidity of man in the virgin chambers of her snow-clad sierras, were all molten into one vast ingot, it would not, in the sight of Heaven, buy the moral worth of that one incident.

Gentlemen of the Colonization Society, I crave your pardon for this long intrusion upon your patience. I have told you, —pardon that word, you knew it before,—I have reminded you of the importance of the work, of the instrumentality by which it is to be effected, of the agents chosen, as I think, in the councils of heaven, for its performance; and now what remains for us, for every friend of humanity, but to bid God speed to the undertaking?

ABDUL RAHAMAN.

The following notice of Abdul Rahaman is added in this place as an appropriate appendix to the preceding speech. It was written for the Albany Journal and Telegraph for August, 1851, at the request of its editor.

SIR, — I have lately read with pleasure in your paper an account of a highly respectable colored man named AGRIPPA HULL. I fully concur with your correspondent, the author of that sketch, that short accounts of individuals of the colored race, who have filled spheres of usefulness, or risen in any way to respectability in the community, would find a very appropriate place in the columns of your journal. Such accounts, if judiciously executed, would tend to encourage others similarly situated, to endeavor to overcome the difficulties arising from their complexion. What one has done another can do. A good effect would also be produced on white men by such narratives. By seeing what has been effected by some of their African brethren, under the greatest disadvantages, they would begin to doubt whether there is that diversity of intellectual endowments between the two races, which white men are too apt to take for granted. In this way something may be effected toward removing the prejudice against a dark skin. I accordingly send you a short sketch of a very interesting individual of the African race, with whom I had some little acquaintance, nineteen or twenty years ago, and who filled, at that time, a large space in the attention of the benevolent.

The person I allude to is Abdul Rahaman, so his name was written at length; but if I remember rightly, it was usually shortened into Abderhaman. Some account of him is given in the twelfth annual report of the American Colonization Society, from which and personal recollection, the following description is taken. He was born in the city of Timbuctoo in the interior of Africa, as far as I can judge, about the year 1764; which city is supposed to be the most populous in Central Africa, and his grandfather, Almam Ibra-

him, was the sovereign of the neighboring region. His father, also named Almam Ibrahim, was sent, while Abdul was still young, to govern the tributary province of Foota Jallo, a populous and fertile dependency of Timbuctoo, lying between that city and the coast. This province subsequently became independent of Timbuctoo, Almam Ibrahim the younger having apparently thrown off his father's government. Abdul was brought up and educated at Timbuctoo and partly at Teemboo, his father's residence. At the age of twenty-six, he held a command in the army of Foota Jallo, and led an expedition against the Eboes, a tribe lying to the north of that region. In a battle which ensued he was defeated and taken prisoner, and with a considerable part of his forces sold to a slave-trader. He was first carried to the West Indies and thence to Natchez, in Mississippi. This was thirteen or fourteen years before the cession of Louisiana, and while this vast territory was under the jurisdiction of Spain.

This account of the early life, rank, and education of Abdul does not rest wholly on his own statement, although that is entitled to credit. While he was yet living at his father's court at Foota Jallo, Dr. Cox, a surgeon on board an American trading vessel, having landed and missed his way on shore, was left by the ship to which he belonged. Under these circumstances, he determined to penetrate into the interior of the country. He travelled for several days in the execution of this purpose, during which he received a severe wound in the leg, and arrived at length at the capital of Foota Jallo, friendless and exhausted. Here he was received with the utmost kindness by Abdul and his father, and after having enjoyed their protection and hospitality for six months went back to the coast, and had the good fortune to find there, on a return voyage, the vessel by which he had been abandoned. In this vessel Dr. Cox took passage for America. By a most extraordinary interposition of Providence, after an interval of many years, Dr. Cox encountered and recognized Abdul in the streets of Natchez. "He had then been for sixteen years a slave. The interview was one of affecting interest; and liberal but unsuccessful offers were made by Dr.

Cox, to obtain the freedom of one to whom he felt himself so deeply indebted." * The account which Abdul had given of himself was thus confirmed by the unsuspicious testimony of Dr. Cox, who had passed several months at the seat of his father's government.

The education which Abdul had received in his youth spoke for itself. It was, no doubt, very limited compared with the standard of European or American education. But when I saw him at Washington, after a long life passed in slavery, he was able to read the Koran with fluency, and wrote the Arabic character with great elegance. He was said to be still master of several African languages. Many ladies at Washington requested him to put his autograph in their albums. These accomplishments, considered in reference to the state of society existing in Central Africa, are sufficient indications, that Abdul was born and brought up in the most favored position known in that country.

Of the incidents of his life while he remained a slave, I have seen no account. The most extraordinary was no doubt that to which I have already alluded, his meeting with Dr. Cox in the streets of Natchez, after he had been sixteen years in servitude. Dr. Cox endeavored at that time to procure his emancipation, but without success. It is painful to reflect that this well-bred, well-educated gentleman, (for such he was,) should have been held in slavery for twenty-four years longer. He appears, however, to have been kindly treated, and for the latter part of the time was employed in confidential trusts. He became a professing Christian, and brought up a large family of children and grandchildren.

At length, however, his cruel fortunes gained publicity. His master, who had refused liberal offers of Dr. Cox twenty-four years before, now named a price at which he would liberate Abdul and his family. The sympathy of the benevolent throughout the Union was appealed to, and the sum of four thousand dollars (not more than half the amount demanded) was contributed for their ransom. The President

* Twelfth Report of the American Colonization Society for 1830, p. 15.

of the United States was appealed to, and is stated to have taken Abdul under his protection; but in what way we are not informed.

It was at this period that I saw this remarkable person, who was then probably about sixty-five years of age. He was rather tall and spare, but quite erect. His hair was white, but he had apparently none of the infirmities of age. He spoke the English language and without accent. His complexion was quite black, but his features not of the common African type. He had an ease and dignity of manner which I have never seen surpassed, and which, considering the life he had led, were truly wonderful. His deportment would have been thought that of a gentleman in any company, however refined. He was evidently one of nature's nobility. Besides his knowledge of the literal Arabic, he was acquainted with several of the living dialects of Western Africa.

The American Colonization Society took a great interest in the emancipation of Abdul and his family, influenced by the hope and belief, that he could render material service to their colony on the coast of Africa. As late as 1825 it was ascertained that his brother (bearing a name to which passing events on the northern coast have given celebrity, Abd-el-Kader,) was the ruler at Foota Jallo, and that his family connections were among the most powerful chieftains between Timbuctoo and the coast. These circumstances seemed to mark out Abdul, as by the finger of Providence, for service of the highest importance in promoting the civilization of Africa. Early in 1830 he embarked with his wife for Liberia in company with one hundred and sixty emigrants. He died shortly after his return to the coast of Africa. This melancholy event is briefly recorded in the thirteenth annual report of the Colonization Society, and no further account is given of his restoration to his native land and to his kindred. We are left to conjecture, as to the position in which he was placed when his feet pressed again the soil of Africa, and he found himself restored to his father's house. It is probable that he was disappointed in his hopes of happiness to be en-

joyed on the return to his native land. He was a person of strong sense and of cultivated mind. He had passed forty years in this country, in the condition of a slave, it is true, but apparently under a kind master. He had undoubtedly witnessed and to some extent shared a variety of social comforts and civilized improvements, unknown even to the most favored caste in the interior of Africa. Besides this, the power of habit is so great, that an entire change in the mode of life pursued for years, even a change for the better, seems to be made with reluctance. There are several instances in the early history of New England of men, women, and children, made prisoners of war by the Indians, carried back into the forest, and there brought up in a state little if any better than slavery. It sometimes happened, when in after-life persons of this description were ransomed by their friends, that they refused to come back to their families. There are cases, I believe, in which after returning and passing some time with their natural kindred, they disappeared and went back to the Indian families, into which they had been adopted.

This seems truly astonishing, when we consider the state of squalid want in which our North American Indians lived. When Winslow visited Massasoit in 1620, he received the best entertainment to be had at his court, but it was such as would be thought mean in a pauper's hovel; and yet men and women accustomed to such comforts as were afforded by a New England home, were found willing to go back to the privations of savage life. In Abdul's case, as far as material life is concerned, the contrast was probably against the state of things which must have met him, on his return to his native land. He had for the latter part of the time been employed rather as a confidential clerk than a slave; had travelled through the United States an object of curiosity and interest; had been admitted to the presence of committees of Congress; had been a welcome attendant on public meetings, where his extraordinary narrative awakened the deepest sympathy; had been invited and conversed with, probably complimented and flattered by men and women of accomplishment and intelligence, in the large towns which he

had visited. A very different existence awaited him in the mud-built cabins of his native land, for such are the palaces of Teembo and Timbuctoo. His situation reminds one of that of Omai, the native of the South Sea islands, who was brought to England in the last century, and whose case is so beautifully described by Cowper in the "Task:"—

> "Thou hast found again
> Thy cocoas and bananas, palms and yams,
> And homestall thatched with leaves. But hast thou found
> Their former charms? And having seen our state,
> Our palaces, our ladies, and our pomp
> Of equipage, our gardens and our sports,
> And heard our music; are thy simple friends,
> Thy simple fare, and all thy plain delights
> As dear to thee as once? And have thy joys
> Lost nothing by comparison with ours?"

There was one great sorrow with which Abdul must have been overwhelmed on his return to Africa. The strongest and deepest impression which he carried back from the United States, no doubt must have been a horror at the thought of slavery. But slavery surrounded him in its worst and most barbarous forms at his father's residence. In reference to this terrible condition of African life, we may emphatically apply to Abdul the lines of the poet in reference to Omai,—

> "I see thee weep, and thine are honest tears,
> A patriot's for his country; thou art sad
> At thought of her forlorn and abject state,
> From which no power of thine can raise her up."

In one point the case of Omai was different from that of Abdul. Cowper says of the former,—

> "—— we returned thee rude,
> And ignorant, except of outward show."

Abdul, on the contrary, went back, as was understood at the time, a convert from Mahometanism to Christianity. If I mistake not, it was reported in this country, that on returning

to his native land, he again embraced the religion of the Koran. I do not know whether any evidence of the fact was ever received, and it is possible that I may do a wrong (it is certainly unintentional) to the memory of Abdul by the bare suggestion. If it be true that on his return to his native land and kindred, he embraced again the religion of his fathers, I should not be inclined to judge him with great severity. It is not probable that he became a Christian because he had carefully weighed the Bible against the Koran, or compared the evidence on which they respectively rest. His Christianity was probably a sentiment rather than a conviction. He became a believer, or what he thought such, in this country, because serious and good people around him were Christians. On his return to his native land, his new-born faith had to undergo a formidable trial. With the rush of thoughts that came back upon his mind, — country regained, home revisited, the surviving friends of his youth restored to his embrace, the minaret from which, in his childhood, he had heard the muezzin call the hour of prayer, again presented to his eyes, — with all these faded ideas starting into fresh life, was it strange if his faith in the new religion should be shaken? Was it strange if the thought occurred to him, that the Bible might be the book of the white man, and the Koran the book of the dark races? We must remember that Christians have not done much to recommend their faith, on the coast of Africa, either to Mussulman or Pagan. If we pardon Henry the Fourth for turning Catholic, that he might become king of France, I think we should feel charitably toward an African prince, who, having become a Christian while held in Christian bondage, returns to the religion in which he was brought up, when restored to his native land. But I repeat, I have only a dim recollection that such was the case with Abdul.

I would close this hasty and imperfect sketch with one or two general remarks. The first is, that, whatever may be the case with some of the tribes of Africa, there are highly improved races on that vast continent. Abdul was no doubt a person of superior endowments, but it is clear that he belonged to a people not essentially below Europeans and

Americans in their capacity for intellectual improvement. And how few Americans or Europeans, after forty years' bondage, would have come out like Abdul, unbroken in body and mind! Let us all learn by this example to respect the African race, as one whose best specimens will not suffer in comparison with our own, and remember, that there are races in Europe, which fall far below the boasted standard of Caucasian blood.

Another reflection, and that of a most painful character, is, that Africans belonging to these superior races are just as likely to fall into the hands of the slave-trader as any others. The traffic in human flesh makes no distinctions. Other instances besides this of Abdul are known, in which men of education like him have been kidnapped in Africa, and sold into life-long bondage. It is sometimes mentioned as an aggravation of slavery among the Greeks and Romans, that men and women of high rank and refinement were, by the fortune of war, reduced by their conquerers to slavery. This was repeatedly the case, also, with the children of Israel. But we see in the instance of Abdul, (and no doubt the annals of the slave-trade could furnish hundreds of similar cases,) that Africans born and bred to high fortune, and educated in all the learning of the Mahometan countries, are liable to be subjected to all the horrors of the middle passage, and all the woes of hopeless bondage. If we could read these dark annals, I fear we should find that for one case like Abdul of a person of this description, able to bear up under this heavy and dispiriting load, hundreds sink down broken-hearted, and bury their sorrows in the only refuge which never fails the children of misery, the grave.

Lastly, Mr. Editor, I think our colored brethren throughout the country may derive a lesson of encouragement from the story of Abdul. He was evidently one who looked on the bright side of things, and hoped on even against hope, till the hour of fulfilment came. Mr. Bryant, in one of his most beautiful pieces, describes an "African Chief," who having been made a prisoner of war like Abdul and sold to a slave-trader died prematurely of a broken heart. Such would have been the

fate of Abdul had he struggled too fiercely against his cruel fate. By calm courage, Christian patience, and a genial hope of better times, he was enabled to bear the heavy burden of long years of subjection, and emerged at last to freedom for himself and family, and a prosperous return to his native land.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.*

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:—

ALTHOUGH I appear before you at the season at which the various religious, moral, and philanthropic societies usually hold their annual meetings to discuss the stirring and controverted topics of the day, I need not say to you that the proprieties of this occasion require me to abstain from such subjects; and to select a theme falling, to some extent at least, within the province of a historical society. I propose, accordingly, to attempt this evening, to sketch the history of the discovery and colonization of America and of immigration to the United States. I can of course offer you, within the limits of a single address, but a most superficial view of so vast a subject; but I have thought that even a sketch of a subject, which concerns us so directly and in so many ways, would suggest important trains of reflection to thoughtful minds. Words written or spoken are at best but a kind of shorthand, to be filled up by the reader or hearer. I shall be gratified if, after honoring my hasty outline with your kind attention, you shall deem it worth filling up from your own stores of knowledge and thought. You will forgive me, if, in the attempt to give a certain completeness to the narrative, I shall be led to glance at a few facts, which, however interesting, may seem to you too familiar for repetition.

In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, an Italian mariner, a citizen of the little republic of Genoa, who had hitherto

* A lecture originally delivered before the Mercantile Library Association in Boston, and repeated before the New York Historical Society, on the 1st of June, 1853.

gained his livelihood as a pilot in the commercial marine of different countries, made his appearance successively at various courts in the south and west of Europe, soliciting patronage and aid for a bold and novel project in navigation. The state of the times was in some degree favorable to the adventure. The Portuguese had for half a century been pushing their discoveries southward upon the coast of Africa, and had ventured into the Atlantic as far as the Azores. Several conspiring causes, and especially the invention of the art of printing, had produced a general revival of intelligence. Still, however, the state of things in this respect was, at that time, very different from what we witness in the middle of the nineteenth century. On the part of the great mass of mankind, there was but little improvement over the darkness of the middle ages. The new culture centred in the convent, the court, and the university, places essentially distrustful of bold novelties.

The idea of reaching the East by a voyage around the African continent had begun to assume consistency; but the vastly more significant idea, that the earth is a globe and capable of being circumnavigated, had by no means become incorporated into the general intelligence of the age. The Portuguese navigators felt themselves safe as they crept along the African coast, venturing each voyage a few leagues further, doubling a new headland, ascending some before unexplored river, and holding a palaver with some new tribe of the native races. But to turn the prows of their vessels boldly to the west, to embark upon an ocean, not believed, in the popular geography of the day, to have an outer shore, to pass that bourne from which no traveller had ever returned, and from which experience had not taught that any traveller could return, and thus to reach the East by sailing in a western direction,—this was a conception which no human being is known to have formed before Columbus, and which he proposed to the governments of Italy, of Spain, and of Portugal, and for a a long time without success. The state of science was not such as to enable men to discriminate between the improba-

ble and untried on the one hand, and the impossible and absurd on the other. They looked upon Columbus as we did thirty years ago upon Captain Symmes.

But the illustrious adventurer persevered. Sorrow and disappointment clouded his spirits, but did not shake his faith nor subdue his will. His well-instructed imagination had taken firm hold of the idea that the earth is a sphere. What seemed to the multitude even of the educated of that day a doubtful and somewhat mystical theory; what appeared to the uninformed mass a monstrous paradox, contradicted by every step we take upon the broad, flat earth which we daily tread beneath our feet;—that great and fruitful truth revealed itself to the serene intelligence of Columbus as a practical fact, on which he was willing to stake all he had, — character and life. And it deserves ever to be borne in mind, as the most illustrious example of the connection of scientific theory with great practical results, that the discovery of America, with all its momentous consequences to mankind, is owing to the distinct conception in the mind of Columbus of this single scientific proposition, — the terraqueous earth is a sphere.

After years of fruitless and heart-sick solicitation, after offering in effect to this monarch and to that monarch the gift of a hemisphere, the great discoverer touches upon a partial success. He succeeds, not in enlisting the sympathy of his countrymen at Genoa and Venice for a brave brother sailor; not in giving a new direction to the spirit of maritime adventure which had so long prevailed in Portugal; not in stimulating the commercial thrift of Henry the Seventh, or the pious ambition of the Catholic King. His sorrowful perseverance touched the heart of a noble princess, worthy the throne which she adorned. The new world, which was just escaping the subtle kingcraft of Ferdinand, was saved to Spain by the womanly compassion of Isabella.

It is truly melancholy, however, to contemplate the wretched equipment, for which the most powerful princess in Christendom was ready to pledge her jewels. Floating castles will soon be fitted out to convey the miserable natives of

Africa to the golden shores of America, and towering galleons will be despatched to bring home the guilty treasures to Spain; but three small vessels, two of which were without a deck, and neither of them probably exceeding the capacity of a pilot-boat, and even these impressed into the public service, compose the expedition, fitted out under royal patronage, to realize that magnificent conception in which the creative mind of Columbus had planted the germs of a new world.

No chapter of romance equals the interest of this expedition. The most fascinating of the works of fiction which have issued from the modern press have, to my taste, no attraction compared with the pages in which the first voyage of Columbus is described by Robertson, and still more by our own Irving and Prescott, the last two enjoying the advantage over the great Scottish historian of possessing the lately discovered journals and letters of Columbus himself. The departure from Palos, where a few years before he had begged a morsel of bread and a cup of water for his way worn child; his final farewell to the old world at the Canaries; his entrance upon the trade-winds, which then, for the first time, filled a European sail; the portentous variation of the needle, never before observed; the fearful course westward and westward, day after day and night after night, over the unknown ocean; the mutinous and ill-appeased crew;—at length, when hope had turned to despair in every heart but one, the tokens of land; the cloud-banks on the western horizon; the logs of drift-wood; the fresh shrub floating with its leaves and berries; the flocks of land-birds; the shoals of fish that inhabit shallow water; the indescribable smell of the shore; the mysterious presentiment that seems ever to go before a great event;*—and, finally, on that ever memorable night of the 12th of October, 1492, the moving light seen by the sleepless eye of the great discoverer himself from the deck of the Santa Maria, and in the morning the real, undoubted land, swelling up from the bosom of the deep, with its plains, and hills, and forests, and rocks, and streams, and strange, new races of men;—

* See above, p. 228.

these are incidents in which the authentic history of the discovery of our continent excels the specious wonders of romance, as much as gold excels tinsel, or the sun in the heavens outshines that flickering taper.

But it is no part of my purpose to dwell upon this interesting narrative, or to follow out this most wonderful of histories, sinking as it soon did into a tale of sorrow for Columbus himself, and before long ending in one of the most frightful tragedies in the annals of the world. Such seems to be the law of humanity, that events the most desirable and achievements the most important should, either in their inception or progress, be mixed up with disasters, crimes, and sorrows which it makes the heart sick to record.

The discovery of America, I need hardly say, produced a vast extension of the territory of the power under whose auspices the discovery was made. In contemplating this point, we encounter one of the most terrible mysteries in the history of our race. "Extension of territory!" you are ready to exclaim; "how could Spain acquire any territory by the fact that a navigator, sailing under her patronage, had landed upon one or two islands near the continent of America, and coasted for a few hundred miles along its shores? These shores and islands are not a desert on which Columbus, like a Robinson Crusoe of a higher order, has landed and taken possession. They are occupied and settled,—crowded, even, with inhabitants,—subject to the government of their native chiefs; and neither by inheritance, colonization, nor as yet by conquest, has any human being in Europe a right to rule over them or to possess a square foot of their territory." Such are the facts of the case, and such, one would say, ought to be the law and equity of the case. But alas for the native chiefs and the native races! Before he sailed from Spain, Columbus was furnished with a piece of parchment a foot and a half square, by Ferdinand and Isabella, creating him their viceroy and high-admiral in all the seas, islands, and continents which he should discover, his heirs for ever to enjoy the same offices. The viceroy of the absolute monarchs of Aragon and Castile!

Thus was America conquered before it was discovered. By the law of nations as then understood, (and I fear there is less change in its doctrines at the present day than we should be ready to think,) a sovereign right to the territory and government of all newly discovered regions inhabited by heathen tribes was believed to vest in the Christian prince under whose auspices the discovery was made, subject to the ratification of the Pope, as the ultimate disposer of the kingdoms of the earth. Such was the law of nations, as then understood, in virtue of which, from the moment Columbus, on that memorable night to which I have alluded, caught, from the quarter-deck of the Santa Maria, the twinkling beams of a taper from the shores of San Salvador, all the territorial and political rights of its simple inhabitants were extinguished for ever. When on the following morning the keel of his vessel grated upon the much longed for strand, it completed, with more than electric speed, that terrible circuit which connected the islands and the continent with the footstool of the Spanish throne. As he landed upon the virgin shore, its native inhabitants, could they have foreseen the future, would have felt, if I may presume thus to apply the words, that virtue had gone out of it for ever. With some of them the process was sharp and instantaneous, with others more gradual, but not less sure; with some, even after nearly four centuries, it is still going on; but with all it was an irrevocable doom. The wild and warlike, the indolent and semi-civilized, the bloody Aztec, the inoffensive Peruvian, the fierce Araucanian,—all fared alike; a foreign rule and an iron yoke settled or is settling down upon their necks for ever.

Such was the law of nations of that day, not enacted, however, by Spain. It was in reality the old principle of the right of the strongest, disguised by a pretext; a colossal iron falsehood gilded over with the thin foil of a seeming truth. It was the same principle which prompted the eternal wars of the Greeks and Romans. Aristotle asserts, without qualification, that the Greeks had a perpetual right of war and conquest against the barbarians,—that is, all the rest of the world; and the pupil of Aristotle proclaimed this doctrine at

the head of the Macedonian phalanx on the banks of the Indus. The irruption of the barbarous races into Europe, during the centuries that preceded and followed Christianity, rested on as good a principle,—rather better,—the pretext only was varied; although the Gauls and Goths did not probably trouble themselves much about pretexts. They adopted rather the simple philosophy of the robber chieftain of the Scottish Highlands:—

"Pent in this fortress of the North,
Think'st thou we will not sally forth,
To spoil the spoiler as we may,
And from the robber rend the prey?"

When the Mohammedan races rose to power, they claimed dominion over all who disbelieved the Koran. Conversion or extermination was the alternative which they offered to the world, and which was announced in letters of fire and blood from Spain to the Ganges. The states of Christian Europe did but retort the principle and the practice, when, in a series of crusades, kept up for more than three hundred years, they poured desolation over the west of Asia, in order to rescue the sepulchre of the Prince of Peace from the possession of unbelievers.

Such were the principles of the public law and the practice under them, as they existed when the great discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries took place. When the Portuguese began to push their adventures far to the south on the coast of Africa, in order to give to those principles the highest sanction, they procured of Pope Nicholas the Fifth, in 1454, the grant of the right of sovereignty over all the heathen tribes, nations, and countries discovered or to be discovered by them, from Africa to India, and the exclusive title thus conferred was recognized by all the other nations of Christendom.*

On the return of Columbus from his first voyage, the king of Spain, not to fall behind his neighbors in the strength of

* See the original of this curious document in the Corps Diplomatique of Dumont, Tom. III. p. 200.

his title, lost no time in obtaining from Pope Alexander the Sixth a similar grant of all the heathen lands discovered by Columbus, or which might hereafter be discovered, in the west.* To preclude as far as possible all conflict with Portugal, the famous line of demarcation was projected from the north to the south, a hundred leagues west of the Azores, cutting the earth into halves, like an apple, and, as far as the new discoveries were concerned, giving to the Spaniards all west of the line, and confirming all east of it to the Portuguese, in virtue of the grant already mentioned of Pope Nicholas the Fifth.

I regret that want of time will not allow me to dwell upon the curious history of this line of demarcation, for the benefit of all states having boundary controversies, and especially our sister republics of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. It is sufficient to say that, having had its origin in the papal bull just referred to of 1454, it remained a subject of dispute and collision for three hundred and sixty-one years, and was finally settled at the Congress of Vienna in 1815!

The territorial extension of Portugal and Spain, which resulted from the discovery of America, was followed by the most extraordinary effects upon the commerce, the finances, and the politics generally, of those two countries, and through them of the world. The overland trade to the East, the great commercial interest of the middle ages, was abandoned. The whole of South America, and a considerable part of North America, were, in the course of the sixteenth century, settled by those governments; who organized in their transatlantic possessions a colonial system of the most rigid and despotic character, reflecting as far as was practicable in distant provinces beyond the sea, the stern features of the mother country. The precious metals, and a monopoly of the trade to the East, were the great objects to be secured. Aliens were forbidden to enter the American viceroyalties; none but a contraband trade was carried on by foreigners at the seaports. To prevent this trade, a severe right of search

* See the original in Dumont, Tom. III. p. 302.

was instituted along the entire extent of the coasts, on either ocean. I have recently had an opportunity, in another place, to advert to the effects of this system upon the international relations of Europe.* Native subjects could emigrate to these vast colonial possessions only with the permission of the government. Liberty of speech and of the press was unknown. Instead of affording an asylum to persons dissenting from the religion of the State, conformity of belief was, if possible, enforced more rigidly in the colonies than in the mother country. No relaxation in this respect has, I believe, taken place in the remaining colonies of Spain even to the present day. As for the aboriginal tribes, after the first work of extermination was over, a remnant was saved from destruction by being reduced to a state of predial servitude. The dejected and spiritless posterity of the warlike tribes that offered no mean resistance to Cortez and Pizarro, are now the hewers of wood and the drawers of water to Mexico and Peru. In a word, from the extreme southern point of Patagonia to the northernmost limit of New Mexico, I am not aware that any thing really hopeful was done for human improvement, by either of the European crowns which added these vast domains to their territories.

If this great territorial extension was fruitless of beneficial consequences to America, it was not less so to the mother countries. For Spain it was the commencement of a period, not of prosperity, but of decline. The rapid influx of the precious metals, in the absence of civil liberty and of just principles and institutions of intercourse and industry, was productive of manifold evils; and from the reign of Philip the Second, if not of Charles the Fifth, the Spanish monarchy began to sink from its haughty position at the head of the European family. I do not ascribe this downfall exclusively to the cause mentioned; but the possession of the two Indies, with all their treasures, did nothing to arrest, accelerated even, the progress of degeneracy. Active causes of decline no

* Speech on the affairs of Central America, in the Senate of the United States, 21st of March, 1853.

doubt existed at home; and of these the Inquisition was the chief.

"There was the weight that pulled her down."

The spirit of intolerance and persecution, the reproach and scandal of all countries and all churches, Protestant as well as Catholic, (not excepting the Pilgrim Fathers of New England,) found an instrument in the Holy Office in Spain, in the sixteenth century, such as it never possessed in any other age or country. It was not merely Jews and heretics whom it bound to the stake; it kindled a slow, unquenchable fire in the heart of Castile and Leon. The horrid atrocities practised at home and abroad, not only in the Netherlands, but in every city of the mother country, cried to Heaven for vengeance upon Spain; and she could not escape it. She intrenched herself behind the eternal Cordilleras; she took to herself the wings of the morning, and dwelt in the uttermost parts of the sea; but even there the arm of retribution laid hold of her, and the wrongs of both hemispheres were avenged in her degeneracy and fall.

But let us pass on to the next century, during which events of the utmost consequence followed each other in rapid succession, and the foundation of institutions destined to influence the fortunes of Christendom was laid by humble men, who little comprehended their own work. In the course of the seventeenth century the French and English took possession of all that part of North America which was not preoccupied by the Spaniards. The French entered by the St. Lawrence; followed that noble artery to the heart of the continent; traced the great lakes to their parent rivulets and weeping fountains; descended the Mississippi. Miracles of humble and unavailing heroism were performed by their gallant adventurers and pious missionaries in the depths of our western wilderness. The English stretched along the coast. The geographer would have pronounced that the French, in appropriating to themselves the mighty basins of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, had got possession of the better part of the continent. But it was an attempt to compose the second volume of the "Fortunes of America," in advance

of the first. This it was ordained should be written at Jamestown and Plymouth. The French, though excelling all other nations of the world in the art of communicating for temporary purposes with savage tribes, seem, still more than the Spaniards, to be destitute of the august skill required to found new States.* I do not know that there is such a thing in the world as a colony of France growing up into a prosperous commonwealth. Half a million of French peasants in Lower Canada, tenaciously adhering to the manners and customs which their fathers brought from Normandy two centuries ago, and a third part of that number of planters of French descent in Louisiana, are all that is left to bear living witness to the amazing fact, that in the middle of the last century France was the mistress of the better half of North America.

It was on the Atlantic coast, and in the colonies originally planted or soon acquired by England, that the great work of the seventeenth century was performed, — slowly, toilsomely, effectively. A mighty work for America and mankind, of which even we, fond and proud of it as we are, do but faintly guess the magnitude! It could hardly be said, at the time, to prosper in any of its parts. It yielded no return to the pecuniary capital invested. The political relations of the colonies from the first were those of encroachment and resistance; and even the moral principle, as far as there was one, on which they were founded, was not consistently carried out. There was conflict with the savages, war with the French and Spaniards, jarring and feud between neighboring colonies, persecution of dissenting individuals and sects, perpetual discord with the crown and the proprietaries. Yet, in the main and on the whole, the WORK was done. Things that did not work singly worked together; or if they did not work together, they worked by reaction and collision. Feeble germs of settlement grew to the consistency of powerful colonies; habits of civil government rooted themselves

* "La France saura mal coloniser et n'y réussira qu'avec peine." — Victor Hugo, *Le Rhin*, Tom. II. p. 280.

in a soil that was continually stirred by political agitation; the frame of future republics knit itself, as it were in embryo, under a monarchical system of colonial rule; till in the middle of the eighteenth century the approach of mighty changes began to be dimly foreseen by gifted spirits. A faint streak of purple light blushed along the eastern sky.

Two things worth mentioning contributed to the result. One was the absence of the precious metals. The British colonies were rich in the want of gold. As the abundance of gold and silver in Mexico and Peru contributed, in various ways, to obstruct the prosperity of the Spanish colonies, the want of them acted not less favorably here. In the first settlement of a savage wilderness the golden attraction is too powerful for the ordinary routine of life. It produces a feverish excitement unfavorable to the healthy growth and calm action of the body politic. Although California has from the first had the advantage of being incorporated into a stable political system, of which, as a sister State, she forms an integral part, it is quite doubtful whether, looking to her permanent well-being, the gold is to be a blessing to her. It will hasten her settlement; but that would at any rate have advanced with great rapidity. One of the most intellectual men in this country, the author of an extremely interesting and valuable work, I mean "Two Years before the Mast," once remarked to me, that "California would be one of the finest countries in the world to live in, if it were not for the gold."

The other circumstance which operated in the most favorable manner upon the growth of the Anglo-American colonies was the fact, that they were called into existence less by the government than the people; that they were mainly settled, not by bodies of colonists, but by individual immigrants. The crown gave charters of government and grants of land, and a considerable expenditure was made by some of the companies and proprietors who received these grants; but upon the whole, the United States were settled by individuals, — the adventurous, resolute, high-spirited, and, in many cases, persecuted men and women, who sought a home and

a refuge beyond the sea; and such was the state of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that it furnished a succession of victims of a long series of political and religious disasters and persecutions, who found, one after another, a safe and a congenial retreat in some one of the American colonies.

This noble theme has been treated with a beauty and a power, by one whom I need not name in this presence, (the historian of the United States,) which, without impairing their authenticity, have converted the severe pages of our history into a magnificent Odyssey of national adventure. I can but glance at the dates. The first settlement, that of Virginia, was commenced in the spirit of worldly enterprise, with no slight dash, however, of chivalry and romance on the part of its leader. In the next generation this colony became the favorite resort of the loyal cavaliers and gentlemen who were disgusted by the austerities of the English Commonwealth, or fell under its suspicion. In the mean time, New England was founded by those who suffered the penalties of non-conformity. The mighty change of 1640 stopped the tide of immigration to New England, but recruited Virginia with those who were disaffected to Cromwell. In 1624 the island of Manhattan, of which you have perhaps heard, and if not, you will find its history related with learning, judgment, and good taste, by a loyal descendant of its early settlers, (Mr. Brodhead,) was purchased of the Indians for twenty-four dollars. This sum of money seems rather small for twenty-two thousand acres of land, including the site of this great metropolis; but, if put out at compound interest at seven per cent. in 1624, it would not perhaps fall so very much below even its present value; though I admit that a dollar for a thousand acres is quite cheap for choice spots on the Fifth Avenue. Maryland next attracted those who adhered to the ancient faith of the Christian world. New Jersey and Pennsylvania were mainly settled by persecuted Quakers; but the latter offered an asylum to the Germans whom the sword of Louis the Fourteenth drove from the Palatinate. The French Huguenots, expelled

from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, scattered themselves from Massachusetts to Carolina. The Dutch and Swedish settlements on the Hudson and the Delaware provided a kindred home for such of their countrymen as desired to try the fortune of the new world. The whigs of England who rebelled against James the Second in 1685, and were sent to the transatlantic colonies, lived long enough to meet in exile the adherents of his son, who rebelled against George the First, in 1715. The oppressed Protestants of Salzburg came with General Oglethorpe to Georgia; and the Highlanders who fought for Charles Edward, in 1745, were deported by hundreds to North Carolina. They were punished by being sent from their bleak hills and sterile moors to a land of abundance and liberty; they were banished from oatmeal porridge to meat twice a day. The Gaelic language is still spoken by their descendants, and thousands of their kindred at the present day would no doubt gladly share their exile.

There is no doubt that the hardships which awaited the immigrant at that early day were neither few nor slight, though greatly exaggerated for want of information. Goldsmith, in "The Deserted Village," published in 1769, gives us a somewhat amusing picture of the state of things as he supposed it to exist beyond the ocean at that time. As his local allusion is to Georgia, it is probable that he formed his impressions from the accounts which were published at London about the middle of the last century by some of the discontented settlers of that colony. Goldsmith, being well acquainted with General Oglethorpe, was likely enough to have had his attention called to the subject. Perhaps you will allow me to enliven my dull prose with a few lines of his beautiful poetry. After describing the sufferings of the poor in London at that time, reverting to the condition of the inhabitants of his imaginary Auburn, and asking whether they probably shared the woes he had just painted, he thus answers his question: —

> "Ah, no! To distant climes, a dreary scene,
> Where half the convex world intrudes between,

Through torrid tracts with fainting steps they go,
Where wild Altama murmurs to their woe.
Far different there from all that charmed before,
The various terrors of that horrid shore:
Those blazing suns that dart a downward ray,
And fiercely shed intolerable day;
Those matted woods, where birds forget to sing,
But silent bats in drowsy clusters cling;
Those poisonous fields with rank luxuriance crowned,
Where the dark scorpion gathers death around,—
Where, at each step, the stranger fears to wake
The rattling terrors of the vengeful snake,—
Where crouching tigers wait their hapless prey,
And savage men more murderous still than they;
While oft in whirls the mad tornado flies,
Mingling the ravaged landscape with the skies."

In this rather uninviting sketch, it must be confessed that it is not easy to recognize the natural features of that thriving State, which possesses at the present day a thousand miles of railroad, and which, by her rapidly increasing population, her liberal endowment of colleges, schools, and churches, and all the other social institutions of a highly improved community, is fast earning the name of the "Empire State" of the South.

After repeating these lines, it is scarcely necessary to say that there was much ignorance and exaggeration prevailing in Europe as to the state of things in America. But a few years after Goldsmith's poem appeared, an event occurred which aroused and fixed the attention of the world. The revolt of the Colonies in 1775, the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the battles of the Revolutionary war, the alliance with France, the acknowledgment of American Independence by the treaty of 1783, the establishment of a great federative republic, the illustrious career of Lafayette, the European reputation of Franklin, and, above all, the character of Washington, gave to the United States a great and brilliant name in the family of nations. Thousands in every part of Europe then probably heard of America, with any distinct impressions, for the first time; and they now heard of it as a region

realizing the wildest visions. Hundreds in every walk of life began to resort to America, and especially ardent young men, who were dissatisfied with the political condition of Europe. Among these was your late venerable president, Albert Gallatin, one of the most eminent men of the last generation, who came to this country before he attained his majority; and the late celebrated Sir Isambert Brunel, the architect of the Thames Tunnel. He informed me that he became a citizen of the State of New York before the adoption of the federal constitution, and that he made some surveys to ascertain the practicability of the great work which afterwards united the waters of Lake Erie with the waters of the Atlantic, and gave immortality to the name of your Clinton.

Before the Revolution, the great West was shut even to the subjects of England. A royal proclamation of 1763 forbade the extension of the settlements in North America beyond the Ohio. But without such a prohibition, the still unbroken power of the Indian tribes would have prevented any such extension. The successful result of the Revolutionary war did not materially alter the state. of things in this respect. The native tribes were still formidable, and the British posts in the North-western Territory were retained. So little confidence was placed in the value of a title to land, even within the limits of the State of New York, that the enterprising citizens of Massachusetts, Messrs. Gorham and Phelps, who bought six millions of acres of land on the Genesee River, shortly after the peace, for a few cents the acre, were obliged to abandon the greater part of the purchase from the difficulty of finding under-purchasers enough to enable them to meet the first instalments.

On one occasion, when Judge Gorham was musing in a state of mental depression on the failure of this magnificent speculation, he was visited by a friend and townsman, who had returned from a journey to Canandaigua, then just laid out. This friend tried to cheer the Judge with a bright vision of the future growth of Western New York. Kindling with his theme, he pointed to a son of Judge Gorham, who was

in the room, and added, "You and I shall not live to see the day, but that lad,* if he reaches threescore years and ten, will see a daily stage-coach running as far west as Canandaigua!" That lad is still living. What he has seen in the shape of travel and conveyance in the State of New York, it is not necessary before this audience to say.

It was the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, in 1789, which gave stability to the Union, and confidence to the people. This was the Promethean fire, which kindled the body politic into vital action. It created a national force. The Indians on the south-west were pacified. On the north-western frontier the troops of the general government were at first defeated; but after the victory of Wayne, and the peace of Greeneville, in 1795, the British posts were surrendered, and the tide of emigration began to pour in. It was rather, however, from the older States than from foreign countries. The extensive region north-west of the Ohio had already received its political organization as a territory of the United States by the ever memorable Ordinance of 1787.

While Providence was thus opening on this continent the broadest region that ever was made accessible to human progress, want, or adventure, it happened that the kingdoms of Europe were shaken by the terrible convulsions incident to the French Revolution. France herself first, and afterwards the States overrun by her revolutionary armies, poured forth their children into foreign countries and the United States, by thousands. I believe there are no official returns of the number of immigrants to the United States at the time, but it was very large. Among them was M. de Talleyrand, the celebrated minister of every government in France, from that of the Directory, in 1797, to that of King Louis Philippe, in whose reign he died. I saw at Peale's Museum, in Philadelphia, the original oath of allegiance, subscribed by him in

* The late Hon. Benjamin Gorham, of Boston, who died in the course of the last year, — 1855

1794.* Louis Philippe himself immigrated to this country, where he passed three years, and is well remembered by many persons still living. He habitually spoke with gratitude of the kindness which he experienced in every part of the Union.

As yet, no acquisition of territory had been made by the United States beyond the limits of the British colonies; but in 1803 a most important step was taken in the purchase of Louisiana, by which our possessions were extended, though with an unsettled boundary both on the south and the north, to the Pacific Ocean. The war in 1812 reduced the Indian tribes in the North-western States; and the campaigns of General Jackson a few years later produced the same effect on the southern frontier. Florida was acquired by treaty from Spain in 1819; and the Indians in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, were removed to the west of the river Mississippi ten or twelve years later. Black Hawk's war in Wisconsin took place in 1833, and a series of Indian treaties, both before and after that event, extinguished the Indian title to all the land east of the Mississippi, and to considerable tracts west of that river. Texas was annexed to the Union in 1845, and in 1848 New Mexico and California came into our possession.

I have, as you perceive, run rapidly over these dates, compressing into one paragraph the starting-points in the history of future commonwealths, simply in their bearing on the sub-

* Since this lecture was delivered, I have been favored with a copy of this paper by Edward D. Ingraham, Esq., of Philadelphia. It is in the following words:—

"I, Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord, formerly Administrator of the Department of Paris, son of Joseph Daniel de Talleyrand Perigord, a General of the armies of France, born at Paris and arrived at Philadelphia from London, do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and to the United States of America, and that I will not at any time wilfully and knowingly do any matter or thing prejudicial to the freedom and independence thereof.

"CH. MAU. DE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD.

"Sworn the 19th May, 1794,
Before MATTH. CLARKSON, *Mayor*."

ject of immigration. These acquisitions, not inferior in extent to all that there was solid in the Roman conquests, have resulted in our possession of a zone of territory of the width of twenty degrees of latitude, stretching from ocean to ocean, and nearly equal in extent to the whole of Europe.* It is all subject to the power of the United States; a portion of it has attained the civilization of the Old World, while other portions shade off through all degrees of culture, to the log-house of the frontier settler, the cabin of the trapper, and the wigwam of the savage. Within this vast domain there are millions of acres of fertile land, to be purchased at moderate prices, according to its position and its state of improvement, and there are hundreds of millions of acres in a state of nature, and gradually selling at the government price of a dollar and a quarter per acre.

It is this which most strikes the European imagination. The Old World is nearly all appropriated by individuals. There are public domains in most foreign countries, but of comparatively small amount, and mostly forests. With this exception, every acre of land in Europe is private property, and in such countries as England, the Netherlands, France, Germany, and Italy, what little changes hands is sold only at a high price. I presume the number of landholders in England is far less than in the State of New York. In the course of the French Revolution the land has been greatly divided and subdivided in France and in Germany, and is now held in small farms; but owing to the limited quantity of purchasable land, these farms, when sold, are sold only at high prices. Generally speaking, the mass of the inhabitants of Europe regard the ability to hold and occupy a considerable landed property as the summit of human fortune. The suggestion that there is a country beyond the ocean, where fertile land is to be purchased, in any quantity, at a dollar and a quarter per acre, and that dollar and a quarter to be earned in many parts of the country by the labor of a single day, strikes them

* Square miles in the United States, 3,260,073; in Europe, 3,700,971.—*American Almanac* for 1853, pp. 315 and 316.

as the tales of Aladdin's lamp or Ali Baba's cave would strike us, if we thought they were true. They forget the costs and sacrifices of leaving home, the ocean to be traversed, the weary pilgrimage in the land of strangers after their arrival. They see nothing with the mind's eye but the "*land* of promise;" they reflect upon nothing but the fact, that there is a region on the earth's surface where a few days' unskilled labor will purchase the fee-simple of an ample farm.

Such an attraction would be irresistible under any circumstances to the population of an old country, where, as I have just said, the land is all appropriated, and to be purchased, in any considerable quantity, only at prices which put its acquisition beyond the thought of the masses. But this is but half the tale. It must not be forgotten that in this ancient and venerable Europe, whose civilization is the growth of two thousand years, where some of the luxurious refinements of life are carried to a perfection of which we have scarcely an idea in this country, a considerable part of the population, even in the most prosperous regions, pass their lives in a state but one remove from starvation, — poorly fed, poorly clothed, poorly housed, without education, without political privileges, without moral culture. The average wages of the agricultural laborer in England were estimated a year ago at 9*s.* 6*d.* sterling — about $\$2.37\frac{1}{2}$ — per week. The condition of the working population on the continent of Europe is in no degree better, if as good. They eat but little animal food either in England or on the continent. We form romantic notions at a distance of countries that abound in wine and oil; but in the best governed States of Italy, — in Tuscany, for instance, — the peasantry, though they pass their lives in the vineyard and the olive-orchard, consume the fruit of neither. I have seen the Tuscan peasants, unable to bear the cost of the most ordinary wine from the vineyards in which their cottages are embowered, and which can be bought at retail for a cent a flask, pouring water over the grape-skins as they come from the press, and making that their beverage.

Even for persons in comparatively easy circumstances in

Europe, there are strong inducements to immigrate to America. Most of the governments are arbitrary, the taxes are oppressive, the exactions of military service onerous in the extreme. Add to all this the harassing insecurity of property and life. For sixty or seventy years the continent has been one wide theatre of scarcely intermitted convulsion. Every country in it has been involved in war; there is scarcely one that has not passed through a revolution. We read of events like these in the newspapers, we look upon them with curiosity as articles of mere intelligence, or they awaken images of our own revolution, which we regard only with joyous associations. Far different the state of things in crowded Europe, of which, the fairest fields are trampled in every generation by mighty armies into bloody mire! Dazzled by the brilliancy of the military exploits of which we read at a safe distance, we forget the anxieties of those who grow up within the sound of the cannon's roar, whose prospects in life are ruined, their business broken up, their little accumulations swept away by the bankruptcy of governments or the general paralysis of the industry of the country, their sons torn from them by ruthless conscriptions, the means of educating and bringing up their families consumed in a day by disastrous emergencies. Terrified by the recent experience or the tradition of these miseries, thousands immigrate to the land of promise, flying before, not merely the presence, but the "rumor of war," which the Great Teacher places on a level with the reality.

Ever and anon some sharp specific catastrophe gives an intense activity to immigration. When France, in the lowest depth of her Revolution, plunged to a lower depth of suffering and crime, when the Reign of Terror was enthroned, and when every thing in any way conspicuous, whether for station, wealth, talent, or service, of every age and of either sex, from the crowned monarch to the gray-haired magistrate and the timid maiden, was brought to the guillotine, hundreds of thousands escaped at once from the devoted kingdom. The convulsions of San Domingo drove most of the European population of that island to the United States. But beyond every thing else which has been witnessed in modern times,

the famine which prevailed a few years since in Ireland gave a terrific impulse to immigration. Not less, probably, than one million of her inhabitants left her shores within five years. The population of this island, as highly favored in the gifts of nature as any spot on the face of the earth, has actually diminished more than one million eight hundred thousand since the famine year;* the only example, perhaps, in history, of a similar result in a country not visited by foreign war or civil convulsion. The population ought, in the course of nature, to have increased within ten years by at least that amount; and in point of fact, between 1840 and 1850, our own population increased by more than six millions.

This prodigious increase of the population of the United States is partly owing to the immigration from foreign countries, which has taken place under the influence of the causes general and specific, to which I have alluded. Of late years, from three to four hundred thousand immigrants are registered at the several custom-houses, as arriving in this country in the course of a year. It is probable that a third as many more enter by the Canadian frontier. Not much less than two millions of immigrants are supposed to have entered the United States in the last ten years; and it is calculated that there are living at the present day in the United States five millions of persons, foreigners who have immigrated since 1790, and their descendants.

There is nothing in the annals of mankind to be compared to this; but there is a series of great movements which may be contrasted with it. In the period of a thousand years, which began about three or four hundred years before our Saviour, the Roman republic and empire were from time to time invaded by warlike races from the north and east, who burst with overwhelming force upon the south and west of Europe, and repeatedly carried desolation to the gates of Rome. These multitudinous invaders were not armies of men, they were in reality nations of hostile immigrants. They came with their wives, with their "young barbarians," with

* *London Quarterly Review* for December, 1851, p. 191.

their Scythian cavalry, and their herds of cattle; and they came with no purpose of going away. The *animus manendi* was made up before they abandoned their ice-clad homes; they left their Arctic allegiance behind them. They found the sunny banks of the Arno and the Rhone more pleasant than those of the Don and the Volga. Unaccustomed to the sight of any tree more inviting than the melancholy fir and the stunted birch, its branches glittering with snowy crystals, — brought up under a climate where the generous fruits are unknown, — these children of the North were not so much fascinated as bewildered "in the land of the citron and myrtle;" they gazed with delighted astonishment at the spreading elm, festooned with Falernian clusters; they clutched, with a kind of frantic joy, at the fruit of the fig-tree and the olive; — at the melting peach, the luscious plum, the golden orange, and the pomegranate, whose tinted cheek outblushes every thing but the living carnation of youthful love.

> "With grim delight the brood of winter view
> A brighter day and heavens of azure hue,
> Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
> And quaff the pendent vintage as it grows."

By the fortune of war, single detachments and even mighty armies frequently suffered defeat; but their place was immediately taken by new hordes, which fell upon declining Rome as the famished wolves in one of Catlin's pictures fall upon an aged buffalo in our western prairies. The imperial monster, powerful even in his decrepitude, would often scatter their undisciplined array with his iron tusks, and trample them by thousands under his brazen feet; but when he turned back, torn and bleeding, to his seven hills, tens of thousands came howling from the northern forests, who sprang at his throat and buried their fangs in his lacerated side. Wherever they conquered, and in the end they conquered everywhere, they established themselves on the soil, invited new-comers, and from their union with the former inhabitants, the nations of the south and west of Europe, at the present day, for the most part, trace their descent.

We know but little of the numbers thus thrown in upon the Roman republic and empire in the course of eight or ten centuries. They were, no doubt, greatly exaggerated by the panic fear of the inhabitants; and the pride of the Roman historians would lead them to magnify the power before which their own legions had so often quailed. But when we consider the difficulty of subsisting a large number of persons in a march through an unfriendly country, and this at a time when much of the now cultivated portion of Europe was covered with forest and swamp, I am disposed to think that the hosts which for a succession of centuries overran the Roman empire did not, in the aggregate, exceed in numbers the immigrants that have arrived in the United States since 1790. In other words, I am inclined to believe, that within the last sixty years the old world has poured in upon the United States a number of persons as great, with their natural increase, as Asia sent into Europe in these armed migrations of barbarous races.

Here, of course, the parallel ends. The races that invaded Europe came to lay waste and to subjugate; the hosts that cross the Atlantic are peaceful immigrants. The former burst upon the Roman empire, and by oft-repeated strokes beat it to the ground. The immigrants to America from all countries, come to cast in their lot with the native citizens, and to share with us this great inheritance of civil and religious liberty. The former were ferocious barbarians, half clad in skins, speaking strange tongues, worshipping strange gods with bloody rites. The latter are the children of the countries from which the first European settlers of this continent proceeded, and belong, with us, to the great common family of Christendom. The former destroyed the culture of the ancient world, and it was only after a thousand years that a better civilization grew up from its ruins. The millions who have established themselves in America within sixty years are, from the moment of their arrival, gradually absorbed into the mass of the population, conforming to the laws and moulding themselves to the manners of the country, and contributing their share to its prosperity and strength.

It is a curious coincidence, that, as the first mighty wave of the hostile migration that burst upon Europe before the time of our Saviour, consisted of tribes belonging to the great Celtic race, the remains of which, identified by their original dialect, are still found in Brittany, in Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and especially in Ireland, so by far the greater portion of the new and friendly immigration to the United States consists of persons belonging to the same ardent, true-hearted, and too often oppressed race. I have heard, in the villages of Wales and the Highlands of Scotland, the gospel preached in a language radically the same as that in which Brennus uttered his haughty summons to Rome, and in which the mystic songs of the Druids were chanted in the depths of the primeval forests of France and England, in the time of Julius Cæsar. It is still spoken by thousands of Scotch, Welsh, and Irish immigrants, in all parts of the United States.*

* A learned and friendly correspondent, of Welsh origin, is of opinion that I have fallen into a "gross error, in classing the Irish, Welsh, and Scotch, as one race of people, or Celts, whose language is the same. The slightest acquaintance," he adds, "with the Welsh and Irish languages, would convince you that they were totally different. A Welshman cannot understand one word of Irish, neither can the latter understand one word of Welsh."

In a popular view of the subject this may be correct, in like manner as the Anglo-Saxon, the Teutonic, and Scandinavian races would, in a popular use of the terms, be considered as distinct races, speaking languages mutually unintelligible. But the etymologist regards their languages as substantially the same; and ethnographically these nations belong to one and the same stock.

There are certainly many points, in reference to the ancient history of the Celts, on which learned men greatly differ, and at which it was impossible that I should even glance in the superficial allusions which my limits admitted. But there is no point on which ethnographers are better agreed, than that the Bretons, Welsh, Irish, and Highland Scotch belong to the Celtic race, representing, no doubt, different national families, which acquired each its distinctive dialect at a very early period.

Dr. Prichard, (the leading authority on questions of this kind,) after comparing the remains of the ancient Celtic language, as far as they can now be traced in proper names, says: "We must hence conclude that the dialect of the ancient Gauls was nearly allied to the Welsh, and much more re-

This great Celtic race is one of the most remarkable that has appeared in history. Whether it belongs to that extensive Indo-European family of nations, which, in ages before the dawn of history, took up a line of march in two columns from Lower India, and, moving westward by both a northern and a southern route, finally diffused itself over Western Asia, Northern Africa, and the greater part of Europe; or whether, as others suppose, the Celtic race belongs to a still older stock, and was itself driven down upon the south and into the west of Europe by the overwhelming force of the Indo-Europeans, is a question which we have no time at present to discuss. However it may be decided, it would seem that for the first time, as far as we are acquainted with the fortunes of this interesting race, they have found themselves in a really prosperous condition in this country. Driven from the soil in the west of Europe, to which their fathers clung for two thousand years, they have at length, and for the first time in their entire history, found a real home in a land of strangers. Having been told, in the frightful language of political economy, that at the daily table which Nature spreads for the human family there is no cover laid for them in Ireland, they have crossed the ocean, to find occupation, shelter, and bread on a foreign but friendly soil.

This "Celtic Exodus," as it has been aptly called, is to all the parties immediately connected with it one of the most important events of the day. To the emigrants themselves it may be regarded as a passing from death to life. It will benefit Ireland by reducing a surplus population, and restoring a sounder and juster relation of capital and labor. It will benefit the laboring classes in England, where wages have been kept down to the starvation-point by the struggle between the native population and the inhabitants of the sister island for that employment and food, of which there is not enough for both. This benefit will extend from England

motely related to the Erse and Gaelic."—*Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, Vol. III. p. 135. See also Latham's *English Language*, p. 74.

to ourselves, and will lessen the pressure of that competition which our labor is obliged to sustain, with the ill-paid labor of Europe. In addition to all this, the constant influx into America of stout and efficient hands supplies the greatest want in a new country, which is that of labor, gives value to land, and facilitates the execution of every species of private enterprise and public work.

I am not insensible to the temporary inconveniences which are to be set off against these advantages, on both sides of the water. Much suffering attends the emigrant there, on his passage, and after his arrival. It is possible that the value of our native labor may have been depressed by too sudden and extensive a supply from abroad; and it is certain that our asylums and almshouses are crowded with foreign inmates, and that the resources of public and private benevolence have been heavily drawn upon. These are considerable evils, but they have perhaps been exaggerated.

It must be remembered, in the first place, that the immigration daily pouring in from Europe is by no means a pauper immigration. On the contrary, it is already regarded with apprehension abroad, as occasioning a great abstraction of capital. How the case may be in Great Britain and Ireland, I have seen no precise statement; but it is asserted on apparently good grounds, that the consumption and abstraction of capital caused by immigration from Germany amounts annually to twenty millions of rix-dollars, or fifteen millions of our currency.*

No doubt, foreign immigration is attended with an influx of foreign pauperism. In reference to this, I believe your system of public relief is better here in New York than ours in Massachusetts, in which, however, we are making important changes. It is said, that, owing to some defect in our

* In an instructive article relative to the German emigration in Otto Hübner's *Jahrbuch für Volkswirthschaft und Statistik*, the numbers who emigrated from Germany, from 1846 to 1851 inclusive, are estimated at an annual average of 96,676, and the amount of capital abstracted by them from the country at an average of 19,370,333 rix-dollars (about fifteen million Spanish dollars) per annum.

system or its administration, we support more than our share of needy foreigners. They are sent in upon us from other States. New York, as the greatest seaport, must be exposed also to more than her proportionate share of the burden. However the evil arises, it may no doubt be mitigated by judicious legislation; and in the mean time Massachusetts and New York might do a worse thing with a portion of their surplus means than feed the hungry, clothe the naked, give a home to the stranger, and kindle the spark of reason in the mind of the poor foreign lunatic, even though that lunatic may have been (as I am ashamed, for the credit of humanity, to say has happened) set on shore in the night from a coasting-vessel, and found in the morning in the fields, half dead with cold, and hunger, and fright.

But you say, "They are foreigners." Well, do we owe no duties to foreigners? What was the founder of Virginia, when a poor Indian girl threw herself between him and the war-club of her father, and saved his life at the risk of her own? What were the Pilgrim Fathers, when the friendly savage, if we must call him so, met them with his little vocabulary of kindness, learned among the fishermen on the Grand Bank,—"Welcome, Englishmen?" "They are foreigners." And suppose they are? Was not the country all but ready, a year or two ago, to plunge into a conflict with the military despotisms of the east of Europe, in order to redress the wrongs of the oppressed races who feed their flocks on the slopes of the Carpathians, and pasture their herds upon the tributaries of the Danube, and do we talk of the hardship of relieving destitute foreigners, whom the hand of God has guided across the ocean and conducted to our doors?

Must we learn a lesson of benevolence from the ancient heathen? Let us then learn it. The whole theatre at Rome stood up and shouted their sympathetic applause, when the actor in one of Terence's plays exclaimed, "I am a man; nothing that is human is foreign to me."

I am not indifferent to the increase of the public burdens; but the time has been when I have felt a little proud of the vast sums paid in the United States for the relief of poor

immigrants from Europe. It is an annual sum, I have no doubt, equal to the interest on the foreign debt of the States which have repudiated their obligations. When I was in London, a few years ago, I received a letter from one of the interior counties of England, telling me that they had in their house of correction an American seaman, (or a person who pretended to be,) who from their account seemed to be both pauper and rogue. They were desirous of being rid of him, and kindly offered to place him at my disposal. Although he did not bid fair to be a very valuable acquisition, I wrote back that he might be sent to London, where, if he was a sailor, he could be shipped by the American Consul to the United States, if not, to be disposed of in some other way. I ventured to add the suggestion, that if her Majesty's Minister at Washington were applied to in a similar way by the overseers of the poor and wardens of the prisons in the United States, he would be pretty busily occupied. But I really felt pleased, at a time when my own little State of Massachusetts was assisting from ten to twelve thousand destitute British subjects annually, to be able to relieve the British empire, on which the sun never sets, of the only American pauper quartered upon it.

Ladies and gentlemen, my humble tale is told. In thanking you for your most kind attention, let me remind you that its first incident is Columbus, begging bread for his child at the gate of a convent. Its last finds you the stewards of this immense abundance, the almoners of this more than imperial charity, providing employment and food for starving nations, and a home for fugitive races.

STABILITY AND PROGRESS.*

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:—

I THANK you for the toast which has just been given, and for the marked kindness with which it has been received by the company. I deem it a privilege to be present on this occasion. We all, I think, sir, who had the good fortune to be present at the Old South Church, felt that it was good to be there. We felt that it was good to pause awhile from the hurry of passing events, and revive our recollections of the times which tried men's souls. I do not know that I have ever attended a celebration of the Fourth of July conducted in a more interesting manner. The solemn prayers that the God of our fathers would extend his protection to us; the public reading of the great Declaration which has given immortality to the day; the sweet voices in the gallery, giving assurance that the sons and daughters were training up to catch the spirit and imitate the example of the fathers and mothers; this all gave uncommon interest to the exercises. It was, also, I own, sir, particularly pleasing to me to listen to our young friend on my right, the orator of the day,† who gave us such a treat in his ingenious, manly, and fervid discourse, in which he rose very far above the commonplaces of the occasion, and adorned his great theme with much original and seasonable illustration. It was especially gratifying to me, sir, to witness the brilliant promise he afforded us of adding new lustre to a name on which three generations in this community have accumulated their honors.

* At the municipal dinner in Faneuil Hall, on the 4th of July, 1853.

† Timothy Bigelow, Esq.

I believe no one, sir, who has attended this day's exercises, or is now present, will be disposed to concur in the opinion, which we sometimes hear expressed, that the interest of the Fourth of July is on the wane; — that it is a worn-out, old-fashioned affair, which has ceased to have a significance for us. For my own part, I value it in no small degree, because it is, I will not say "an old-fashioned," but I will say an ancient and venerable institution; because its annual celebration for seventy years has already nourished the patriotic feelings of more than two generations; and amidst the perilous convulsions of States abroad, and the rapid march of events at home, has left us one great theme on which political opinion is united; one happy day on which party strife is at rest.

I trust, sir, that the Fourth of July will ever continue to be celebrated as it has been to-day, understandingly as well as enthusiastically; because it furnishes at once the most instructive and glorious illustration of the union of the two great principles of STABILITY and PROGRESS, on which our independence was originally founded; on which our prosperity, at the present day, rests as upon its corner-stone; and by whose cordial alliance and joint-working alone, the great designs of Providence in reference to our beloved country can be fulfilled.

I am the more desirous, sir, of making this remark on the present occasion with some emphasis, because there is, on the part of many — perhaps of most — persons among us, a disposition to separate these two great principles, — to take up one to the neglect of the other, and consequently, in effect, to do violence to both. As in all party divisions, so in this; we throw ourselves passionately into the cause we have embraced, push its peculiar views beyond proper limits, overlook the reasonable qualifications, and forget that practical wisdom and plain common sense are generally found about half-way between the two extremes. Accordingly there are and always have been among us, as in all countries where thought and speech are free, men who give themselves up, heart and soul, to the reverence of the past; they can do justice to no wisdom but the wisdom of ages; and if an institution is not

time-honored, it is very apt, by them, not to be honored at all. They forget that the tall oak was once an acorn, and that the oldest things had a beginning. This class of men received a few years ago, in England, the designation of "conservatives," from their disposition to maintain things just as they are. Recently, in this country, they have been called by the rather unpromising name of "old fogies," the origin and precise import of which are unknown to me.

Now, sir, these benighted individuals (strait-laced and stiff-necked as they are) err only in pushing a sound principle to extremes; in obeying one law of our social nature to the neglect of another, equally certain and important. Though the reverence of the past — adherence to what is established — may be carried a great deal too far, it is not merely an innate feeling of the human heart, but a direct logical consequence of the physical and spiritual constitution which our Creator has given us. The sacred tie of family, which, reaching backward and forward, binds the generations of men together, and draws out the plaintive music of our being from the solemn alternation of cradle and grave, — the black and white keys of life's harpsichord; the magical power of language, which puts spirit in communion with spirit in distant periods and climes; the grand sympathies of country, which lead the Greeks of the present day to talk of "the victory which *we* gained over the barbarians at Marathon;" — the mystic tissue of race, woven far back in the dark chambers of the past, and which, after the vicissitudes and migrations of centuries, wraps up great nations in its broad mantle, — those significant expressions which carry volumes of meaning in a word, — Forefather, Parent, Child, Posterity, Native Land; — these all teach us not blindly to worship, but duly to honor the past; to study the lessons of experience; to scan the high counsels of man in his great associations, as those counsels have been developed in constitutions, in laws, in maxims, in traditions, in great undoubted principles of right and wrong, which have been sanctioned by the general consent of those who have gone before us; — thus tracing in human institutions some faint reflection of that Divine wisdom, which fash-

ioned the leaf that unfolded itself six weeks ago in the forest, on the pattern of the leaf which was bathed in the dews of Paradise in the morning of creation.

These feelings, I say, sir, are just and natural. The principle which prompts them lies deep in our nature; it gives birth to the dearest charities of life, and it fortifies some of the sternest virtues. But these principles and feelings are not the whole of our nature. They are a portion only of those sentiments which belong to us as men, as patriots, and Christians. We do not err when we cherish them, but when we cherish and act on them exclusively; forgetting that there is another class of feelings and principles — different, though not antagonistic — which form another side of our wonderfully complicated existence.

This is the side to which an opposite class in the community devotes itself exclusively. They are "the men of progress," or, as they sometimes call themselves, in imitation of similar designations in most countries of Europe, "Young America." Either from natural ardor of temperament, or the fervid spirit of youth, or impatience caused by constant meditation on the abuses which accumulate in most human concerns in the lapse of time, they get to think that every thing, which has existed for a considerable time, is an abuse; that, consequently, to change is, as a matter of course, to reform; — to innovate, of necessity, an improvement. They do not consider that if this notion is carried too far it becomes suicidal; it condemns their own measures, and justifies the next generation in sweeping away their work, as remorselessly as they are disposed to sweep away the work of their predecessors.

Now here again, sir, the error is one of exaggeration only. Young America is a very honest fellow; he means well, but like other young folks he is sometimes a little too much in a hurry. He needs the curb occasionally, as we old ones, perhaps, still more frequently need the spur. There *is* a principle of progress in the human mind, in all the works of men's hands, in all associations and communities, from the village club to the empire that embraces a quarter of the human

race, in all political institutions, in art, literature, and science, and most especially in all new countries, where it must, from the nature of the case, be the leading and governing principle. Who can compare the modern world, its condition, its arts, its institutions, with the ancient world, and doubt this: the daily newspaper, smoking every morning from a hundred presses, with a strip of hieroglyphics on the side of an obelisk, perplexing the world with its dubious import, and even that interpreted within the last thirty years; — the ocean steamer with the row galley, creeping timidly round the shore; — the railways in the United States alone, without mentioning those of Europe, with those famous Roman paved roads, the Appian and Flaminian way, to which the orator alluded, which our railroads exceed tenfold in extent, to say nothing of their superiority in every other respect, as a means of communication; — the printing-press driven by steam, with the scribe's toilsome pen; — the electric telegraph, with the mail-coach, the post-horse, the pedestrian courier; — and above all, a representative republican confederacy, extending over a continent, with a feudal despotism building a palace on the necks of a people, or a stormy Grecian democracy, subsisting its citizens by public largesses, deeming all labor servile, ostracizing its good men, insulting and oppressing its allies, and rending its own vitals, within the circuit of the city walls to which it was confined, — who, I say, can make this comparison, and doubt that the principle of progress is as deeply seated in our nature as the principle of conservatism, and that true practical wisdom and high national policy reside in the due mixture and joint action of the two?

Now, sir, this was the wisdom of the men of '76. This is the lesson of the Fourth of July; this is the oracle which speaks to us from the shrines of this consecrated hall. If we study the writings of the men of that day, we find that they treated the cause of civil liberty not only as one of justice and right, of sentiment and feeling, but also as one of history and tradition, of charters and laws. They not only looked to the future, but they explored the past. They built wisely and skilfully, in such sort that after-times might extend the

stately front of the temple of freedom, and enlarge its spacious courts, and pile its stories, arch above arch, gallery above gallery, to the heavens; but they dug the foundation deep down to the eternal rock; the town, the school, the militia, the church; — those were the four corner-stones on which they reared the edifice.

If we look only at one part of their work, if we see them poring over musty parchments by the midnight lamp, citing the year-books against writs of assistance, disputing themselves hoarse about this phrase in the charter of Charles the First, and that section in a statute of Edward the Third, we should be disposed to class them with the most bigoted conservatives that ever threw a drag chain round the limbs of a young and ardent people. But, gracious heavens, look at them again, when the trumpet sounds the hour of resistance; survey the other aspect of their work. See these undaunted patriots in their obscure caucus gatherings, in their town meetings, in their provincial assemblies, in their continental congress, breathing defiance to the British parliament and the British throne. March with their raw militia to the conflict with the trained veterans of the seven years' war. Witness them, a group of colonies extemporized into a confederacy, entering with a calm self-possession into alliance with the oldest monarchy in Europe; and occupying as they did a narrow belt of territory along the coast, thinly peopled, partially cleared, hemmed in by the native savage, by the Alleghanies, by the Ohio, and the lakes, behold them, dilating with the grandeur of the position, radiant in the prospective glories of their career, casting abroad the germs of future independent States, destined, at no distant day, not merely to cover the face of the thirteen British colonies, but to spread over the territories of France and Spain on this continent, over Florida and Louisiana, over New Mexico and California, beyond the Mississippi, beyond the Rocky Mountains, to unite the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, the arctic and the torrid zones, in one great network of confederate republican government: contemplate this, and you will acknowledge the

men of Seventy-Six to have been the boldest men of progress that the world has ever seen!

These are the men whom the Fourth of July invites us to respect and to imitate; — the James Otises and the Warrens, the Franklins and the Adamses, the Patrick Henrys and the Jeffersons, and him whom I may not name in the plural number, brightest of the bright and purest of the pure, Washington himself. But let us be sure to imitate them, (or to strive to do so,) in all their great principles, in both parts of their noble and comprehensive policy. Let us reverence them as they reverenced their predecessors, not seeking to build up the future on the ruins of all that had gone before, nor yet to bind down the living, breathing, burning present to the mouldering relics of the dead past, but, deducing the rule of a bold and safe progress from the records of a wise and glorious experience.

I am trespassing unconscionably, sir, upon the time of the company, but I will, with your leave, add one further reflection. We live at an era as eventful, in my judgment, as that of '76, though in a different way. We have no foreign yoke to throw off; but in the discharge of the duty devolved upon us by Providence, we have to carry the republican independence which our fathers achieved, with all the organized institutions of an enlightened community, institutions of religion, law, education, charity, art, and all the thousand graces of the highest culture, beyond the Missouri, beyond the Sierra Nevada; perhaps, in time, around the circuit of the Antilles; perhaps to the archipelagoes of the Central Pacific. The pioneers are on the way; who can tell how far and how fast they will travel? Who, that compares the North America of 1753, but a century ago, and numbering but a little over a million of souls of European origin; or still more the North America of 1653, when there was certainly not a fifth part of that number; who that compares this with the North America of 1853, its twenty-two millions of European origin, and its thirty-one States, will venture to assign limits to our growth; will dare to compute the time-table of our railway

progress; or lift so much as a corner of the curtain that hides the crowded events of the coming century?

This only we can plainly see: the old world is rocking to its foundations. From the Gulf of Finland to the Yellow Sea, every thing is shaken. The spirit of the age has gone forth to hold his great review, and the kings of the earth are moved to meet him at his coming. The band which holds the great powers of Europe together in one political league, is strained to its utmost tension. The catastrophe may for awhile be staved off, but to all appearance they are hurrying to the verge of one of those conflicts which, like the battles of Pharsalia and Actium, affect the condition of States for twice ten centuries. The Turkish Empire, encamped but for four centuries on the frontiers of Europe, and the Chinese monarchy, contemporary with David and Solomon, are alike crumbling. While these events are passing in the old world, a tide of immigration which has no parallel in history, is pouring westward across the Atlantic and eastward across the Pacific, to our shores. The real political vitality of the world seems moving to the new hemisphere, whose condition and fortunes it devolves upon us and our children to mould and regulate.

Sir, it is a grand, let me say a solemn thought, well calculated to still the passions of the day, and to elevate us above the paltry strife of parties. It teaches us that we are called to the highest, and I do verily believe, the most momentous trust that ever devolved upon one generation of men. Let us meet it with a corresponding temper and purpose, with the wisdom of a well-instructed experience, and with the foresight and preparation of a glorious future; not on the narrow platforms of party policy and temporary expediency, but in the broad and comprehensive spirit of seventy-six.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS.*

You have been good enough, Mr. President, to intimate that, among our numerous honored guests, (to whom your complimentary remarks, with possibly a single exception, might have applied with as much justice as to myself,) I am the individual to whom you look, to respond to the toast that has just been announced. I rise to obey the call. It is true that there is a single circumstance which may make the allusion more exclusively applicable to me than to any other gentleman present. It is true, that, on one pleasant occasion on which I have been at this delightful and beloved Plymouth, I suggested that it might be expedient, not always, but occasionally, to transfer the celebration of the great day from the winter to the summer season. Supposing that to be the circumstance which you had in your mind, I feel that I may without impropriety obey your call by rising to respond to the toast that has just been given.

It is now hard upon thirty years since I had the honor, on the 22d of December, to address the sons and daughters of the Pilgrims, assembled at this place. I regarded it a peculiar privilege and honor. I deem it, sir, an equal privilege to find myself here on this joyous occasion, and to be permitted to participate in this happy festival, where we have an attendance of so many distinguished friends and fellow-citizens from other parts of the country, — from almost every State in the Union, sir, you have already told us; where we are favored with the company of the representatives of the

* Speech at the Plymouth Festival on the 1st of August, 1853, in commemoration of the embarkation of the Pilgrims.

New England Society of New York, one of those institutions which are carrying the name and principles of the Pilgrims to the furthest ends of the land; where we are gratified with the presence of our military friends from the same city, the great commercial emporium of the United States; where we are honored by so much of the gravity, the dignity, and the character of the community in which we dwell, and are favored with the presence of so much of its beauty, grace, and loveliness.

I do indeed, sir, feel it to be a privilege to be here under these circumstances, and I deem myself most highly honored in being called upon to respond to the toast which you have just announced, in commemoration of the embarkation of the Pilgrims, and its results. The theme is vast; I shrink from it; I know not where to begin, or where to end. It seems to me, sir, that you yourself, in the remarks with which you have favored the company, struck the key-note of this great theme, in alluding to the state of this vast continent before the Pilgrims came, and to the situation of its primitive inhabitants. There is the beginning. I could not but feel it, as I saw one or two of them, poor wanderers, as we came into Plymouth this morning, seated by the road side, wondering spectators of the pageant which was passing before their eyes.

A few days ago, as I saw in the newspapers, two light birch bark canoes appeared in Boston harbor, containing each a solitary Indian. They seemed, as they approached, to gaze in silent wonder at the city of the triple hills, rising street above street, and crowned with the dome of the State-house, and at the long line of villas stretching far into the background;—at the numerous small vessels outward bound, as they dropped down the channel and spread their broad wings to the breeze, and those which were returning weather-beaten from the ends of the earth;—at the steamers dashing in every direction across the harbor, breathing volumes of smoke from their fiery lungs. They paddled their frail barks with dexterity and speed through this strange, busy, and to them, no doubt, bewildering scene; and having made the circuit of East Boston, the navy yard, the city itself, and

South Boston, dropped down with the current, and disappeared among the islands.

There was not a human being of kindred blood to utter a word of welcome to them, in all the region which on the day we now commemorate was occupied by their forefathers in Massachusetts. The race is gone. It would be a mistaken sentimentality to regret the change; to regret that some thousand uncultured barbarians, destitute of all the improvements of social life, as we understand it, and seemingly incapable of adopting them, should have yielded gradually to the civilized millions who have taken their place. But we must, both as men and as Christians, condemn whatever of oppression and wrong has marked the change, (as is too apt always to be the case when strong and weak are brought into contact with each other,) and without affectation we may indulge a heart-felt sympathy for the feeble and stricken relics of once powerful and formidable tribes of fellow men.

On the 1st of August, 1620, the circumstances of the two races, as far as this part of America is concerned, presented very nearly the reverse of the picture we have just contemplated. On that day, the territory now forming the States of New England was occupied by numerous Indian tribes, some of which were strong and warlike. They were far behind the natives of Mexico and Peru, but they had added some simple agriculture to their hunting and fishing, — their moccasons, and snow-shoes, and stone hatchets, and arrow-heads, and wampum-belts, evinced their aptitude for the humble arts of savage life; they retained unimpaired their native independence, ignorant of the metaphysical claims to sovereignty which powerful governments three thousand miles off founded upon the right of discovery; and neither the arts, nor the arms, nor the diseases, nor the vices of civilized life, had commenced that terrible warfare against them, which has since been pushed nearly to their extermination.

On that day, and in this condition of the American races, a handful of careworn, twice-doomed English exiles set sail from Delft Haven, in Holland, with the intention, after being joined by a few brethren of their faith in England, to encoun-

ter the then much dreaded perils of the Atlantic, and the still more formidable uncertainties of their projected settlement on the outer edge of the New World. Two centuries and a third have passed, the momentous ages of national infancy, childhood, and youth have been rapidly lived through, and six prosperous republics, parents of a still increasing family of States in the boundless West, have grown up in the wilderness. In the mean time, in this part of the continent, the native inhabitants have sunk far below the point of comparative weakness, down to the verge of annihilation; and we have assembled now and here to celebrate the day on which this all-important change commenced.

I allude, Mr. President, to this revolution in the condition of our continent, and the races occupying it, not as introducing a narrative of familiar incidents or a train of commonplace reflections, but as pointing directly to the great problem which first presented itself on the discovery of America, and the agency of the Pilgrim Fathers in its solution, — an agency whose first public manifestation might be said to commence with the ever memorable embarkation at Delft Haven, to which I have just referred.

The discovery itself of the American continent may, I think, fairly be considered the most extraordinary event in the history of the world. In this, as in other cases, familiarity blunts the edge of our perceptions; but much as I have meditated, and often as I have treated this theme, its magnitude grows upon me with each successive contemplation. That a continent nearly as large as Europe and Africa united, spread out on both sides of the equator, lying between the western shores of Europe and Africa and the eastern shore of Asia, with groups of islands in either ocean, as it were stopping places on the march of discovery, — a continent not inhabited indeed by civilized races, but still occupied by one of the families of rational man; — that this great hemisphere, I say, should have lain undiscovered for five thousand years upon the bosom of the deep, — a mystery so vast, within so short a distance, and yet not found out, — is indeed a marvel. Mute nature, if I may so express myself, had made the dis-

covery to the philosopher, for the preponderance of land in the eastern hemisphere demanded a counterpoise in the west. Dark-wooded trees, unknown to the European naturalist, had from age to age drifted over the sea and told of the tropical forests where they grew. Stupendous ocean currents, driven westward by the ever breathing trade-winds, had wheeled their mighty flexures along the American coast, and returned to Europe with tidings of the everlasting breakwater which had stopped their way. But the fulness of time had not yet come. Assyria and Egypt, and Tyre and Carthage, and Greece and Rome must flourish and fall, before the seals are broken. They must show what they can do for humanity before the veil which hides its last hope is lifted up. The ancient civilization must be weighed in a balance and found wanting. Yes, and more. Nature must unlock her rarest mysteries; the quivering steel must learn to tremble to the pole; the astrolabe must climb the arch of heaven, and bring down the sun to the horizon; science must demonstrate the sphericity of the earth, which the ancients suspected, but could not prove; the press must scatter the flying rear of mediæval darkness; the creative instincts of a new politicai, intellectual, and social life must begin to kindle into action; and then the Discoverer may go forth.

He does go forth; the discovery is made; the balance of the globe is redressed. A continent nearly equal in extent to one half the ancient hemisphere is brought to light. What momentous questions present themselves! Another world! Is it a twin sister of the ancient world? It has mountains, and rivers, and lakes, and forests, but does it contain the homes of kindred man; — of cultivated races, who have pursued, independently of their eastern brethren, separate, perhaps higher paths of civilization? In a word, has the great cause of humanity made an immediate gain by the wonderful event which has added so much to the geography of the world as before known?

The first contact answered these questions in the negative. The native races, apparently incapable of assimilation, seemed doomed by a mysterious Providence to pass away. The

Spaniard came upon them, borne on winged monsters, as they thought, from beyond the sea; careering on strange quadrupeds, — horse and rider, as they supposed, forming but one animal; and he advanced under cover of that fearful ordnance, which they mistook for the three-bolted artillery of the skies. He came in all these terrors and he brought them death. Those that escaped have borrowed little from us but the poisonous cup, the loathsome malady, the murderous weapon. The skies are mild, the soil is fertile, there is every variety of climate, a boundless theatre for human enjoyment and action, but the appointed agent was not there. Over the greater part of the new-found continent, society, broken down by eternal wars between neighboring tribes, at once in its decrepitude and infancy, had not yet risen even to the pastoral stage. Nature, in fact, had not bestowed upon man the mute but faithful partners of his toil, — the horse, the ox, the sheep, and other still humbler associates, whose aid (did he but know it) lies at the basis of his civilization; who furnish so much of his food and clothing, meat, milk, eggs, wool, skins, and relieve his weary muscles of their heaviest burdens. In a word, there was no civilized population to stand up and enter into equal comparison and generous rivalry with Europe. The discoverer has come; but the settler, the colonist, the conqueror, alas that I must add! too often the oppressor and destroyer, are to follow in his train. By these various agencies, joyous and sorrowful, through these paths of triumph and woe, the culture of the Old World, in the lapse of successive generations, reformed of its abuses, enriched with new arts, animated by a higher spirit of humanity, transferred from the privileged few to the mass of the community, is to be reproduced and perfected in the West.

I need not say to this company, assembled on the shore of the haven for which so many noble hearts on that terrible voyage throbbed with sickening expectancy, — that quiet haven where the Mayflower furled her tattered sails, — that a greater, a nobler work was never performed by man. Truly, the *opus magnum*, *the* great work of humanity. You bid me speak of that portion of it which devolved on the Pilgrims.

Would to heaven I could find words to do justice even to my own poor conceptions, and still more that I could find conceptions not far below the august reality! A mighty work of improvement, in which (not to speak of what has been done in other portions of the continent) the poor, solitary Mayflower, so to say, has multiplied herself into the thousand vessels that bear the flag of the Union to every sea; has scattered her progeny through the land, to the number of nearly a quarter of a million for every individual in that drooping company of one hundred; and in place of the simple compact which was signed in her cabin, to which you, sir, (Governor Clifford,) have just alluded, has exhibited to the admiration of mankind a constitution of republican government for all this growing family of prosperous States. But the work is in its infancy; my honored friend will indulge me in the bright vision of its certain progress. It must extend throughout the length and breadth of the land; and what is not done directly by ourselves must be done by other governments and other races, by the light of our example. The work, the work must go on. It must reach at the North to the enchanted cave of the magnet, within never-melting barriers of Arctic ice; it must bow to the lord of day on the altar-peaks of Chimborazo; it must look up and worship the Southern Cross. From the easternmost cliff on the Atlantic, that blushes in the kindling dawn, to the last promontory on the Pacific, which catches the parting kiss of the setting sun, as he goes down to his pavilion of purple and gold, it must make the outgoings of the morning and evening to rejoice, in the gladsome light of morals, and letters, and arts. Emperors, and kings, and parliaments, — the oldest and the strongest governments in Europe, — must engage in this work in some part or other of the continent, but no part of it shall be so faithfully and successfully performed as that which was undertaken by the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, on the spot where we are now gathered.

Providence from the beginning strewed their path with salutary hardships. Formidable difficulties beset them from the first. Three years of weary negotiation had failed to procure

for these noble adventurers the express sanction of the British government; they scarcely obtained its reluctant and tacit permission to banish themselves to the ends of the earth; and their shattered private fortunes allowed but the meanest outfit. But on the 1st of August, 1620, under these poor auspices, they embarked, a handful of pilgrims, to lay upon this spot the foundation, not only of this our beloved New England, but of all that portion of United America which traces its descent to this venerated stock.

When we contrast the heart-stricken company which on that day wept and knelt on the quay at Delft Haven, till the impassive spectators, ignorant of the language in which their prayers were offered, and the deep fountains of grief from which their sorrows flowed, were yet fain to melt into sympathetic tears,—when we compare them with the busy, prosperous millions of our present New England, we seem to miss that due proportion between results and their causes which history delights to trace. But a deeper and more appreciative study reveals the secret.

There are two master ideas, greatest of the spiritual images enthroned in the mind of man, the only ideas, comparatively speaking, which deserve a name among men, springs of all the grand beneficent movements of modern times, by whose influence the settlement of New England may be rationally explained. You have anticipated me, descendants of the Pilgrims, these great ideas are GOD and LIBERTY. It was these that inspired our fathers; by these that their weakness was clothed with power, that their simplicity was transmuted to wisdom; by these that the great miracle of their enterprise was wrought.

I am aware that to ascribe such a result, even in part, to the influence of religion, will sound like weakness and superstition, in this material age; an age at once supremely sceptical and supremely credulous, which is ready to believe in every thing spiritual rather than God, and admits all marvels but the interposition of his providence;—an age which supposes it a thing of every day's occurrence to evoke from their awful rest the spirits of the great and good, and believes that

master intellects, who while they lived, obstructed with these organs of sense, ravished the ear with the tongues of men, and, having now cast off "this muddy vesture of decay," are gone where they speak with the tongues of angels, can yet find no medium of communication from the eternal world but wretched inarticulate rappings and clatterings, which pot-house clowns would be ashamed to use in their intercourse with each other, — as if our matchless Choate, for instance, who has just electrified the land with a burst of eloquence not easily paralleled in the line of time, and worthy of the illustrious subject of his eulogy, if sent with a message from a higher stage of being, would creep skulking and rapping behind the wainscot, instead of coming in robes of light, with a voice like the music of the spheres; — an age, I say, that believes all this, and yet doubts and sneers at the wonder-working fervors of earnest men, swayed by the all-powerful influence of sincere faith.

It believes, — yes, in the middle of the nineteenth century, it believes that you can have the attraction of gravitation, which holds the universe together, suspended by a showman for a dollar, who will make a table dance round the room by an act of volition, — forgetful of the fact, that, if the law of gravitation were suspended for the twinkling of an eye, by any other Power than that which ordained it, every planet that walks the firmament, yea, all the starry suns, centres of the countless systems, unseen of mortal eyes, which fill the unfathomed depths of the heavens, would crumble back to chaos, — but it can see in the Pilgrims nothing but a handful of narrow-minded bigots, driven by discontent from the Old World to the New; and can find nothing in the majestic process by which United America has been established as a grand temple of religious and civil liberty, a general refuge of humanity, but a chapter in political history, which neither requires nor admits explanation.

Mr. President, this may sound like philosophy, but it is the philosophy of the Sadducee; it is a text on which Isaac Laquedem himself might lecture. It quenches the brightest glory of our nature. The Pilgrims were actuated by that

principle, which, as I have just said, has given the first impulse to all the great movements of the modern world, — I mean profound religious faith. They had the frailties of humanity. This exalted principle itself was combined with human weakness. It was mingled with the prejudices and errors of age and country and sect; it was habitually gloomy; it was sometimes intolerant; but it was reverent, sincere, all-controlling. It did not influence, it possessed the soul. It steeled the heart to the delights of life; it raised the frame above bodily weakness; it enabled the humble to brave the frowns of power; it triumphed over cold and hunger, the prison and the scaffold; it taught uneducated men to speak with persuasive fervor; it gave manly strength and courage to tender and delicate women. In the admirable letter of Robinson and Brewster, whom I call great men, Mr. President, written in 1617, to Sir Edwyn Sandys, whom, they pathetically say, "under God, above all persons and things in the world, we rely upon," — among the suggestions which they make to encourage him to further their undertaking is this: —

"We do verily believe and trust that the Lord is with us, unto whom and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials, and that he will graciously prosper our endeavors, according to the simplicity of our hearts."

The men who can utter these words with sincerity, and who have embarked in a just cause, have already succeeded. They may not gather the fruit, but they have planted the seed; others may build, but they have laid the foundation. This is the spirit which in all ages has wrought the moral miracles of humanity, which rebuked and overturned the elegant corruption of the classical polytheism, as it did the darker and fiercer rites of Thor and Woden, which drove back the false and licentious crescent into Asia, and held Europe together through the night of the middle ages, which, limited neither to country, communion, nor sex, despite of human weaknesses and errors, in the missions of Paraguay and the missions of the Sandwich Islands, in Winthrop, in

Penn, and in Wesley, in Eliza Seton and Mary Ware, has accomplished the beneficent wonders of Christian faith and love.

But, sir, our fathers embraced that second grand idea of civil liberty with not less fervor than the first. It was a kindred fruit of the same stock. They cherished it with a zeal not less intense and resolute. This is a topic for a volume, rather than for the closing sentence of a speech at the dinner table. I will only say that the highest authorities in English history, Hume, Hallam, Macaulay, neither of them influenced by sympathy with the Puritans, concur in the opinion that England was indebted to them for the preservation of her liberties in that most critical period of her national existence, when the question between prerogative and law, absolute authority and constitutional government, was decided for ever.

In coming to this country, our fathers most certainly contemplated, not merely a safe retreat beyond the sea, where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, but a local government founded on popular choice. That their foresight stretched onward through the successive stages of colonial and provincial government which resulted in the establishment of a great republican confederacy, it would be extravagant to pretend. But from the primitive and venerable compact signed on the 11th of November, 1620, on board the Mayflower, while she yet nestled in the embrace of Provincetown harbor, after her desolate voyage, like a weary child at even-song in its mother's arms, through every document and manifesto which bears on the question, there is a distinct indication of a purpose to establish civil government on the basis of republican equality.

In a word, Mr. President, their political code united religion and liberty, morals and law, and it differed from the wild license which breaks away from these restraints, as the well guided railway engine, instinct with mechanical life, conducted by a bold, but skilful and prudent hand, and propelled in safety towards its destination, with glowing axle, along its iron grooves, differs from the same engine when its speed is

rashly urged beyond the point of safety, or when, driven by criminal recklessness or murderous neglect, it leaps madly from the track, and plunges with its crushed and shrieking train into the jaws of destruction.*

* This speech was made a short time after the occurrence of the shocking railroad accident at Norwalk, Conn.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.*

I AM greatly indebted to you, Mr. President and fellow-citizens, for this very kind reception. Though personally known to very few of you, you will not allow me to regard myself as a stranger. Though it has never been my good fortune before to do any thing more than pass through Manchester with railway speed, your cordial welcome has made me feel myself at once at home. With this simple acknowledgment of your kindness, Mr. President, I feel as if I ought to stop. This is the husbandman's festival, celebrated under the auspices of the New Hampshire Agricultural Society. Your executive committee was good enough, early in the season, to invite me to pronounce the usual annual address on this occasion. I felt greatly honored by the request, which, however, more than one prevailing reason compelled me to decline; and so acceptably has the duty been performed by the gentleman who has preceded me; so much has he instructed and interested us in his very appropriate discourse, that I cannot but congratulate you and myself, that it devolved upon him and not upon me. I feel it somewhat presumptuous, being neither a scientific nor practical farmer, to intrude myself at all before an audience like this, and in the presence of those so much better able to occupy your time to advantage. My best apology will be, not to occupy much of it, and not to presume to dwell upon matters which must be so much better understood by others.

Mr. President, though it has not been my good fortune to

* A speech at the annual fair of the New Hampshire State Agricultural Society, held at Manchester, 7th October, 1853.

be personally much acquainted with this part of your State, I have early associations of the most kindly and agreeable nature with another part of New Hampshire. In the spring-time, not of the year, but of my life, I was sent into it in pursuit of a species of culture, which you will allow to be not of inferior importance to that of the soil; — I mean the culture of the mind. I was sent for a short time, when quite a lad, to the academy at Exeter, and the only regret that mingles in my recollection of it is, that I did not longer enjoy the advantages of that excellent institution, and the paternal care of its beloved and venerated Principal, Dr. Abbot. Yes, sir, if you will pardon me this reminiscence of my boyhood, I remember, but as yesterday, for it was the first time I ever left the parental roof, being called at about four o'clock in the morning, in the month of February, to get ready for what was then thought a hard day's work, — the journey from Boston to Exeter. When a boy between twelve and thirteen starts alone before daybreak in the winter to go from home to boarding-school, the distances do not seem particularly short. They seemed the longer to me from a slight misunderstanding of the information derived from the stage driver.

This was a person who had driven a long time on the road, was well known to the academy boys, and had got rather weary of answering their perpetual inquiries, how many miles it was from one place to another along the route. His name was Prime, which we saucy youngsters converted into Priam, pestering him with occasional witticisms (which he took in very good part) about the siege of Troy. He had his revenge in mystifying us about the distances. Wherever we were, the answer was always the same; whether we asked the question at Haverhill, at Atkinson, or Plaistow, or Kingston, how far it was *now* to Exeter, it was always "about three miles."

I have said, fellow-citizens, that I had the misfortune to be a stranger at Manchester; in those days you were all strangers at Manchester too; Manchester did not exist. It is one of those cities which have sprung up like an exhalation from the soil, at the bidding of capital, enterprise, and skill, avail-

ing themselves of the creative forces of nature. In those days, sir, that is — but I will not tell you how many years ago — we knew Manchester only as Amoskeag Falls, and by the everlasting advertisements which filled the newspapers relative to a lottery for the construction of a canal around them. But it was a famous spot, sir, even in a state of nature. The children of the forest had selected it as a chosen seat, even before the foot of civilized man had pressed these shores. It was one of the favorite abodes of Passaconaway, as you reminded me, Mr. President, an hour ago, the great Sachem of the Pennacooks, the powerful tribe which occupied the banks of the Merrimac and the Piscataqua. I can never reflect, sir, without some emotion, that not two hundred years have passed since these fair regions were occupied by races of fellow beings that have disappeared from the surface of the earth. We are told that Passaconaway passed for a wizard, inasmuch as he could produce a green leaf from the ashes of a dry one; a live serpent from the skin of a dead one; could make water burn and trees dance. Well, Mr. President, without laying claim to witchcraft, the modern arts are competent to the performance of most of these wonders. I am not aware, indeed, that we can produce a living serpent from the skin of a dead one; — it is not a breed that there is any great motive to propagate, and very few experiments, I suppose, have been tried since Passaconaway's time. But I think this Agricultural Society has labored to very little advantage, if it has not shown how a green leaf can be produced from the ashes of a dry one. I am sure the chemists over at the mills can resolve water into combustible gasses; and as for dancing trees, it almost took away my breath to witness the rapidity of their motion as I came down this morning by the express train. There is no witchcraft or necromancy like the mechanic arts. By what simple contrivance of Indian jugglery poor Passaconaway performed his tricksy wonders, we do not know. In those days the white man, as well as the red, was more remarkable for what he did not perform in the way of the arts, than for what he did; for we are told that after corn and wheat had been imported into New Hampshire

from Virginia, in the earliest days of the settlement, they were obliged to send it from this part of the world to Boston to have it ground at the Boston windmill, that being the only mill in this part of the country. This sounds strangely enough on the spot where we can hear the rush of the Merrimac over yonder mighty water-wheels!

In fact, sir, the annals of New Hampshire are filled with romance of every description, from the times of Gorges and Mason, and their high-sounding grants of "Mariana" and "Laconia," the primitive settlement of "Strawberry Bank," the advent of Mr. Wheelwright, (the resolute founder of Exeter, who was Cromwell's fellow-student at Cambridge, and his most formidable competitor at football, in which manly sport he was accustomed to trip up the future Protector's heels,) down through the pleasant and prosperous days of the union with Massachusetts, and then the bloody series of the Indian wars. It is almost beyond belief, sir, that a hundred years have not passed away since that pathetic tragedy in domestic life was acted within the limits of New Hampshire; I mean the captivity of Mrs. Jemima Howe and her children. I believe the first time my blood was ever stirred by any tale of profane history, was when I read that narrative in the American Preceptor. "As Messrs. Caleb Howe, Hilkiah Grout, and Benjamin Gaffield, who had been hoeing corn in a meadow west of the river, were returning home a little before sunset to a place called Bridgman's Fort, they were fired upon by twelve Indians who had ambushed their path, on the 27th of July, 1757." That is the way the story begins; there is nothing in the Waverley novels that surpasses in interest the subsequent adventures of Mrs. Howe, in the captivity of herself and children among the Indians and Canadian French less than a century ago.

At that time, sir, the greater part of the extensive domain so beautifully represented at this exhibition by all the products of agriculture, animate and inanimate, still lay in a state of nature. It was impossible that settlement should penetrate far to the west and north along such an exposed frontier. The interior condition of New Hampshire, as of most of

the other colonies, was dependent at that time on the struggles of the great monarchies of Europe. The downfall of the French power in Canada removed the terror of Indian warfare; the establishment of our own independence called out all the hidden energies of the American character; and commerce and the fisheries on your coast; agriculture and manufactures in the interior; with the aid of labor-saving machinery, the railroad, and the locomotive, have done the rest. They have converted the "howling wilderness" into gardens and corn-fields, and thriving towns and cities, and have brought your State to the condition of high prosperity in which we now behold it, and in which, as it seems to me, you have no occasion to envy any of your sister States.

On your western boundary you have the noble Connecticut, queen of the rivers of New England; bordered by a line of railroad almost from your northernmost limit to Long Island Sound, giving you a broad belt of fertile land on its banks, and a direct communication with the great commercial metropolis of the Union. The railroads which traverse the centre of the State, and that which is just opened from Portland to Montreal, through your north-eastern territory, place you in immediate communication with the St. Lawrence and Canada. At the mouth of the Piscataqua you have one of the best ports and harbors in the United States; and where in the world, for its length, is there a stream which excels this admirable Merrimac? whether we consider the beautiful lake in which it takes its origin; the fertile meadows that are watered with its upper tributaries; or the industry, enterprise, and creative capital concentrated at its falls, — Hooksett, Manchester, Lowell, Lawrence, — the four great flights of stairs, by which the genius of your prosperity goes down from his mountain throne to the sea, scattering blessings as he descends. Why, sir, there is not a streamlet which leaps from the rocks and mingles its waters with the silver surface of your matchless lake; no, not a drop of dew condensed in the dark forests that surround it, that can find its way to the ocean, till it has contributed its share to move, one after another, fifty great water-wheels, and by the products of their

motion, to clothe hundreds of thousands of men in remote communities, and give an impulse to the commerce of the world.

And then, sir, for natural beauty. I have been something of a traveller in our own country, though far less than I could wish, and in Europe have seen all that is most attractive, from the highlands of Scotland to the golden horn of Constantinople, from the summit of the Hartz Mountains to the fountain of Vaucluse; but my eye has yet to rest on a lovelier scene than that which smiles around you as you sail from Weir's Landing to Senter Harbor. I have yet to behold a sublimer spectacle than that which is disclosed from Mount Washington, when, on some clear, cool summer's morning at sunrise, the cloud curtain is drawn up from nature's grand proscenium, and all that chaos of wildness and beauty starts into *life*; the bare granitic tops of the surrounding heights, the precipitous gorges a thousand fathom deep, which foot of man or ray of light never entered, the sombre matted forest, the moss-clad rocky wall weeping with crystal springs, winding streams, gleaming lakes, and peaceful villages below, and in the dim, misty distance, beyond the lower hills, faint glimpses of the sacred bosom of the eternal deep, ever-heaving as with the consciousness of its own immensity, all mingled in one indescribable panorama by the hand of the Divine Artist!

And how can I speak of the historical legends, of the industrial resources, of the natural beauties, of New Hampshire, parent not of fruits only, but of men, without remembering the great and good who adorn her annals, — your immortal Stark, who cheered the heart of the nation at the lowest ebb of despondency, and led the way at Bennington to the triumphs of Saratoga, — your Sullivan, your Poor, your Scammel, your Dearborn, your M'Cleary, your Pierce, who from Bunker Hill to Yorktown heard every peal of the trumpet, and breasted every storm of war; the long line of your civilians, your Weares, your Bartletts, your Whipples, your Thorntons, your Langdons, your Gilmans, your Smiths, your Masons, your Woodburys; your men of letters and divines, your

Wheelocks, your Belknaps, your Buckminsters, your Abbots? How, especially, can I forget him, whose decease not yet a twelvemonth ago filled the whole land with sorrow, while, in the sublime language of your fellow-citizen, the President of the United States, "the great heart of the nation beat heavily at the portals of his tomb." He was the offspring of your soil, he and his fathers. His infancy was cradled in the hardships of your frontier settlements; he was taught and trained in your schools, your academy, and your college. You sent him forth in the panoply of his youthful strength to the service of his country, and after the labors and the conflicts of life you rose up as one man to welcome him, when but two years ago, on this anniversary, he came back, melting with tenderness and veneration, to revisit his native State.

Mr. Everett concluded with a renewal of his acknowledgments to the company.

VICE-PRESIDENT KING.*

MR. PRESIDENT:—

I HAVE been requested to second the motion which has just been made by the senator from Virginia. I do so with great cheerfulness. It was my good fortune to enjoy the acquaintance of the late Vice-President, I hope, even some portion of his friendly regard, for a longer period, probably, than most of those within the sound of my voice, a period of nearly thirty years. I feel as if I ought not to remain silent at this last moment, when our relations to him as members of this Senate are, by the performance of this day's melancholy duty, to be closed for ever.

There is an ancient maxim, sir, founded at once in justice and right feeling, which bids us "say nothing but what is good of the dead." I can obey this rule, in reference to the late Vice-President, without violating the most scrupulous dictates of sincerity. I can say nothing but what is good of him, for I have never seen or heard any thing but good of him for thirty years that I have known him personally and by reputation.

It would hardly be expected of me, to attempt to detail the incidents of the private life or the public career of the late Vice-President. That duty belongs to others, by whom it has been, or will no doubt be, appropriately performed. I regret, particularly, on this occasion, the unavoidable absence of our colleagues from Alabama. It is the province of those

* Remarks in the Senate of the United States on the 8th of December, 1853, on seconding a motion of Mr. Hunter, one of the Senators from Virginia, in honor of the late Vice-President King.

of us, not connected with him by political associations, especially of those inhabiting remote parts of our common country, to express their cordial concurrence in the affectionate praises, pronounced by his fellow-citizens and neighbors.

Few of the public men of the day had been so intimately associated with the Senate as the late Vice-President. I think he had been a member of the body for more years than any person now belonging to it. Besides this, a relation of a different kind had grown up between him and the Senate. The federal constitution devolves upon the people, through the medium of the electoral colleges, the choice of the presiding officer of this body. But whenever the Senate was called to supply the place temporarily, for a long course of years, and till he ceased to belong to it, it turned spontaneously to him.

He undoubtedly owed this honor to distinguished qualifications for the chair. He possessed, in an eminent degree, that quickness of perception, that promptness of decision, that familiarity with the now somewhat complicated rules of congressional proceedings, and that urbanity of manner, which are required in a presiding officer. Not claiming, although an acute and forcible debater, to rank with his illustrious contemporaries, whom now, alas! we can mention only to deplore, with Calhoun, with Clay, and with Webster, (I name them alphabetically, and who will presume to arrange them on any other principle,) whose unmatched eloquence so often shook the walls of this Senate, the late Vice-President possessed the rare and the highly important talent of controlling, with impartiality, the storm of debate, and moderating between mighty spirits, whose ardent conflicts at times seemed to threaten the stability of the republic.

In fact, sir, he was highly endowed with what Cicero beautifully commends as the *boni Senatoris prudentia*, the "wisdom of a good Senator;" and in his accurate study and ready application of the rules of parliamentary law, he rendered a service to the country, not perhaps of the most brilliant kind, but assuredly of no secondary importance. There is nothing which more distinguishes the great national race

to which we belong, than its aptitude for government by deliberative assemblies; its willingness, while it asserts the largest liberty of parliamentary right, to respect what the senator from Virginia (Mr. Hunter) in another connection has called the self-imposed restrictions of parliamentary order; and I do not think it an exaggeration to say, that there is no trait in its character which has proved more conducive to the despatch of the public business, to the freedom of debate, to the honor of the country, — I will say, even which has done more to establish and perpetuate constitutional liberty.

The long and faithful senatorial career of the late Vice-President received at last its appropriate reward. The people of the United States, having often witnessed the disposition of the Senate to place him at their head, and the dignified and acceptable manner in which he bore himself in that capacity, conferred upon him, a twelvemonth since, that office, which is shown by repeated and recent experience to be above the second, if not actually the first, in their gift; the office which placed him constitutionally and permanently, during its continuance, in the chair of the Senate.

A mysterious dispensation of Providence has nipped these crowning honors in the bud. A disease, for which the perpetual summer and perfumed breezes of the tropics afforded no balm, overtook him at an age when he might, in the course of nature, have reasonably looked forward to still many years of active service. Clothed by a special and remarkable act of Congress, even while under a foreign jurisdiction, with the last constitutional qualification to enter upon the high office to which he had been elected, he returned, not to exercise its functions, but to seek his much-loved home, and there to die.

Thus, sir, he has left us to chase for a little while longer the shadows which he has exchanged for unutterable realities. He has left us prematurely for every thing but his spotless name, and his entrance on the well-earned honors of his unambitious career. And we, senators, for all the interchange of kindness, for all the cordial intercourse of private life, for

all the acts of coöperation in the public service, to which, for at least four years, the Senate was looking forward in its connection with him, have nothing left to offer to his friends and his memory, but the unavailing tribute of this last mournful farewell.

Mr. President, I second the resolutions of the Senator from Virginia.

PETER CHARDON BROOKS.*

I.

History and biography for the most part record the lives only of those who have attained military, political, or literary distinction; or who, in any other career, have passed through extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune. The unostentatious routine of private life, although in the aggregate more important to the welfare of the community, cannot, from its nature, figure in the public annals. It is true that historians have lately perceived how important a part of the history of a people consists of a comparative account of its industrial pursuits, condition, education, and manners, at different periods. This idea suggested the most interesting chapter in the first part of Mr. Macaulay's brilliant work, and Lord Mahon has imitated the example in the last volume of his history. But such accounts relate to the sum total of society, and do not carry with them a narrative of individual life and character.

But the names of men who distinguished themselves, while they lived, for the possession, in an eminent degree, of those qualities of character, which mainly contribute to the success of private life and to the public stability, — of men who, without dazzling talents, have been exemplary in all the personal and social relations, and enjoyed the affection, respect, and confidence of those around them, — ought not to be al-

* This memoir was originally written for the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, at the request of the Committee of Publications, and was afterwards revised by the author for Hunt's Merchants Magazine, for June, 1855.

lowed to perish. Their example is more valuable to the majority of readers, than that of illustrious heroes, statesmen, and writers. Few can draw rules for their own guidance from the pages of Plutarch, but all are benefited by the delineation of those traits of character which find scope and exercise in the common walks of life.

Among the individuals of this class, few are better entitled to be held in respectful remembrance than the subject of the present memoir. It is the memoir of a life uneventful, indeed, as far as stirring incident or startling adventure is concerned, but still distinguished by the most substantial qualities of character. The narrative, if we mistake not, will exhibit a long and virtuous career of private industry, pursued with moderation, and crowned with success. It will be the record, though an unpretending one, of a singularly well-balanced mental and moral constitution, proof against the temptations to which it was more particularly exposed, and strongly marked by those traits, which are of especial value in such a state of society as exists in this country.

Mr. Peter C. Brooks was born at North Yarmouth, in what was then the province of Maine, on the 6th of January, 1767. He was the second son of the Rev. Edward Brooks, of Medford, where the family was established soon after the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, and where a branch of it still remains. The family homestead, at Medford, is still held under an original Indian deed.

Mr. Edward Brooks was a graduate of Harvard College, of the year 1757, and for a few years after his graduation was the librarian of the college. On the 4th of July, 1764, he was settled in the ministry at North Yarmouth. In September of the same year he married Abigail Brown, daughter of the Rev. John Brown of Haverhill. Her mother was Joanna Cotton, a great-granddaughter of the celebrated John Cotton, of the First Church in Boston; from whom, of course, Mr. Peter C. Brooks was a descendant in the sixth generation.*

* I am indebted for these genealogical details to the manuscript notes of Mr. William Gray Brooks.

Among the class-mates of Mr. Edward Brooks was Peter Chardon, the son of an eminent Boston merchant of that day, belonging to one of the French protestant families, which had taken refuge in this country, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The family residence was in Bowdoin Square, on the spot where the Baptist Church now stands, at the corner of what is still called Chardon street. A friendship of unusual intimacy was formed between Mr. Edward Brooks and his class-mate Chardon, who died prematurely in the West Indies in October, 1766. The news of his death reached this country a few days before the birth of Mr. Edward Brooks's second son, who received the name of Peter Chardon in memory of the deceased.*

Differences of opinion on religious subjects soon arose, between Mr. Edward Brooks and a portion of his people. The latter adhered to the rigid Calvinism of the older school; Mr. Brooks inclined to a milder orthodoxy. After strenuous but ineffectual attempts to prevent a separation, Mr. Brooks, in March, 1769, was led by the advice of an ecclesiastical council to request a dismission. This was amicably arranged, and he returned to his native town, Medford, the same year, the subject of the present memoir being at that time two years old.

It will appear from the foregoing dates that the childhood of Mr. Brooks was passed during the most critical period of our history. He was born in the year after the repeal of the stamp act, and in which the duties — not less objectionable — on glass, painters' colors, and tea, were imposed. His family removed to the neighborhood of Boston, the year before

* In a number of the Massachusetts Gazette for January, 1767, may be found the following obituary notice, taken from the Gazette of Dominica, W. I.:—

"Charlotte town, October, 1766. Last night, about 11 o'clock, died here, Peter Chardon, Esq., barrister-at-law. It is hard to say whether a thorough knowledge of his profession, or the unblemished integrity and honor with which he acted, was the greatest. In him were joined the finished scholar and the complete gentleman, and he is not only universally lamented as such, but as a real loss to the colony." — *MS.* of Mr. W. G. Brooks.

the massacre of the 5th of March. At this time the feeling of the country, under the newly imposed taxes, was unconsciously maturing towards the revolution. The family residence at Medford is distant but a half mile from the village of West Cambridge, and the line of march of the British troops on the 19th of April, 1775. On that day Mr. Edward Brooks, though by profession a non-combatant, hastened to the scene of action. A contemporary, who was in the battle at Concord, ascribes to Mr. Edward Brooks the command of the party, by whom the convoy and its guard, on the way to join the main body of Lord Percy's reinforcement, were captured at West Cambridge on the morning of the 19th.* This is probably inaccurate, but it is certain that he took an active part in the business of the day. Lieutenant Gould, who commanded a company in the King's Own regiment, and was made prisoner at Concord bridge, was by a great effort of address and moral courage on the part of Mr. Edward Brooks rescued from the exasperated Americans, and being taken behind himself on horseback, was carried off in safety to Medford, where he was detained till exchanged. His health being impaired, Mr. Brooks, in 1777, accepted the place of chaplain to the frigate Hancock, Captain Manly, and was on board at the time of the capture of the British frigate Fox. Captain Manly and his prize having appeared before Halifax, were surprised by a greatly superior hostile force and carried into that port, where Mr. Brooks, in common with the rest of the Hancock's company, remained some time a prisoner. On his release he returned to Medford, where he died in May, 1781, aged forty-eight,† leaving two sons and two daughters.

The state of the country at the close of the revolutionary war was one of extreme depression, and the family of Mr. Brooks was left, at his decease, in narrow circumstances. Neither of the sons enjoyed the advantage of a collegiate education. Mr. P. C. Brooks, shortly after "Concord fight,"

* See the interesting letter of the Rev. Joseph Thaxter in the United States Literary Gazette, of the 15th December, 1824.

† *MS.* of Mr. W. G. Brooks.

was sent to the grammar-school at Exeter, New Hampshire, the academy not being yet founded, where he passed about a year, living in the family of his uncle, Mr. Samuel Brooks, of that place. This he was accustomed to say was "the best chance for gaining knowledge he ever enjoyed." Owing to his father's straitened circumstances, no charge was made at the time by his uncle for his board. This fact having casually come to the knowledge of Mr. P. C. Brooks in after-life, he had the satisfaction of repaying to his uncle the sum thus advanced with interest. For some time after his father's death, he remained at home, occupied, as far as his years permitted, in the usual labors of a farm. He was then placed in apprenticeship in Boston, continuing, however, for some time, to live with the family at Medford. There were neither railroads nor omnibuses in those days, and the distance from town, seven miles, was to be walked both ways daily at all seasons of the year.

Nothing can be conceived less encouraging to a young man proposing to enter on a business life, than the condition of affairs at this time. The population of the United States was but little more than three millions; neither the manufactures of the North nor the staple products of the South had yet been called into existence; the Western country was *terra incognita*. The navigation and fisheries of the United States had been destroyed by the war. As we had no commercial convention with England, our ships, which before the revolution enjoyed in her ports the character of native vessels, were now regarded as foreign; while English vessels, for want of any general navigation law, entered our ports on the same terms as our own. This made it absolutely the interest of the American merchant to give the preference to foreign shipping. The country was inundated by imported goods, sold, for the most part, by foreign agents. Domestic fabrics, whenever attempted, were immediately crushed by this competition. For want of uniform national legislation, the rates of duties upon imported articles differed in different States, which, in some instances, avowedly endeavored, in this way, to undermine each other in reference to foreign trade. Not

merely the United States collectively, but the individual States were loaded with debt; the last cow of the farmer was, in some cases, taken in Massachusetts to meet the demand of the tax-gatherer. To such a point of depression had the commerce of Boston sunk, that the principal men of business undertook, two or three years after the war, to raise a fund by subscription to build one or two small vessels, for the sake of encouraging the shipwrights.

This state of things held out but little encouragement for young men growing up into life, especially when to all other difficulties was added the entire want of capital. Such was the case with young Brooks on attaining his majority in 1789. His father, as we have seen, had died eight years before, leaving a widow, another son, and two daughters, with nothing for their support but the produce of a small farm. It is scarcely necessary to say that such a patrimony could afford no surplus to assist the sons in commencing business. Such were the auspices under which Mr. Brooks entered life; the most favorable, however, to the formation of those habits and the development of those traits of character most conducive to success.

II.

But although the state of things, as we have shown, was one of great depression, well calculated to discourage young men just entering life, a brighter day was nevertheless just about to dawn. The country, it is true, was perhaps never so distressed and embarrassed as in the interval between 1783 and 1789, and yet it stood, unconsciously at the time, at the entrance upon the high-road to the most abounding prosperity. Mr. Brooks attained his majority the year the federal constitution went into operation. In dwelling upon the benefits which the new frame of government conferred upon the country, we are apt to confine our attention too much to great political results, and do not sufficiently reflect upon its influences on individual fortune. The Union being now drawn together by the bands of an efficient national legislation, a career was opened to industry and enterprise in

every direction. The commerce of the country again started into being from the wreck of the Revolution, and from the prostration not less disastrous which continued after the return of peace. Trade not only returned to the channels in which, to some extent, it had flowed before the war, but it began to extend itself to seas never before visited by American vessels. Not only were the ports of Western Europe resorted to, by a daily increasing number of American ships, but those of the Baltic and the Mediterranean were now for the first time visited by our countrymen. Not content with this our merchants turned their thoughts to China, to the Indian Archipelago, to the north-western coast of our own continent, and the islands of the Pacific, several of which were discovered by our navigators. The courage and self-reliance with which these enterprises were undertaken almost surpass belief. Merchants of Boston and Salem, of moderate fortunes, engaged in branches of business, which it was thought in Europe could only be safely carried on by great chartered companies, under the protection of government monopolies. Vessels of two or three hundred tons burden were sent out to circumnavigate the globe, under young shipmasters who had never crossed the Atlantic. The writer of this memoir knows an instance which occurred at the beginning of this century, and the individual concerned, a wealthy and respected banker of Boston, is still living among us, in which a youth of nineteen commanded a ship on her voyage from Calcutta to Boston, with nothing in the shape of a chart on board, but the small map of the world in Guthrie's Geography.

Such was the state of things in 1789, when Mr. Brooks came of age. His quick discernment suggested to him, that in the rapid development of the navigation of the country then taking place, the business of marine insurance would as rapidly grow in importance. This business was not then as at present conducted by joint-stock companies, transacting their affairs by officers intrusted with that duty, and resting on the basis of a corporate fund. It was in this country, as it had

been from time immemorial in England,* an affair of individual adventure, in which in the then existing paucity of investments, private underwriters engaged as a favorite branch of business. Two or three private insurance offices had been opened in Boston. One of them was kept at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, at the corner of State and Kilby streets, where the New England Bank now stands.† Encouraged by promises of support from judicious and influential friends, to whom he had already become known, Mr. Brooks determined to engage in business as an insurance broker, and readily embraced the opportunity of entering the office at the Bunch of Grapes as secretary. On the retirement of his principal (Capt. Hurd) a short time afterwards, he took the office into his own hands.

The reputation of the office did not fall off under his management. It continued to be the resort of some of the leading underwriters. His great punctuality and never failing attendance at the office, and his exemplary personal habits, already known to friend and acquaintance, soon attracted wider notice. The business confided to him, it was quickly observed, was prepared with despatch, with accuracy, and with neatness, and even the remarkably clear and legible handwriting — not elegant, but regular and plain as print — gave satisfaction. As some of the heaviest underwriters resorted to his office, no delay occurred in filling up the most important policies. The contracts being made with men of integrity as well as ability, and accurately drafted, it was soon remarked that losses were promptly paid, without driving the assured to litigation. The risks to which our commerce was exposed in the struggles of the great European belligerents, while they increased the necessity of getting in-

* Anderson's History of Commerce (Vol. ii. p. 270) gives a curious extract from the first law passed in England to regulate marine insurance. This law dates from the year 1601, and speaks of marine insurance as a usage that "hath been time out of mind among merchants." Anderson states that it existed as far back as the Emperor Claudius.

† In imitation, perhaps, of the example of Lloyd's Coffee-House in London, which has connected its name with marine insurance in England to the present day.

surance, multiplied losses and raised premiums, proportionably augmented the gains of the office. Mr. Brooks almost immediately found himself in the receipt of a considerable and rapidly increasing income.

Although commencing business without capital, or any direct family influence which could advance his fortunes, Mr. Brooks no doubt owed something in early life to family associations, which ought not to be forgotten here. The name was well known and highly respected in the vicinity of Boston, not merely on his father's account, but also through the late Governor Brooks, a remote relative, a neighbor at Medford, and through life a steady and attached friend. Few persons enjoyed at this time in Massachusetts a more enviable popularity than this sterling patriot. He took the field on the 19th of April, 1775, and remained in it to the close of the war. He commanded the regiment which first entered the enemy's lines at Saratoga. He possessed the personal friendship and confidence of Washington and his illustrious associates in arms. After the organization of the new government, he was appointed the first marshal of Massachusetts. To be of his name and kindred was a letter of recommendation for a young man just coming into life in this region. It may also be added, that habitual personal intercourse with a man of Governor Brooks's various experience of affairs and high practical intelligence, must have been of great value in every respect to his youthful relative.

Not less valuable must have been his connection with Judge Nathaniel Gorham, of Charlestown, one of whose daughters he married in 1792, a circumstance which will justify us in dwelling for a moment upon this honored name. Judge Gorham was one of the most intelligent, respected, and influential citizens of Massachusetts. Few persons equalled him in foresight and breadth of conception. He was one of the most active projectors of Charlestown Bridge, the first work of that size in the United States, and deemed at the time one of great risk. He was one of the very first to catch a clear view of the importance of the western country. He saw it plainly when scarce any one else saw it. Before the

formation of the federal constitution, before the adjustment of the territorial disputes between many of the conterminous States, before the extinguishment of the Indian title, before the surrender of the western posts, Judge Gorham staked all he was worth, and more, on a purchase, in connection with Oliver Phelps, of an immense tract of land on the Genesee River, now composing ten or twelve counties in the State of New York. The territory was under the jurisdiction of New York, but the property of the soil was in Massachusetts. Although the land was purchased for a few cents the acre, so little confidence was then felt in the stability and progress of the country, that Messrs. Gorham and Phelps could find scarce any one to purchase under them, and were obliged to abandon all but the small portion of land which their limited private means enabled them to retain. Mr. Phelps, however, and the oldest son of Judge Gorham, emigrated to Canandaigua, and became the pioneers of settlement in Western New York.

Although obliged to retreat without material benefit from an enterprise which promised much more than affluence, Judge Gorham's disappointment detracted nothing from his standing or usefulness. In the year 1785, being a member of the Continental Congress, he was chosen president of that body. He was a member of the convention which framed the federal constitution; and when the convention went into committee of the whole, Judge Gorham was daily called by General Washington to fill the chair, for the space of three months. Few persons in this part of the country were, of course, so intimately associated with the constitution; and this circumstance, no doubt, through the matrimonial connection alluded to, had its influence on the political opinions of Mr. Brooks. At no period of his life a partisan, and in the beginning of his career standing wholly aloof from politics, few men reflected more upon the principles of the new form of government, or more highly appreciated its value. He was a federalist of the school of Washington.

Although fond of books, and regretting the want of a literary education, Mr. Brooks, at this period of his life, had but

little leisure to indulge his taste in reading. Never permitting his business to fall into arrears, he was often at his office till midnight; and what little time he could spare for books was employed in the perusal of writers on the law of insurance. One of his underwriters was accustomed to say to him, "that old pen, which you are wearing to a stub, is worth a fortune to you."

III.

As we have already observed, Mr. Brooks commenced business at a period of great and general depression, when the country was laboring especially under a want of capital. An event shortly afterwards occurred, which exercised a very important influence in this respect, without, however, disturbing the even tenor of his business pursuits. We allude to the establishment of the funding system.

At the first session of Congress under the new constitution, a resolution passed the House of Representatives on the 21st September, 1789, "that the House consider an adequate provision for the support of public credit as a matter of high importance to the national honor and prosperity," and the Secretary of the Treasury was directed to prepare a plan for the purpose aforesaid, and to report the same to the House at its next session. In compliance with this resolution, an extremely able report was made by the Secretary (General Hamilton) on the 9th of January following, and the act establishing the funding system passed the two houses, and was approved by President Washington on the 4th of August, 1790. The political history of our country contains the record of no measure of internal administration more important. It was to this report and the system founded upon it, that Mr. Webster alluded when he said of Hamilton: — "He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue burst forth. He touched the dead corpse of the public credit, and it sprang upon its feet."*

* Webster's Works, vol. i. p. 200.

The two great features of the funding system were a provision for the payment of interest, on certain conditions, upon a portion of the public debt of the United States, subscribed for that purpose; and the assumption by the United States of a portion of the war debt of the individual States. The effect of the two provisions was to give full value to a capital of above thirty-one millions of dollars, which was worse than unproductive, for it hung like a dead weight upon the credit of the country. Its average nominal value, at the time of the adoption of the constitution, was about four shillings in the pound.

Reposing confidence in the principles on which the public credit was organized by Congress, according to the plans of General Hamilton, as well as on the prospects of the country, Mr. Brooks invested his own little accumulations (he had been but a single year in business) in the public funds, and also made use, to a small extent, of the credit of a wealthy friend, Mr. Samuel Brown, kindly offered him for that purpose. He was, however, from disposition and principle, opposed to speculation; his means were limited; and his purchases were delayed till the certainty of the adoption of the funding system had brought the public securities nearly to their true value. The sum total of his gains from this source was accordingly too inconsiderable to be named.

Mr. Brooks was indebted, at no period of his life, to great speculative profits. His prosperity was the result of persevering attention to his regular business, and to the good judgment with which he availed himself of such subsidiary advantages as fairly came in his way, without risk and without resorting to borrowed money. Among these may be mentioned the practice, at that time very general, on the part of persons not engaged in trade, of sending what they called "adventures." This was done, by the aid of business friends, by all classes of the community, by professional men, by females, and minors. Mr. Brooks's position in an insurance office kept him necessarily, at all times, well acquainted with the state and course of trade, and gave him great facilities for

the transaction of business of this kind, which he pursued for several years, to the extent of his means, and with uniform success.

It may be proper to mention here, for the information of the youthful reader, that, from his first commencement in business, Mr. Brooks's accounts were kept with great exactness. To this habit he attached the highest importance. An acquaintance with the art of bookkeeping was not so much a matter of course at that period, as at the present day. In the middle of the last century, in this country, as at a somewhat earlier period in England, it was not the universal practice of merchants, except those who were in very extensive business, to have a regular set of books kept by a partner or clerk. The transactions of the day were entered in a waste, and once or twice a week, according to the extent of the business, a professed bookkeeper, well versed in what were considered the mysteries of his calling, came and compiled the journal and ledger. It was only in the progress of time, and at a comparatively recent period, that it was deemed indispensable to have the books wholly kept within the establishment, and that the system of double entry was reduced substantially to its present form.* Mr. Brooks very early acquired a thorough knowledge of it, and kept all his books with his own hand to the close of his life. He often enforced upon young men just entering a business life the utmost importance of system and punctuality in this respect.

The first organization of political parties under the present constitution took place at the period of which we are now speaking. Mr. Brooks, as we have already remarked, belonged to the federal party, though taking no active part in political controversy, and wholly destitute, at every period of his life, of political ambition. The party politics of the United States at that time unfortunately connected themselves in a great degree with the struggles of England and

* The work of Booth, which contributed mainly to this result, was published in England so lately as 1789. He had been a practical merchant both in London and New York. The former treatises had been drawn up by professed accountants.

France. An enlightened nationality had hardly developed itself. Both belligerents violated our neutral rights, but the good faith with which England, under the provisions of the treaty of 1794, indemnified our merchants to the amount of many millions of dollars for property illegally captured, formed a strong contrast with the conduct of France, who positively refused payment, except upon impracticable conditions, for contemporaneous spoliations, much greater in amount, and equally unwarranted in character. We refer to those claims which, by a kind of diplomatic juggle, were thrown upon our government by the convention with France of 1800, and which, being thus transferred to the government of the United States for a most valuable consideration, remain, we are sorry to say, uncompensated to the present day; the only class of spoliations upon American commerce for which sooner or later some indemnification has not been made. Each house of Congress has at different times acknowledged the validity of the claims, and made moderate provision for their satisfaction. But it has in most cases happened that the bills of the Senate have been lost in the House of Representatives. On one occasion a bill which had passed both houses of Congress failed to receive the signature of the President.*

But notwithstanding the belligerent depredations upon our growing commerce from the commencement of the wars of the French Revolution to the peace of Amiens, which was precisely the period of Mr. Brooks's active business life, it was a time of prosperity both for the country at large and for the town of Boston. The population of the town between 1765 and 1790 had increased only from 15,520 to 18,038. Between 1790 and 1800, it rose from the last-named amount to 24,937. It is probable that the increase of commercial capital was in a still greater ratio. Few large fortunes were accumulated before the Revolution, although the laws were more favorable than at the present time, to

* Since this paragraph was first printed, another bill for the partial payment of these claims, passed by large majorities of both houses of Congress, has been vetoed by the President.

their being kept together. The chief foundations of the commercial wealth of the country were laid after the adoption of the constitution.

We have already spoken of the rapid development of our navigation after the close of the revolutionary war, and especially after the consolidation of the Union. Mr. Brooks's intimate connection with this great interest will justify us in alluding for a moment to a few facts, which illustrate the progress of the country in that respect, and show how honorably Boston was associated with the new branches of foreign trade.

The first American vessel which was sent to Canton, the Empress of China, sailed from New York in 1784, and was owned principally in that city and Philadelphia. The conduct of the voyage was, however, intrusted to Major Samuel Shaw, himself a Bostonian, and the son of a respectable Boston merchant. After serving with great credit as an artillery officer during the whole revolutionary war, he rendered no small service to the country by his agency in opening the China trade.*

The first American vessels that visited the north-western coast of this continent, the Washington and the Columbia, were owned and fitted out from Boston in 1787, the Washington under the command of Captain Gray. Among those who engaged in this enterprise were the well remembered names of Joseph Barrell and Charles Bulfinch, the latter gentleman afterwards known as the architect of the capitol of the United States. This was the commencement of a trade pursued for many years, and with great success, by the merchants of this city. Captain Gray, it is well known, discovered the entrance into the Columbia River, and, in a subsequent voyage, pointed it out to Vancouver. Such being the

* Major Shaw was the first American consul to Canton. He was the uncle and early friend of the late lamented Robert G. Shaw of Boston, who himself did so much to render the name of "Boston Merchant" a title of honor. See the highly interesting publication, "The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the first American Consul at Canton, with a Life of the Author," by President Quincy.

case, it was a somewhat amusing circumstance, in our controversy with England about Oregon, that the British claim rested, in part, on the pretension that Vancouver *discovered* the Columbia.

These first achievements of the commercial marine of the United States in the Pacific Ocean were followed by those of Captains Joseph Ingraham, Josiah Roberts, and James Magee, and other enterprising and intelligent New England shipmasters, to whose courage, energy, and nautical skill, justice has not yet been done. They traversed unexplored tracts of the great ocean, they landed upon islands laid down on no charts, and traded with powerful and ferocious tribes on remote and inhospitable coasts, at the end of the world. It is to be regretted that we have not had in Boston an institution like the Salem East India Museum, where their log-books and journals might be preserved. In private hands there is danger of their being lost, as some, it may be feared, have been already. It is probable that the only still existing record of voyages, which for length, skill in navigation, and addition to geographical science, deserved a permanent place in the annals of discovery, is to be sought in the books of the insurance offices in State street between 1789 and 1803.

IV.

The active part of Mr. Brooks's business life was passed, as has been already stated, between the years of 1789 and 1803, at which time he relinquished his office in State street, being then but thirty-six years of age. The ten last years of this period were peculiarly favorable to the pursuit in which he was engaged. The existing war in Europe threw much of the carrying trade of the world into the hands of the Americans; and the orders and decrees of the leading belligerents, equally violent and capricious, while they tended to derange the regular courses of trade, gave proportionably greater activity to the business of insurance. It was accordingly at this time, that Mr. Brooks's most rapid accumulations were made. He sometimes, himself, referred to this period of his

life, as one of great and even dangerous prosperity. To use the language of a judicious obituary notice, which appeared in the Christian Register at the time of his decease;* "Though little inclined at any time to speak of himself, he did, occasionally, when alluding to that time, remark, that 'he then made money enough to turn any man's head.' But the reason why we mention this fact is, that it did *not* turn his head. It is a remark long since made by the greatest orator of antiquity, that extraordinary success forms the test of a weak mind, the failure to sustain which often shows that it is far harder to keep than to acquire. The most remarkable characteristic of Mr. Brooks, in his active pursuits, was his moderation in success. To him extravagant profits were no temptation to enter into hazardous enterprises."

The quiet life of an unambitious man of business affords but few occurrences for the biographer. The most instructive treatment of such a subject is, if possible, to convey a lively impression of the general state of the times. Conditions of society, of great importance in the aggregate, are made up of parts and elements, which, when taken singly, may be of little individual interest. We have in the first part of this memoir, recorded some facts illustrative of the general course of trade in the United States during the period of Mr. Brooks's active life. It was marked by two striking characteristics, namely, the ease and the courage with which men embarked, with small means, in distant and far-reaching adventure, and the prudence and moderation which governed their proceedings, and guided them to a successful result. The consequence was the formation of a class of merchants and men of business, in whom energy, moral courage, caution, and liberality, were remarkably combined.

The restoration of general peace in 1803 by the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, made it certain that the business of insurance would cease to be as important as it had been since the commencement of the French Revolution. This circumstance, with the decease of a friend, whose estate it was sup-

* Written by the Hon. Charles Francis Adams.

posed might suffer materially by the sudden termination to which his affairs were brought, led Mr. Brooks in the early prime of life, and while he was moving on the flood-tide of fortune, to form the resolution of withdrawing from all active participation in business. This resolution, deliberately formed, was steadily executed; and from the year 1803 to 1806 he devoted himself to the settlement of the risks in which he was interested, and the liquidation of all outstanding engagements.

Having accomplished this object as far as practicable, he was led, at the urgent request of friends, and with a view to the employment of his leisure, to accept the office of president of the New England Insurance Company, which had been incorporated a few years before in Boston, and was the first chartered company of this description in the State. He filled this situation for a few years, and then retired definitely from all business relations.

A portion of his morning hours were henceforward devoted to the management of his property; but much of the day was given to those miscellaneous duties which society at all times devolves upon men of intelligence and probity known not to be absorbed in affairs; the direction of public trusts, and the concerns of various institutions of philanthropy and charity. In the summer season, the after part of the day was given to the care of his farm; and at all times the kindly duties of social intercourse with a numerous family and friendly circle were discharged by him with equal cordiality and diligence. If he could be said to have any occupation as a man of business, it was that of a private banker; but he remained to the close of his life an entire stranger to the exchange, and transacted no business for others on commission, nor for himself on credit.

The object of this memoir being not to give unmerited notoriety to an individual, but to show, by a striking example, in what way a person starting without capital may in this community rise to wealth, and that in a quiet and regular course of business, we have thought it might be useful in this place to state a few of the principles by which Mr. Brooks

was governed through life, and to which he undoubtedly owed his success.

The first was one to which we have already alluded, namely, to abstain, as a general rule, from speculative investments. To quote again the language of Mr. Adams's obituary notice —"His maxim was, that the whole value of wealth consisted in the personal independence which it secured, and he was never inclined to put that good, once won, again at hazard, in the mere quest of extraordinary additions to his superfluity." Acting on this principle, he was content with moderate returns, and avoided investments attended with risk and uncertainty. He never made purchases of unproductive real estate on a calculation of future enhanced value. He did not engage largely in manufactures, feeling how liable they were to suffer by capricious legislation, caused by fluctuating political influences, and also from the necessity, in many cases, of intrusting the management of immense capitals to persons not trained to the business carried on. He considered railroad stocks, generally speaking, as a precarious property, from the passion for multiplying such enterprises on borrowed means, beyond the real wants of the country, and in cases where ruinous competition with rival lines must ensue. He contemplated also with prophetic foresight the endless stock-jobbery likely to attend the undue multiplication of these enterprises. He was, however, at all times willing, to a reasonable extent, to loan his funds for the accommodation of solid, well-conducted corporations.

Another of Mr. Brooks's principles of business was never, either directly or indirectly, to take more than legal interest. Had he been willing to violate this rule, and that in modes not condemned by the letter of the law nor by public opinion, he might easily have doubled his fortune. But many considerations led him to adopt and adhere to his rule on this subject. It was contrary to law to take more than legal interest, and he held it to be eminently dangerous to tamper with the duty of a good citizen, and break the law, because he might think the thing forbidden not morally wrong.

This consideration was entirely irrespective of the fact, that

at one period, by the law of this State, the contract was vitiated by the demand of usurious interest, and the creditor placed in the debtor's power; an absurd inversion of the relation of the parties, or rather an entire annihilation of the value of property. But after the mitigation of the law in this respect, Mr. Brooks's practice remained unaltered. He believed and often said, that *in the long run*, six per cent. is as much as the bare use of money is worth in this country; that to demand more was for the capitalist to claim the benefit of the borrower's skill in some particular business, or of his courage or energy; or else it was to take advantage of his neighbor's need. He frequently said that he would never put it in the power of any one in a reverse of fortune to ascribe his ruin to the payment of usurious interest to him. On more than one occasion, when some beneficial public object was to be promoted, he loaned large sums at an interest below the legal and current rate.

These views, though shared by a few of Mr. Brooks's wealthy contemporaries, are certainly not those which generally prevail; and he himself, as a question of political economy, doubted the soundness of the usury law. He thought that money was a species of merchandise, of which the value ought not to be fixed by legislation; and that all laws passed for that purpose tended to defeat their own end. By tempting men to illegal evasions of the law, they increased the difficulty of obtaining regular loans, in times of pressure, and eventually compelled the borrower to pay more for his accommodation. That he paid it under the name of commission, guaranty, or premium, rather than that of interest, was no relief.

It was another of his principles never himself to borrow money. The loan from Mr. Brown above alluded to may seem an exception to this remark, but it was under circumstances of a very peculiar nature, resembling less a business loan than a friendly advancement, made by a person in years to a young man entering life, and standing, *pro tanto*, in a filial relation to the lender. It is doubtful whether, with this exception, Mr. Brooks's name was ever subscribed to a note

of hand. What he could not compass by present means was to him interdicted. Equally invincible was his objection to becoming responsible by indorsements for the obligations of others. Without denying the necessity, in active trade, of anticipating the payment of business paper, he shunned every transaction, however brilliant the promise of future gain, which required the use of borrowed means.

The bold spirit of modern enterprise will deride as narrow-minded so cautious a maxim; but the vast numbers of individuals and families annually ruined by its non-observance, — to say nothing of the heaven-daring immoralities, to which men are tempted in the too great haste to be rich, — go far to justify Mr. Brooks's course. It is highly probable, that in the aggregate, as much property is lost and sacrificed in the United States by the abuse of credit, as is gained by its legitimate use. With respect to the moral mischiefs resulting from some of the prevailing habits of our business community, the racking cares and the corroding uncertainties, the mean deceptions and the measureless frauds to which they sometimes lead, language is inadequate to do justice to the notorious and appalling truth.

Having recorded above Mr. Brooks's aversion to speculative investments, it is hardly necessary to say that purchases of the unsettled lands in the West were regarded by him in this light. It is probable that the result of the enterprise of Gorham and Phelps above alluded to, had in early life produced an impression on his mind unfavorable to these speculations. The Yazoo purchase, in which many Bostonians were to their cost deeply involved, had strengthened this impression. In a single instance only, as far as we are aware, was Mr. Brooks induced, and that by the urgency of friends, to become concerned in an investment of this kind, having taken part in a purchase of lands in Ohio. The tract selected lay partly within the limits of the city of Cleveland, and stretched for some distance to the south into the interior. It was of course admirably chosen; but, after retaining his interest in the purchase several years, and finding that tax bills came in

much more rapidly than rents, he sold out at a barely saving price, affording another confirmation of what may be considered an axiom, that speculations in wild lands by non-resident proprietors rarely lead to any great accumulations of property. It is not desirable that they should, for any such accumulation must be a tax upon the settlers of the lands; the pioneers of civilization, whose lot in life is at best so laborious as to merit exemption from any unnecessary hardship.

The town of Chardon, in the north-eastern part of Ohio, is within the limits of the purchase above alluded to, and commemorates the name of Mr. Brooks. Long after he had ceased to hold any property in it, a bell, presented by him to the village church, bore testimony to his friendly interest in the settlement.

Mr. Brooks was a member of most of the leading charitable corporations of the State, a trustee of many of them. He was an early and active member of the board of trustees of the Agricultural Society, and took a great interest in promoting its objects. He was a trustee, and latterly president of the Massachusetts Charitable Congregational Society, and contributed liberally to its funds. He was for some years president of the Savings Bank of Boston, and of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company.

When the Washington Monument Society was organized, he was appointed its treasurer. The sum raised by subscription was about $10,000, and the contract for the statue with Sir Francis Chantrey was for that sum. Fortunately, the work was several years in progress, during which time the funds of the association were steadily accumulating in Mr. Brooks's hands; so that when the statue was delivered, after paying the sculptor, there were more than $7,000 at the command of the trustees for the erection of the tribune adjoining the State House, in which it was set up.

In addition to services of this kind of a more public nature, much of Mr. Brooks's time, at all periods of his life, was given gratuitously to the management of important business concerns for relatives and friends. There was, perhaps, no per-

son in the community whose opinion on matters of business was more frequently asked; and probably no one ever regretted taking his advice.

V.

We have already observed that from an early period Mr. Brooks passed his summers in the country, on the spot which, though not actually that of his own birth, had been the home of his childhood and the seat of his family for generations, in the western part of Medford. Having been in his boyhood brought up on a farm, he never lost his fondness for rural occupations. In fact, he was a thorough practical farmer. He added by purchase to his patrimonial acres, and from the time they came into his possession, superintended their cultivation. In 1804 he replaced the cottage in which he had been brought up with a large and convenient house. This was his residence during the summer months for the rest of his life. He found in these rural pursuits not merely rational amusement, but great benefit to his health; and at the same time afforded to the neighborhood an example of well-conducted husbandry. This farm is delightfully situated on the margin of the little sheet of water, where the Mystic River takes its source. The name of the town in its original spelling, Meadford, was probably derived from the fact that the river, which soon expands into a broad estuary, could here be crossed on foot. It was, like most of the head waters of the New England streams, a favorite resort of the native tribes. Their rude implements are still sometimes turned up by the plough in the fields at Medford.

Mr. Brooks had an especial fondness for a few ancestral trees which adorned his farm, and learned, from the pleasure they afforded him, the duty of each generation to do its part in securing the same gratification to posterity. Many thousand trees were planted by him, and the native growth was carefully preserved. The beautiful little delta, which now so greatly ornaments the village of West Medford, at the fork of the public roads near his house, was planted by him about

1824. The remarkably handsome elm by the side of the church, on the right hand as you enter Chauncy Place from Summer street, in Boston, was removed by him from Medford about the same time, when of a size to be easily carried on a man's shoulder, and was planted with his own hands on the spot where it now stands — a stately, spreading tree.

It has already been stated that Mr. Brooks was wholly free from political ambition. But though he never sought public life, he was occasionally persuaded to accept a nomination for the legislature of Massachusetts. He was at different times a member of the executive council, of the senate, and house of representatives, as he was of the convention called in 1820 to amend the constitution of the State.

In all these bodies he held a position of respectability and influence. He rarely spoke, and never without having something to say which was worth listening to. On questions of banking, insurance, and finance, his opinions had very great weight in all the bodies of which he was a member. This deference to his judgment proceeded in part from his familiarity with those subjects — from the clearness, precision, and common sense nature of his views, and in part also from his unsuspected integrity. The idea that his course on any matter of legislation could be affected by his personal interest, probably never entered into any man's mind. Although it is one of the most common and successful artifices of the demagogue to awaken or foment an unkind feeling between town and country, probably no individual was ever personally less obnoxious to the jealousies and suspicions which have their origin in this unprincipled attempt.

Among the subjects to which the attention of Mr. Brooks was particularly turned, as a member of the legislature, there was probably none in reference to which his influence was more beneficially felt than that of lotteries. This onerous and wasteful mode of raising money for public objects was countenanced and resorted to in Massachusetts till 1821. It had been employed without scruple for purposes the most meritorious, and by individuals and corporations of the greatest respectability. The construction of canals and bridges, the

erection of college edifices, and the preservation of Plymouth Beach, works and objects of the most undoubted utility, had, under the auspices of the most dignified public bodies, sought their resources in a lottery. In addition to the lotteries granted by our own legislature, the tickets of those of other States were freely vended within the limits of Massachusetts. It had been for some time apparent to reflecting minds that no form of taxation could be imagined at once so unequal and so demoralizing as a lottery, none in which the yield stood in such ridiculous disproportion to the burden borne by the public. Where the object for which the lottery was granted lay without the limits of the State, the evil was, of course, augmented by this circumstance. The injury inflicted upon the morals of the community by upholding a species of gambling, rendered doubly pernicious by the respectable sanction under which it was carried on, had begun to be a source of anxiety. It was reserved for Mr. Brooks, by a plain matter-of-fact statement, to concentrate the public opinion on this subject, and to effect an abatement of the nuisance.

On the 31st of January, 1821, a committee, of which he was chairman,* was appointed by the Senate of Massachusetts "to examine generally into the concerns of every lottery now in operation in this Commonwealth." This committee reported on the 9th of February. From their report it appeared that the number of lotteries embraced within the scope of the inquiry was three, namely, the Union Canal Lottery, originally granted in New Hampshire; the Springfield Bridge Lottery; and the Plymouth Beach Lottery. The term for which the Union Canal Lottery was granted had expired; but as no part of the sum required had yet been raised, an application was pending before the legislature of Massachusetts to extend the charter. The committee were therefore led to make a brief statement of the operations of this lottery during the six years for which it had been carried on.

From this statement it appeared that tickets had been sold

* The committee consisted of Peter C. Brooks and Benjamin Pickman, of Boston, in the Senate; and Messrs. Lawrence, of Groton; Stebbins, of Palmer; and Hedge, of Plymouth, in the House.

in the six classes to the amount of $467,328. The sum paid out in prizes amounted to $406,497. The incidental expenses and services were charged by the managers at $39,988; bad debts, through the agency of brokers, at $24,315; and interest on money borrowed to pay prizes, $2,763. The general result from these elements was a net loss of $5,647 to the persons to whom the lottery was granted for the purpose of opening the canal. Thus the ticket-buying public had been taxed nearly half a million of dollars, for the sake of paying back about four fifths of that sum to the drawers of prizes in all parts of the country, and with an absolute loss to the canal of between five and six thousand dollars. In the face of these facts, an extension of the privilege was asked for by the undertakers!

Of the Springfield Bridge Lottery, the committee only remark that as the time for which it was granted was to expire in June, and as the sum allowed to be raised was not yet realized, it would be competent for the legislature, on an application for an extension of the grant, to institute an inquiry into the proceedings of the managers.

With respect to the Plymouth Beach Lottery, which was evidently regarded by the committee as the most important case, they remarked that it was still in operation; that the managers had lately drawn the ninth and tenth classes, and were then drawing the eleventh; and that it would not be possible during the then present session of the legislature to complete an examination which should include those classes and present an exact account of all the money raised. The report accordingly recommended the adoption of an order for a joint committee of the legislature to sit in the recess, for the purpose of examining into the accounts of the Plymouth Beach Lottery, with full power to send for persons and papers.

This order was adopted by the two houses, and Mr. Brooks was of course named chairman of the joint committee. Their report was made in the house of representatives on the 14th June, at the ensuing spring session. It disclosed the fact, that out of $723,465 received for tickets sold and paid for, the

sum paid to the town of Plymouth, for carrying into effect the purposes for which the lottery was granted, was but $9,876!

This report was the *coup de grace* to all grants of lotteries in Massachusetts. The tickets, however, of foreign lotteries, continued to be sold to a great and demoralizing extent, and public opinion against their toleration steadily gained strength.

In 1833, during the session of the legislature, a person, thirty-five years of age, of reputed integrity and fair character, was so far carried away by the temptation of lotteries as to consume in eight months all his own property, and $18,000 belonging to his employers. On the discovery of his defalcation, he committed suicide. This calamitous event powerfully affected the public mind. Hon. J. T. Buckingham, then a member of the house of representatives, moved for a committee of inquiry, and made a very able report on the subject. An act was passed imposing a penalty on the sale of tickets in lotteries not authorized by law.* By this law, the sale of lottery tickets in Massachusetts if not wholly prevented, has been reduced to very narrow limits. Similar legislation by other States has contributed to the same result.

It is matter of just surprise, that a tax so onerous to the community, and so demoralizing to the individual, should still be tolerated in Delaware and Maryland, and perhaps in other States. The lottery brokers in Baltimore still scatter their poisonous advertisements, by mail, through the country; and the main street of the city of Washington, notwithstanding her own disastrous experience, is still lined with the offices of their agents.

VI.

Mr. Brooks had led an active business life, or had been engaged in important pecuniary transactions for forty years, without ever having been involved in a lawsuit on his own account, either as plaintiff or defendant. At length, after three years of preparation, an action was brought against him in 1829, on a bill of equity, by the administrators *de*

* Buckingham's Personal Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 231.

bonis non of Tuthill Hubbart, who had been dead about a quarter of a century. This gentleman had been one of the largest of Mr. Brooks's underwriters, and an extensive confidential connection had existed between them for many years. After Mr. Hubbart's decease, Mr. Brooks made a general settlement with his estate; and as, from the nature of insurance business, numerous accounts were outstanding, the gross sum of sixty thousand dollars was paid by him in 1808, and accepted by the administrators, as a full and final discharge of all claims against Mr. Brooks.

The action brought in 1829 was to set aside this settlement, on the alleged ground that in stating the accounts in 1808, important items to the credit of Mr. Hubbart had been omitted. Nearly one hundred thousand dollars were claimed as due them by the parties bringing the action. Wilful fraud was not charged by the parties, probably not suspected; but a suit of this kind, involving, as was alleged, a very large sum, to be swelled by twenty-one years' interest, brought after the interval of an entire generation since the grounds of the action accrued, and requiring the scrutiny of long-forgotten accounts, under the almost total loss of contemporary living evidence, was well calculated to distress a sensitive mind. Unavowed attempts to excite popular prejudice were made out of doors. There was no individual in the community in reference to whom a charge even of technical fraud, where no moral guilt is imputed, could be made with less chance of gaining credence. But the readiness to think evil of our neighbors leads many persons at all times to take for granted that there must be something wrong in a state of facts like that which led to the suit in question.

Fortunately for the good name of Mr. Brooks, the parties by whom the suit was instituted thought it expedient to engage the services not merely of counsel of the greatest eminence, but such as could not be suspected of any bias, arising from the universal local confidence not only in Mr. Brooks's rigid integrity, but in his punctilious accuracy. They accordingly retained Mr. Wirt, of Baltimore, then at the summit of his reputation, who was assisted by business counsel from

the Suffolk bar, of proverbial acuteness and sagacity.* Mr. Wirt, in writing home to a friend shortly after his arrival in Boston, alluding to his assistant, says:—

"I am following the explanations of one of the truest-nosed beagles that ever was put on a cold trail. He is a fine fellow, as true as a rifle; and it is quite a curiosity to see him threading these old mazes. I shall have a hard heat in the cause. I am brought here to combat Webster, on his own arena, and I think I shall gain the day, which will be a great triumph. Having grappled with my adversary before, I know his strength and all his trips. It is a good way toward a victory to feel undaunted. My health and spirits are uncommonly good." †

The accomplished and amiable advocate in dwelling upon the strength of the adversary counsel, as if every thing depended upon that, does not appear, at this time, to have reflected sufficiently upon the possible strength of the cause he was himself to oppose. In another letter, written a week later, he says:—

"Our adversaries opened their case yesterday in a speech of six hours. I have an exceedingly tough cause of it. The court, I fear, is against us. The case is intrinsically very difficult, complicated, and extensive; and is a very severe task." ‡

This, of course, is the representation of counsel employed to sustain the suit, and wears somewhat the appearance of a preparation for anticipated failure. What indication of a supposed leaning of the court could have been given at this early stage of the trial is not easily conceivable. The case certainly took a very extensive range; but the defendant and his counsel regarded it as otherwise simple in its character, and clear in its principles.

At the close of the trial Mr. Wirt writes:—

"I went to the court on Wednesday with more despair than I ever went to a court room in my life. I would have given any sum in my power never to have come to Boston. I was worn out by the week's trial, prostrate, nerveless; and so crowded was the room with ladies and gentlemen, that I

* The counsel for plaintiff were Mr. Wirt and Mr. B. R. Nichols; for defendant Mr. Webster, Mr. Gorham, and Mr. Warner.

† Kennedy's Life of Wirt, Vol. II. pp. 232–234.

‡ Ibid.

could scarcely get in. You would have pitied me, if you could have seen my sinking heart. And yet, in a speech of five hours, I was never better satisfied with myself. Such vociferous plaudits!

"When I had finished, Mr. Brooks, who was the defendant against whom I had been trying the cause, came to me at the bar, and, taking my hand, spoke to me in the kindest terms, expressing his high satisfaction at my demeanor toward him during the trial. His friends have been among the most attentive persons to me. My clients, on the other hand, were delighted." *

It would greatly exceed the limits of this memoir, to enter fully into the details of the case. All the facts necessary to a full understanding of it may be gathered from the elaborate opinion of Chief Justice Parker.† The court permitted the settlement of 1808 to be so far opened, as to correct an error of $2,358, and direct the payment of that sum by Mr. Brooks, with interest. This error was not one of account in the books, but in a loose schedule of outstanding debts, in which this item, by inadvertence, stood unchecked, after it had been paid. Mr. Brooks, from the first agitation of the claim, had avowed his willingness to correct any error, if error should be found on a reëxamination in 1826 (when the subject was first started) of all the accounts of his ancient underwriter, whose name was on almost every policy filled up at the office from 1794 to 1803. This offer was made by Mr. Brooks, from a wish to avoid even the appearance of deriving benefit from an error, although he maintained that the settlement in 1808, by the payment of a gross sum, (which was one of thirty similar settlements with underwriters,) was intended to cover the possibility of any such error. In his answer to the bill of equity in which the error was set forth, Mr. Brooks had declared his anxious desire to pay the amount in question, and, in his private journal, after recording the result of the action, he observes, that it "has terminated to his entire satisfaction."

Never has a more magnificent forensic display been witnessed in our courts than in the arguments of the illustrious rivals on this occasion. The most arid details of account

* Kennedy's Life of Wirt, Vol. II. pp. 232–234.

† 9 Pickering, p. 212.

and the abstrusest doctrines of equity were clothed by them with living interest. Throughout the trial the avenues of the court house were besieged long before the doors were opened, and every inch of space was crowded. At the close of the argument of Mr. Webster, Mr. Brooks himself obtained permission to address a few words to the court by way of explanation. Few are the men who, with fortune and reputation at stake, at the age of sixty-two, unaccustomed to speak in public, would have ventured to rise before an immense auditory, comprising all that was most distinguished for character and intellect in the profession or the community, to add any thing on their own behalf to the defence of a cause, which had been argued by Messrs. Gorham and Webster. Few are the clients, who, under these circumstances, would have been permitted by counsel to take the risk of speaking for themselves. Mr. Brooks was not only permitted but encouraged by his counsel to do so. A profound silence fell upon the court, as, with a voice slightly tremulous, his hand resting on the old account-books, which had been drawn from the dust of thirty years, (and which were pronounced by the bench such a set of books as had never been seen in that court,) he uttered a few sentences of explanation, in the simple eloquence of truth, which it was impossible to hear without emotion. The transparent clearness, the simplicity, the unmistakable air of conscious integrity with which he briefly restated the turning-points of the case, produced an effect on the minds of those who heard him beyond that of the highest professional power and skill.

It is proper only to add that the court negatived in direct terms the charge of fraud, either legal or technical. "We see nothing," said the Chief Justice, "in the course of the transactions of the defendant, as the agent and broker of the office, or in his dealings with Hubbart in their joint concerns, which can justify a charge of fraud, or even impropriety against the defendant."

We have no particular incident to record from this time forward to the close of the life of Mr. Brooks. Thanks to a good constitution, and the temperance and moderation of all

his habits, he attained a good old age, with far less than the usual proportion of the ills which flesh is heir to. The course of his life at this period is accurately described in the following passage from a sermon preached after his death by the pastor of the First Church in Boston, of which he was a member: —

"He is the same man in his retirement that he was when more before the world, — the same, but that the hair is fallen away from his ample forehead, and what has been left is changing its color. What should suffer change in the spirit that was so fixed in its sentiments, its habits, and its reliances? There was no indolence, no selfishness, no timid retreat, no giving way, either in the energy or the exercise of any faculty that he had ever possessed. The methods of the former discipline guided him still. He kept himself employed, without hurry and without fatigue. He divided himself between four different cares; all salutary and honorable, and all nearly in the same proportion. There was the cultivation of his farm, the improvement of his ancestral acres, that noble and almost divine labor, which one shares with the vast processes of nature, and the all-surrounding agency of God. This took up much of his attention, in that temper of silent reverence with which every cultivated mind observes the work of his Creator. Then there were his books, which he read rather for instruction than for a pastime; read with an extraordinary wakefulness of thought, and a sincere love of the task; and read so much as to lead me often to think that the understandings of some professed students were less nourished than his was from that source of information. There were his friends, also, and they were a large circle; the social intercourse, that no one enjoyed with a higher satisfaction than he. He always contributed to it as much as he received; his company was welcome to young and old. No one left it without a pleasant impression of that uniform urbanity, which was no trick of manner, but the impulse of a kindly heart. No one left it without wishing him a real and earnest blessing with the formal farewell. Finally, there was devolved upon him the management of a large estate, that might have been made much larger if he had chosen to have it so; if his feeling had been less scrupulous, or his hand less beneficent; or, if his soul had been greedy of gain." *

We are tempted to dwell a moment longer upon one of the points above alluded to by Dr. Frothingham, Mr. Brooks's fondness for reading. No person, not professionally a student, knew more of the standard or sound current literature of our

* God with the Aged: a sermon preached to the First Church, 7th of January, 1849, the Sunday after the death of the Hon. P. C. Brooks. By N. L. Frothingham, Pastor of the Church. Private.

language. His little library contained the works of the principal English authors, which in the course of his life, he had carefully perused; and the standard reviews and new works of value took their place upon his table, and were taken up each in its turn. There was no new publication of importance, and no topic of leading interest discussed by the contemporary press, on which he was not able to converse with discrimination and intelligence. We do not refer, of course, to scientific, professional, or literary specialities, but to the range of subjects adapted to the general reader. It was at once surprising and instructive to see how much could be effected in this way, by the steady and systematic application of a few hours daily, and this in the way of relaxation from more active employments.

Having attained the age of fourscore years in the enjoyment of almost uninterrupted health, he began at length to receive warnings of the last great change, which could find few persons less unprepared than himself. In the last years of his life the sight of one of his eyes began to fail him, and his once cheerful step became less firm and steady. He left his country-seat for the city somewhat earlier than usual in the autumn of 1848, and began soon after to confine himself to the house, yielding, without a specific disease, to the gradual decay of nature, and without anxious consciousness of the event now near at hand. With some failure in the recollection of recent events, his interest in the scenes around him and his sympathy with a devoted family remained undiminished. Till about a month before his decease, he retained the management of his affairs in his own hands. Finding himself, one morning, somewhat at a loss to understand a matter of business which required his attention, he calmly said to a son who was with him, "it is time for me to abdicate," and having executed a power of attorney to dispossess himself of the management of his property, with as little concern as he would have signed a receipt for a few dollars, he never spoke of affairs again. During the month of December, the shades gradually closed around him, and on the 1st of January, 1849, he died in peace.

The preceding brief account of Mr. Brooks's course through life, and of the principles which governed it, will make a studied delineation of his character unnecessary. We may be permitted, however, to add, that a person of more truly sterling qualities will not readily be pointed out among his contemporaries. He was eminent among that class of men who, without playing a dazzling part on the stage of life, form the great conservative element of society; men who oppose the modest and unconscious resistance of sound principle and virtuous example to those elements of instability, which are put in motion by the ambitious, the reckless, the visionary, and the corrupt. His conservatism, however, was liberal and kindly; it partook in no degree of bigoted attachment to the past; it was neither morose nor dictatorial. On the contrary, Mr. Brooks moved gently along with the current of the times, fully comprehending the character of the age in which he lived, and of the country of which he was a citizen. Personal experience had taught him that it was an age and a country of rapid improvement and progress. He recognized this as the law of our social existence, and did all in the power of a man in private life to promote it. He was never heard to speak of the present times in terms of disparagement as compared with former times; and notwithstanding his great stake in the public prosperity, he always looked upon the bright side, in those junctures of affairs which most severely affected the business of the country. His equanimity was never shaken, nor his hopeful spirit clouded. He was never careworn, taciturn, or austere; but always discreetly affable, cheerful himself, and the source of cheerfulness to others.

Moderation was perhaps the most conspicuous single trait in his character, because practised under circumstances in which it is most rarely exhibited. Possessing the amplest facilities for acquisition, he was moderate in the pursuit of wealth. This moderation was founded on a principle which carried him much further than mere abstinence from the licensed gambling of the stock-exchange. He valued property because it gives independence. For that reason he would neither be enslaved to its pursuit, nor harassed by putting it

at risk. At the most active period of life, he never stepped beyond the line of a legitimate business. He often, with playful humility, said that "he preferred to keep in shoal water," not because the water was shallow, but because he knew exactly how deep it was. The same moderation which restrained him in the pursuit, contented him in the measure. As we have seen above, he retired from active business in the prime of early manhood, with what would be thought at this day a bare independence for a growing family. His written memoranda show that he did this, with no plans for the increase of his property, by other courses of business;—but from a feeling that he had enough for the reasonable wants of himself and family, and the apprehension that, in the event of his sudden decease, their interests would be greatly endangered by the continued expansion of his affairs. These surely are *not* motives which usually actuate a man of ardent temperament — for such he was by nature — at the age of thirty-six, and with all human prospects of a long and successful career.

Born and brought up in straitened circumstances, frugality was a necessity of his early years; and, as far as his personal expenditure was concerned, continued to be the habit of his life. For this he had many reasons, besides the force of second nature. He had no leisure for the wasteful pleasures which consume time; no taste for luxurious personal indulgences. Health he considered too costly a blessing to be fooled away. Temperate in all things, but rigidly abstaining from none of which the moderate use consists with virtue and health, he passed through life without imposing upon himself ascetic restraints;—a stranger to the pains or languor of disease. He was an early riser throughout the year. A great friend of cold water inwardly and outwardly, before hydropathy or total abstinence were talked of, he did not condemn a temperate glass of wine after they became the ruling fashion of the day.

Though exact in the management of his property and in all business relations which grew out of it, (and without this, large fortunes can neither be accumulated nor kept,) he was

without ostentation liberal, and on proper occasion munificent in its use. The passion for accumulation is in its nature as distinct and strong as its rival political ambition, and like that is very apt to increase with its gratification, and especially with years; but the reverse was the case with Mr. Brooks. His willingness to impart increased as he advanced in life. His donations to others, in no way connected with himself, exceeded, for a long course of years, his expenditure in the support of his family, and this without reckoning large sums given for single public objects. He was a liberal and discriminating supporter of every benevolent institution and every public-spirited object; and often gave time and counsel when they were more important than money. He gave, however, as he did every thing else, without parade; and, as appears from his books, annually expended considerable sums known at the time only to Him that seeth in secret. He remarked to one of his sons, not long before his death, that of all the ways of disposing of money, giving it away was the most satisfactory.

And this remark leads, by natural transition, to the last with which we shall detain the reader, namely, that his liberality, like the other traits of his character, was connected with an unaffected sense of religious duty. Although sparing of outward demonstration in all things, he embraced, with a lively and serious conviction, the great truths of the Christian revelation. He was a punctual and respectful observer of the external duties of religion; an unfailing attendant on public worship; a regular communicant; an habitual and devout reader of the Bible. He had a general knowledge of doctrinal distinctions; but took no interest in the metaphysics of theology. His faith was principally seen in his life; and even his business journal is interspersed with reflections, which show a mind deeply impressed with a sense of religious duty to God and man.

Several respectful and ably written obituary notices of Mr. Brooks appeared in the public journals both here and elsewhere at the time of his decease. Among them may be particularly mentioned those of Hon. J. T. Buckingham, in the

Boston *Courier*,* of Hon. Nathan Hale, in the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, and of Charles Augustus Davis, Esq., in the *Commercial Advertiser* of New York. We would gladly add to the value of our memoir by extracts from these interesting tributes to Mr. Brooks's memory, but we have already exceeded our limits. We have aimed to perform our task with sincerity and in good faith, and venture to hope that what we have written from the warmth of a grateful recollection will be confirmed by the impartial judgment of the reader. "Hic interim liber, honori soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus." †

* Mr. Buckingham's accurate and spirited delineation of Mr. Brooks's character is contained in Personal Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 181–186.

† Taciti Julii Agricolæ Vita, § 3.

DORCHESTER IN 1630, 1776, AND 1855.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE following Oration is printed from the manuscript as originally prepared (of which about a third part was omitted in speaking in consequence of its length), with the addition as far as recollected of what suggested itself in the delivery.

Besides the original authorities cited in their appropriate places, I would make a general acknowledgment of my obligations to the "Chronological and Topographical Account of Dorchester," by Rev. Dr. Harris, in the ninth volume of the first series of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and to the three numbers of the "History of Dorchester," now in course of publication by a committee of the Antiquarian and Historical Society of that town. Other interesting materials, of which my limits did not permit me to make much use, were placed in my hands by the late Dr. Thaddeus William Harris, partly from the manuscripts of his venerable father; by Mr. Nahum Capen, on the connection of Roger Sherman with Dorchester; by Mr. Ebenezer Clapp, Jr., on the subject of the Midway Church; and by Mr. Daniel Denny, from a memorandum of the late Mr. J. Smith Boies, on the occupation of Dorchester Heights. If those acquainted with the history of our ancient town should be disappointed at finding some matters of interest wholly passed over, and others lightly treated, they will be pleased to reflect upon the difficulty of doing justice to all parts of a subject so comprehensive, within the limits of a popular address.

In the narrative of the occupation of Dorchester Heights, I have followed the safe guidance of the "History of the Siege of Boston," by Hon. R. Frothingham, Jr.

It may be thought ungracious, at the present day, to dwell with emphasis on the oppressive measures of the Colonial Government, which caused the American Revolution, and on the military incidents of the contest. I be-

* An oration delivered at Dorchester on the 4th of July, 1855. See Appendix. The following dedication is prefixed to the original edition: — "To the inhabitants of both sexes of my native town this Oration is, with warm gratitude for the sympathizing attention with which it was heard by them, respectfully and affectionately dedicated, by Edward Everett."

lieve, however, that no greater service could be rendered to humanity than to present the essential abuses and inevitable results of colonial rule in such a light to the governments of Western Europe, and especially to the English government as that most concerned, as will lead to the systematic adoption of the course suggested toward the close of this discourse; — that is, the amicable concession to colonies, mature for self-government, of that independence which will otherwise be extorted by mutually exhausting wars.

Among the novel lessons of higher politics taught in our constitutional history, as yet but little reflected on at home, and well deserving the profound study of statesmen in the constitutional governments of Europe, is the peaceful separation from parent States of territories as large as many a European kingdom; an event of which five or six instances have occurred since the formation of the Federal Union, under whose auspices these separations have taken place.

Boston, July, 1855.

Among the numerous calls to address public meetings with which I have been honored during my life, I have never received one with greater pleasure than that which brings me before you this day. Drawn up with unusual precision and care by a skilful pen, subscribed by more than one hundred and fifty of your leading citizens, and placed in my hands by a most respected committee of their number, it apprizes me that "the citizens of Dorchester, without distinction of party, actuated by motives of public good, and believing in the salutary teaching of national events, when contemplated with an inquiring spirit and an enlightened judgment, are desirous of celebrating the 4th of July, 1854, in a manner that shall prove creditable to that ancient town, instructive to the young, renovating to the aged, and morally profitable to the nation," and it invites me, as a native citizen of the town, to join you in carrying this purpose into effect.

You are well acquainted, fellow-citizens, with the circumstances that prevented my appearing before you last year, in pursuance of this invitation. I might still, without impropriety, offer you a sufficient excuse, in the state of my health, for shrinking from the effort of addressing an audience like this; and I feel deeply my inability, under any circumstances,

to fulfil the conditions of your invitation as I have just repeated them. But I confess I have not been able to forego this first opportunity, the last, also, no doubt, I shall ever enjoy, of publicly addressing the citizens of Dorchester; — the place of my birth, of my early education, and of all the kindly associations of my childhood. I have been drawn by an irresistible attraction to the spot. I behold around me the originals of the earliest impressions upon my mind, which neither time nor the cares of a crowded life have effaced. Some fifty-six or seven years have passed since, as a school-boy, I climbed, — summer and winter, — what then seemed to me the steep acclivity of Meeting-House Hill. The old school-house (it was then the new school-house, but I recollect that which preceded it) has disappeared. The ancient church in which I was baptized, is no longer standing. The venerable pastor,* whose affectionate smile still lives in the memory of so many who listen to me, has ceased from his labors. The entire generation to whom I looked up as to aged or even grown men, are departed; but the images of all that has passed away have been cast and abide, with more than photographic truth, upon the inmost chambers of my memory. Some of us, my friends, companions of school-boy days, remain to cherish the thought of the past, to meditate on the lapse of years and the events they have brought forth, and to rejoice in the growth and improvement of our native town. We have pursued different paths in life; Providence has sent us into various fields of duty and usefulness, of action and suffering: but I am sure there is not one of us who has wandered or who has remained, that does not still feel a dutiful interest in the place of his birth; and who does not experience something more than usual sensibility on an occasion like this.

In those things, which in a rapidly improving community are subject to change, there are few places, within my knowledge, which within fifty years have undergone greater changes than Dorchester. The population in 1800 was 2,347; in

* Rev. Dr. Harris.

1850 it was a little short of 8,000. What was then called "the Neck," the most secluded portion of the old town, although the part which led to its being first pitched upon as a place of settlement, was in 1804 annexed to Boston; and being united with the city by two bridges, has long since exchanged the retirement of a village for the life and movement of the metropolis. The pickaxe is making sad ravages upon one of the venerable heights of Dorchester; the intrenchments of the other, no longer masking the deadly enginery of war, are filled with the refreshing waters of Cochituate lake. New roads have been opened in every part of our ancient town, and two railways traverse it from north to south. The ancient houses built before the revolution have not all disappeared, but they are almost lost in the multitude of modern dwellings. A half century ago there was but one church in the town, that which stood on yonder hill, and the schoolhouse which then stood by its side was, till 1802, the only one dignified by the name of a town school. You have now ten churches and seven school-houses of the first class; and all the establishments of an eminently prosperous town, situated in the vicinity of a great commercial metropolis, have multiplied in equal proportion.

But all is not changed. The great natural features of the scene, and nowhere are they more attractive, are of course unaltered: — the same fine sweep of the shore with its projecting headlands, the same extensive plain at the north part of the town, the same gentle undulations and gradual ascent to the south, the same beautiful elevations. I caught a few days ago, from the top of Jones's hill, the same noble prospect (and I know not a finer on the coast of Massachusetts), which used to attract my boyish gaze more than fifty years ago. Old Hill, as we called it then (it has lost that venerable name in the progress of refinement, though it has become half a century older,) notwithstanding the tasteful villas which adorn its base, exhibits substantially the same native grouping of cedars and the same magnificent rocks, and commands the same fine view of the harbor, which it did before a single house was built within its precincts. Venerable trees that

seemed big to me in my boyhood, — I have been looking at some of them this morning, — seem but little bigger now, though I trace the storms of fifty winters on some well-recollected branches. The aged sycamores which shaded the roof, beneath which I was born, still shade it; and the ancient burial ground hard by, with which there are few of us who have not some tender associations, upon whose early graves may yet be seen the massy unhewn stones placed there by the first settlers for protection against the wolves, still attracts the antiquary with its quaint and learned inscriptions, and preserves the memory not merely of "the rude forefathers of the hamlet," but of some of the most honored names in the history of Massachusetts.

But I ought to apologize, my friends, for dwelling on topics so deeply tinged with personal recollection. The occasion on which we are met invites all our thoughts to public themes. It is two hundred and twenty-five years since the commencement of the settlement of our ancient town, — the first foothold of the pioneers of Governor Winthrop's expedition. It is the seventy-ninth anniversary of the Declaration of the Independence of the United States. Our minds naturally go back to the foundations of the ancient Commonwealth of which we are citizens, laid as they were within our limits. We dwell with pleasure and pride on the growth of our native town, under the vicissitudes of colonial fortune, from its feeble beginnings to the dimensions of a large and flourishing municipality; and we meditate with just interest upon those eventful scenes at the commencement of the revolutionary war of which our heights were the theatre, and which exerted an undoubted influence upon the continental congress at Philadelphia in hastening the great declaration.

Thus the appropriate topics of the day correspond with the three great divisions, which make up the whole system of political philosophy. We have, first, The foundation of a State, — the measures and agencies by which, under Providence, a new people is called into the family of nations; — manifestly the most important event, humanly speaking, that can occur in the history of our race. Second, We have the

institutions and events which constitute the political life of a community; — the organization and action, by which the divinely appointed ordinance of civil government is administered, so as best to promote the welfare and progress of a people. Third, We have one of those great movements called revolutions, by which a people for urgent causes introduces organic changes in the framework of its government, and materially renovates or wholly reconstructs the fabric of its political relations.

In reference to each of these three great branches of political science, the history of our ancient town and the occasion which calls us together furnish us with the most striking illustrations and instructive lessons. The foundation of a new State, in a quarter of the globe before unknown, is an event without a parallel in the domain of authentic history. The time and the manner in which the earliest predecessors of the present inhabitants of Europe became established there, are but imperfectly known; while the first settlement of Asia and Africa, after the original dispersion of mankind, is lost in those unfathomable depths of antiquity, which the deep sea-line of research has never sounded. It is only after comparing the authentic pages of our early history with the clouds of insipid fable that hang over the origin of Athens, and Rome, and Great Britain, — fables which neither Plutarch, nor Livy, nor Milton, has been able to raise into dignity and interest, — that we perceive the real grandeur of the work of which the foundations were laid two centuries and a quarter ago on Dorchester plain.

So with respect to the second branch of political philosophy, the organization and administration of States, I am disposed to affirm that there are secrets of practical wisdom and prudence, — elements of growth and prosperity, — in our municipal system, which deserve to be thoughtfully explored. Our towns, of course, are but units in the great sum which makes up the State. They possess none of the higher powers of government. Not by their hands is wielded the mace of legislation, or the scales of justice, the purse or the sword of the Commonwealth. But whenever the prosperity of New

England and of the younger States modelled on its type is traced to its ultimate causes, it will be found to a good degree in this municipal system. In the pages of these ancient volumes, — these old town records which have in few cases been better preserved than in Dorchester, — there will be found lessons of experience, of blessed common sense, shaping itself to the exigency of uncommon times, of patient submission to present evils, in the hope of a brighter day, of fortitude and courage in an humble sphere, of provident care for the rising generation and posterity, of unwearied diligence for the promotion of religion, morals, and education, which in their joint effect have done much toward giving us this goodly heritage.

Lastly, of those great movements by which organic changes are wrought in established governments, and a new order in the political world brought in, it must be admitted that the event which we commemorate to-day, in the character of the parties, — an infant confederacy of republics just starting out of a state of colonial pupilage on the one hand, and one of the oldest monarchies in Europe on the other; the long and silent preparation and the gradual approach; the soundness of the principles which impelled the movement, acknowledged as it was by the most illustrious statesmen of the mother country; the purity and pristine simplicity of manners that characterized the revolutionary leaders; the almost total absence of those violent and sanguinary incidents that usually mark the progress of civil war; and the gradual development, out of the chaos of the struggle, of well-balanced systems of republican government and federal union; — in all these respects, it must be allowed, that there is a solitary dignity and elevation in our American Revolution. They make it perhaps the only instance in history of the severance of a mighty empire, equally to the advantage of the new State and the parent country; the single case of a rising republic not built upon the calamitous ruins of earlier organizations.

You will readily perceive, my friends, that the thorough treatment of this subject in all its parts would occupy much more time than can be reasonably devoted to a public address;

and that in attempting to embrace them all in the remarks I venture to offer you, I must wholly omit some important topics, and pass lightly over others.

It is impossible fully to comprehend the importance of the work which was accomplished in the colonization of America, without regarding it as a part of the great plan of Providence, in disposing the time and circumstances of the discovery of our continent; — hidden as it was till the end of the fifteenth century from the rest of the world. This thought was brought so forcibly to my mind a few years since by a circumstance personal to myself, that I think you will pardon me for alluding to it, though in itself of a trifling domestic character. In the year 1841, I occupied with my family the Villa Careggi, near Florence, once, as its name imports (*Casa regia*), a princely residence, belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, but of late years private property, and occasionally leased to travellers.* Half fortress, half palace, it was built by Cosmo de'Medici in 1444, nine years before the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453. By that appalling event, a barbarous race (which had issued from the depths of Asia some centuries before, and had ingrafted the Mahometan imposture on the primitive stock of Tartarian paganism) had stormed the last strong-hold of the ancient civilization, the metropolis of the Greek empire, and established the religion of the Koran at the heart of the old world. The relations of the Turks to the rest of Europe are so entirely changed, that it is now scarcely possible to conceive the terror caused by this event. Had nothing occurred to renovate and strengthen the civilization of the west, it is not easy to imagine what might have been at this day the condition of Christendom. Even as it was, the Sultan was for two cen-

* Roscoe's Lorenzo de'Medici, p. 292. This most interesting villa remained a part of the grand ducal domain till 1788, when with other estates it was sold by the Grand Duke Leopold from motives of economy. It has lately passed into the possession of Mr. Sloane, an English gentleman of taste and fortune, by whom the grounds and approaches have been greatly improved, and the whole establishment restored to something like its original magnificence.

turies forward the strongest military power in the world; the scourge and the terror of the Mediterranean, and the master of some of the finest provinces of eastern Europe.

But germs of revival sprung up from the ruins of the old civilization. A host of learned and ingenious men, Christian scholars, fled from the edge of the Turkish scimitar and took refuge in Italy. They were received with hospitality there, and especially by the merchant princes of Florence. The Platonic Academy was established in the arcades of the Villa Careggi. A great intellectual restoration took place in Italy, and spread rapidly to the west of Europe, where precisely at the same time the art of printing (after slowly struggling through successive stages in the cities of the Netherlands and the Rhine) burst upon the world in a state approaching perfection, and not surpassed at the present day. The stores of learning and thought accumulated by the mind of antiquity were thrown open to the world. The modern bar and senate were not yet created, and philosophy stammered in the jargon of the schools; but Cicero, and Demosthenes, and Plato, stepped forth from the dusty alcoves of monkish libraries, and again spoke to living, acting men. The pulpit of the golden-lipped St. Chrysostom was hushed, but Moses and the prophets, the evangelists and the apostles rose, if I may venture to say so, as from the dead. The glorious invention was inaugurated in a manner worthy of itself. Two years only after the Koran began to be read at Constantinople (just four centuries ago this year), the Bible went forth on the wings of the press to the four quarters of the world.* Ma-

* My much valued friend, Mr. George Livermore of Cambridge, possesses a leaf on vellum, from an imperfect copy of the Mazarin Bible, the first book ever printed, and which, though without date, is known to have been completed in 1455, and a copy of the New Testament from the Bible of 1462, the first Bible printed with a date. "A metrical exhortation," says Mr. Hallam, "in the German language, *to take arms against the Turks*, dated in 1454, has been retrieved in the present century. If this date unequivocally refers to the time of printing, which does not seem a necessary consequence, it is the earliest loose sheet that is known to be extant." — Literature of Europe, Part I., Chap. III., Sec. 23.

homet the Second had struck down the last Christian emperor; but Faust, and Schœffer, and Guttenberg, the Strasburg printers, aimed a deadlier blow at Mahomet the first, his code of barbarism, and all the hosts of political and spiritual darkness throughout the world. The walls of Byzantium, spouting torrents of unquenchable flame, had crumbled; but the mind of the world rallied to the new combat under the living artillery of the press, and came off victorious. A conflict more important to humanity was never waged on earth. And from that day to this, the civilized world of Europe and America is indebted for that superiority which no second night of ignorance can darken, no new incursion of vandalism can overthrow, to an enlightened, conscientious, independent press.

But Providence had other instrumentalities in store; higher counsels. A broader field of development was to be opened to renovated humanity. The east of Europe and the west of Asia, by nature and position the fairest region of the old world, was relapsing into barbarism, but the hour had arrived to "redress the balance of empire and call into existence a new world in the west." At the close of the century which witnessed these extraordinary events, a Genoese mariner declined from the meridian of life, in pursuit of a vision which he had cherished through years of enthusiasm and disappointment, seeking a sovereign truth through the paths of sagacious but erroneous theory, launched forth, the living compass his pilot, and the constellated heavens his only chart, to find a western passage to India, and discovered a new world. A Florentine navigator, following in his track, completed his discoveries, projected them on the map, and (oh, vanity of human renown), in spite of geography and history, in spite of orators and poets, in spite of the indignant reclamations of all succeeding ages, for ever stamped upon the new found continent the name of a man who did *not* first discover it, almost before the ashes were cold of the man who did!

Thus, then, we have two of the elementary conditions of the political, moral, and religious restoration about to be

effected in the order of Providence, at a moment when an overshadowing cloud of Mahometan barbarism had shot rapidly toward the zenith, and seemed about to settle down on the Christian world. We have a general excitement in the western mind, produced by the revival of the ancient learning, the art of printing, and other conspiring causes which I have not time to enumerate; and we have the boundless spaces of a new hemisphere, opened to the commerce, the adventure, and the ambition, in a word, to the quickened thought and reviving life of the old world.

But something further was wanting: a third condition was required, which should draw the two already existing into efficient coöperation; and that was the impulse and the motive, the moral machinery, the social inducement, the political necessity, which should bring the reviving intelligence of the age into fruitful action upon this vast new theatre, for the joint benefit of America and Europe, and the solid foundation of a higher civilization than the world had yet seen.

In the Villa Careggi, which I have just named, Lorenzo de'Medici, the merchant dictator of Florence, died, and his son Giovanni was born; created, through the influence of his fond father, an abbot at the age of seven years, a cardinal at thirteen, and raised to the papal throne at the age of thirty-eight, as Pope Leo X.* This aspiring, liberal, and munificent Pontiff, who, regarded as a secular prince, was, with all his faults, the most enlightened sovereign of his age, cradled in all the luxuries of worldly power, nursed at the bosom of the arts, raised to the throne of the then undivided church in early manhood, devoted his short but brilliant reign to two main objects, namely: — the expulsion of the Turks from

* The Villa Careggi is still supplied with water from a very deep well in the court-yard, into which, according to a still existing but unfounded tradition, the servants of Lorenzo threw his physician for having, as they supposed, poisoned their master. — Roscoe follows the writers who represent Leo the Tenth as born in Florence; but other writers and the local traditions make Careggi his birthplace. An extraordinary list of his early preferments is given by Roscoe, Leo X., Vol. I., p. 12.

Europe, and the completion of the Church of St. Peter's at Rome, the most splendid and costly structure of human hands, and designed by him to be the great Metropolitan Temple of Universal Christendom. Who can blame him, with the genius and taste of Michael Angelo and Raphael at his command, for the generous ambition? To defray the enormous expenditure incurred by these and other measures of magnificence and policy, Leo resorted to the famous sale of indulgences throughout the Christian world. The mind of western and northern Europe had been warming and kindling for a century and a half toward the Reformation; the sale of indulgences was the torch in the hands of Luther which lighted the flame.

Some of the German princes put themselves at the head of this great popular revolution, which was in reality the movement of the age toward civil and religious liberty; but Henry VIII. of England was one of its earliest opponents. I have held in my hand, in the library of the Vatican, the identical copy of his book against Luther, sent by Henry to Pope Leo the Tenth, which acquired for him and all his successors the cheaply earned title of "Defender of the Faith." A few years passed by; new light, kindled at no spiritual altar, shone into his mind; Catherine of Arragon was repudiated; Anne Boleyn was married, and the supremacy of the Pope abjured by Henry VIII., whose love-letters to Anne Boleyn are also to be seen in the Vatican.

This certainly was not the Reformation; but, in the hands of that Providence, which sometimes shapes base means to worthy ends, it was a step toward it. After the decease of the remorseless and sensual monarch, the conscience of England took up the work which his licentiousness and ambition began. The new opinions gained credit and extension rapidly, but with fearful dependence on the vicissitudes of the State. The service and ritual of the Church of England, substantially as they exist at this day, were established under Edward VI.; but his sister Mary, married to Philip II., the man who caused his own son to be assassinated for the good

of his soul,* restored the old faith and kindled the fires of Smithfield.

With the accession of Elizabeth, the Church of England was cautiously restored, and Protestantism again became the religion of the State. But the trial of prosperity was scarcely less severe than the trial of adversity. Among the pious confessors of the reformed faith, who had been driven into banishment under Mary, bitter dissensions arose on the continent. One portion adhered at Frankfort to the ritual of the Church of England, as established by Edward; another, who had taken refuge at Geneva, preferred the simpler forms of worship, and the more republican system of church-government, adopted by Calvin. On their return to England, after the accession of Elizabeth, these differences grew to formidable magnitude, and those inclining to the simpler forms received the name of "Puritans." The queen leaned to the ceremonial of the ancient church; a large number of the clergy and laity regarded the ecclesiastical vestments, the use of the cross in baptism, and some other parts of the ritual, as remnants of Popery. There was no disagreement on points of doctrine; but difference of opinion and taste on these empty forms, the mere husk of religion, led to bitterness of feeling, to the formation of hostile sects (the constant scourge of Protestantism), to the interference of legislation in order to secure unity of worship, and when this failed, as it always has and always will, except under governments purely despotic, to the exercise of the iron arm of power to punish non-conformity. For this purpose courts of high commission and the star-chamber were established, tribunals abhorrent to the genius of the common law of England; and penalties of fine, imprisonment, and death were denounced upon all whose consciences forbade them to conform to the established ritual. After various laws of greater or less severity passed for this end,

* This almost incredible fact seems to be supported by the authority of Louis XIV., who was great-grandson of Philip II. Mad. de Sévigné's Letters, Vol. V. p. 73, Edition of 1844.

the statute of 1593 was enacted, by which persevering nonconformists, guilty of no offence but that of failing to attend the Established Church, were required to abjure the realm and go into perpetual banishment;—if they did not depart within the prescribed time or returned home from exile, the penalty was death.* This atrocious statute, in its final result, peopled New England. The *fundatio perficiens*,—the real foundations of Plymouth and Massachusetts,—are to be sought not in the patent of James or the charter of Charles, with their grant of zones of territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but in the stern text of this act of 1593.

Its thunders slumbered at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, but not long after the accession of James the penal laws began to be executed with rigor. He had early announced that no toleration was to be extended to dissent; and in his uncouth border English had threatened to "harrie" the Puritans out of the land. That portion of them who had formally separated from the church, and were known as Brownists, were the first victims. They were driven, under circumstances of great cruelty, from England, as early as 1608, and after suffering for some years the harsh discipline of exile in Holland, went forth, the immortal band of Pilgrims, to find a new home in the wilderness. The more appropriate duties of this occasion permit us to pay only a passing tribute of respect to the precious memory of Robinson and his little flock, canonized as they are in the patriotic calendar of America, and honored in a progeny which in every State of the Union proudly traces its lineage to Plymouth Rock.

The fathers of Massachusetts belonged to the more moderate school of the Puritans. They regarded the ecclesiastical vestments and ceremonies with as little favor as the separatists; but they considered the church as established by law a true church, and still clung to her communion. But the burden lay heavy on their consciences, and at length became absolutely intolerable. Shortly after the accession of Charles I. they prepared to execute the plan which they had for some

* 35 Elizabeth, c. I.; Hallam's Constitutional History, Vol. I. p. 213.

years been meditating, that of transporting themselves to the new world; where, as they supposed, they could, without a formal separation from the Church of England, adopt those simpler forms of worship and church-government, which their views of divine truth required.

The waters of Massachusetts Bay, both before and after the settlement at Plymouth, had been much frequented by English fishing vessels. As early as 1619, Thompson's Island, within our limits, is known to have been occupied by an Englishman. In the year 1624, as many as fifty vessels were employed on this coast,* mostly from the west of England. Among the leading non-conformists in that quarter, none was more active and respected than Rev. John White, of Dorchester. He encouraged his parishioners and their friends to engage in these adventures, and early connected with them the idea of a gradual colonization of the coast. Like Robinson, in reference to Plymouth, John White never set foot upon the soil of Massachusetts, but he was the most efficient promoter of the undertaking which resulted in the settlement, not merely of our ancient town, but of the colony.

In the county of Dorset, which stretches fifty miles along the British Channel in the west of England, upon an island formed by the divided stream of "a noble river in those parts," called the Frome, lies the chief town of the county, the ancient city of Dorchester. The Britons in all probability occupied it, before the time of Julius Cæsar. Druidical mounds still surround it. The Romans, who called it *Durnovaria*, fortified it and built near it the largest Roman amphitheatre in England, of which the circuit still remains. It was a strong-hold in the time of the Saxon kings; the Danes stormed it; under a rapacious Norman governor, one hundred houses, out of one hundred and eighty contained in it, were destroyed.† Every age and every race has left land-

* Dr. Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, and the authors cited by him, page 5.

† Camden's Britannia, Gough's Edition, Vol. I. p. 60. The *Durotriges* are placed by Ptolemy in this region; and a British word, *Dwr*, or *Dour* (water), is supposed to be the root of their name.

marks or ruins within its bounds; it is, by the last English census, a prosperous city of six or seven thousand inhabitants; but perhaps its most honored memorial in after-times will be that it gave origin to this its American namesake, and impulse to one of the noblest enterprises of transatlantic colonization.

Of this ancient Dorchester in England, John White was the minister for wellnigh forty years, being rector of the ancient church of the Trinity. Upon the life and character of this venerable man, "the Patriarch of Dorchester," as he was styled by his contemporaries; "the father of the Massachusetts Colony," as he has been called in this country, you will expect me to dwell for a moment.* He was a Puritan in principle and feeling, but not deeming the ceremonies of vital importance, he adhered to the church. But in periods of great excitement, moderation is an offence in the eyes of violent men. The cavalry of Prince Rupert sacked his house and carried off his library. This drove him to London. He was a man of most excellently tempered qualities, "grave, yet without moroseness, who would willingly contribute his shot of facetiousness on any just occasion." He was an indefatigable preacher, and "had an excellent faculty in the clear and solid interpretation of the Scriptures." His executive talent was not less remarkable, and he administered the secular affairs of his church so as greatly to promote the temporal prosperity of the city. Of two things not easily controlled he had, according to Fuller, absolute command, "his own passions and the purses of his parishioners, whom he could wind up to what point he pleased on important occasions." A generous use of his own means was the secret of his command of the means of others. "He had a patriarchal influence both in Old and New England." I find no proof that this influence ever ceased over the hardy young men who, by his encouragement, had settled this American Dorchester; but at home his old age was embittered by factions

* Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses: Callender's Sermon, in the Rhode Island Historical Collections, Vol. IV., 67.

and the "new opinions which crept into his flock." A generation arose which slighted the crown of his old age; and of this he was "sadly and silently sensible;" sadly, as was natural in a man who had reaped ingratitude where he sowed benefits; silently, as became the self-respect of a proud, good conscience. He was one of the most learned and influential of that famous assembly of divines at Westminster, whose catechisms, after two centuries, remain accredited manuals of Christian belief to millions on millions in the old world and the new. The biographer of the "Worthies of England," after sketching his admirable character of our ever memorable founder, expresses the hope, that Solomon's observation of the poor wise man who saved the little city, "yet no man remembered him," will not be verified of "Dorchester in England, in relation to this their deceased pastor."* He lies buried, without a stone to mark the spot, in the porch of St. Peter's church; and if the good old patriarch should be forgotten in the Dorchester of Old England, let it be some atonement to his memory, that here in New England, after a lapse of two centuries and a quarter, he is still held in pious and grateful remembrance.

Mr. White's connection with New England preceded by several years the settlement of our ancient town. He was the chief promoter of the attempt to establish a colony at Cape Ann under Conant; and after its failure there, his encouragement and aid caused the transfer of what remained of it to Salem, where it became the germ of a permanent settlement.† It was Mr. White who brought the adventurers of the west of England into connection with the men of influence in London, in Lincolnshire, and the other eastern counties, and formed with them the ever memorable company, which under a charter from Charles I., ingrafted Endecott's settlement at Salem upon the languishing enterprise of the

* Fuller's Worthies of England, Vol. III. p. 24, Edit. of 1840.

† The history of the establishment at Cape Ann, illustrated with a *fac simile* of the recently recovered patent under which it was made, is given with great learning and ingenuity by John Wingate Thornton, Esq., in his late publication on this subject.

single-hearted, persevering, and ill-rewarded Conant; and finally fitted out that noble expedition in 1630, under the great and good Winthrop, which put the finishing hand to the work, and consolidated the foundation of Massachusetts. In all the labors and counsels tending to this end, John White, of Dorchester, appears to have been the person of greatest activity and influence; and when all was prepared for the expedition, and the "Arbella" and her chosen company were ready to set sail, the "Humble Request," as it is called, addressed to the churches of England, setting forth, in language which can scarcely yet be read without tears, the motives and feelings which influenced the pious adventurers, is ascribed to his pen.*

With us, fellow-citizens of Dorchester, his connection is still more intimate. There was a large body of "West Country," or "Dorchester men," in Gov. Winthrop's expedition, who were many of them of Mr. White's church, and all were enlisted, so to say, under his auspices and encouragement; and they were the first in the field. Early in March, 1630, they were ready to depart, and a large vessel was chartered at Plymouth, for their separate conveyance. The faithful pastor, guide at once in things divine and human — which in that age of trial ran strangely together, as in what age do they not? — went with them to their port of embarkation; met with them in the new hospital at Plymouth, where they gathered themselves into a church under the ministers of his selection; held with them a solemn fast of preparation, and preached to them the last sermon they were to hear from his lips: —

> —— prompt at every call,
> He watched and wept, he prayed and felt for all.

* The authorship of this paper rests upon the authority of Hubbard, who speaks of it as a thing "commonly said." This must be considered good evidence that such was the tradition in his time. Dr. Young thinks it more likely that the "Humble Request" was written by Winthrop or Johnson (Chronicles of Mass., p. 299); but as its chief object was to define the relation of the adventurers to the established church, it appears to me more likely to have been written by a clergyman. Prince adopts Hubbard's tradition (Chronology, p. 275).

And so on the 20th of March, 1630, the Dorchester emigrants embarked in the Mary and John, Capt. Squeb master, a vessel of 400 tons. They had a prosperous voyage of seventy days, and arrived at Nantasket on the 30th of May, about ten days in advance of the "Arbella," and the vessels which accompanied her. The Dorchester company contained several persons of consideration and substance, a numerous party of emigrants with their wives and children, and a frugal store of worldly goods. They were attended by their pastors Messrs. Maverick and Warham, by whom says Roger Clap, in his narrative of the voyage, "we had preaching or expounding of the word of God every day for ten weeks together."

Capt. Squeb was under engagement to convey the company to Charles River, but by a latitude of interpretation not peculiar to him, and not perhaps strange at a time when the localities were so little understood, he insisted, greatly to their discontent, on landing them and their cattle at Nantasket. This spot furnished no room nor other facilities for the proposed new settlement, besides being already occupied by "Old Planters" as they were called ("old" on the coast of Massachusetts in 1630!); that is, individuals who had separated themselves from the other independent settlements such as those of Plymouth, Cape Ann, Weymouth, and Salem, or had found their way in the fishing vessels to these coasts. From one of these old planters, a boat was borrowed by the newly arrived company, and a party of ten, headed by brave Capt. Southcoat, who had served in the low countries, was sent up to explore Charles River in search of a place for a settlement. Roger Clap was one of this party; — they went up the river as far as Watertown, passed a day or two on a spot near the present arsenal, and still called "Dorchester fields," and held friendly communications with the Indians of that place, which afterwards became the first field of the apostolic labors of Eliot, who, when he was in the flesh, sat in the chair in which you, sir (Gov. Gardner), now sit. The main body meantime had explored the coast nearer Nantasket, and having found "a neck of land fit to keep their cattle

on," called Mattapan, had established themselves there.* This, after some hesitation, was adopted as the permanent seat of the settlement.

This "neck of land" was the present South Boston, which within my recollection was still called Dorchester neck. The curving bay, which sweeps round between the neck and Savin hill, still bears on our maps the name of "Old Harbor," and the rising grounds to the south were the site of the first habitations. The first humble meeting-house with its thatched roof, which caught a year or two afterwards as Mr. Maverick the minister was "drying a little powder (which took fire by the heat of the firepan"), — it being one of the first cares of the puritan fathers to keep their powder dry, — stood probably at the northern end of the plain, now called Pleasant street; and close by its side, — somewhat to the north-east of the present ancient cemetery, — was the first place of burial, of which no traces now remain. It was at first supposed that Dorchester might become the emporium of the new colony. Capt. Smith, in his rude map of the coast, had placed the name of "London" on the spot afterwards and still called Squantum, and a fort was built on Savin hill, and a battery on the shore, for the protection of the future metropolis. It soon appeared, however, that the water was not of sufficient depth for this purpose, and Boston was ascertained to be the spot marked out by nature as the future capital of New England. On the 17th of September, 1630, at a meeting of the Court of Assistants at Charlestown, which had already received that name, it was "ordered that Trimountaine shall be called Boston; Mattapan Dorchester; and the towne vpon Charles Ryver Waterton." †

Such, fellow-citizens, in the plainest language in which I

* The facts relative to the organization of the Dorchester Church at Plymouth, the voyage, and the settlement at Mattapan, are recorded in Roger Clap's Memoir.

† Massachusetts Records, Vol. I. p. 75. I quote, of course, the recently published edition of the Records, superintended and prepared with extreme accuracy by Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, and printed in a style of unsurpassed beauty at the expense of the Commonwealth.

can relate it, is the simple tale of the foundation of Dorchester, which preceded by a short time the settlements made by the main body of Gov. Winthrop's party at the other towns just named. The hardships of the entire emigration were for the first season severe. They were disappointed in the expectation of deriving supplies from the settlers at Salem; there was dearth there. The stock of provisions brought from England was inadequate for the support of so large a company, and it was too late in the year to plant; the diseases sure to be engendered by want and anxiety prevailed; the native tribes in the neighborhood were an object of exaggerated though natural terror; alarms of invasion from the French and Dutch penetrated to these remote corners of the earth; and the hearts of some failed them at the thoughts of their distant home, as want stared them in the face. "In our beginnings," says Roger Clap, "many were in great straits for want of provisions for themselves and little ones. Oh! the hunger that many suffered and saw no hope in an eye of reason to be supplied, only by clams, muscles, and fish."

With all our contemporary accounts and traditions, I imagine we form very inadequate conceptions of the hardships endured by the first settlers of this country. Modern art, with its various astonishing applications, traverses the ocean on its chariot wheels of fire, and transports the traveller in ten or twelve days from Europe to America. Even the sailing vessels accomplish the voyage in three or four weeks. The passages in the seventeenth century were more frequently of two or three months' duration. The Mary and John, without having met with any disaster, was out seventy days. Modern enterprise encounters the expected navigators at sea; sends out her pilot-boat, bounding like a sea-bird on the waves, a hundred miles from port (who that has witnessed the sight homeward-bound will ever forget it); unrolls her charts, where every shoal and rock is projected, and the soundings laid down so carefully, that you may find your way in the dark, studs the coast with light-houses, and receives the weather-beaten ship at convenient landing-places. The first

settlers were obliged to feel their way into unknown harbors, ignorant of the depths and shallows, the rocks and the currents, often finding the greatest discomforts and dangers of the voyage awaiting them at its close.*

Nor were the difficulties less after landing. The "state of nature" in which they found the country, "bare creation" as it is expressively called by an early writer (Dummer), the goal of their wishes and prayers, was a far different thing from that which presents itself to the mind, when those words are used by us. Few, I fear, even in this intelligent audience, have formed an adequate notion of the hard rough nature that confronted our fathers, two centuries and a quarter ago, on these now delightful spots. The "nature" which we think of consists of dreamy lawns, dotted here and there with picturesque cottages, hung with festoons of prairie-rose and honeysuckle; — of shady walks, winding through groves carefully cleared of the thorns and brambles, that weave their matted underbrush into an impenetrable thicket; — of grand sea-views from the cool porticos of marine villas; — of glimpses of babbling streams as they sparkle through meadows, vocal with lowing herds and bleating flocks. This we call nature, and so it is; but it is nature brought into loving union with the skilful hand and tasteful eye of man, the great "minister and interpreter of nature." Great heavens! how different the nature which frowned upon the fathers and mothers of New England; — harsh, austere, wearisome, often terrific. On the seaboard, broad marshes cut up with deep oozy creeks, and unfordable tide-water rivers, — no dikes, no bridges, no roads, no works of friendly communication of any kind; — in short, no traces of humanity in the kindly structures for travel, shelter, neighborhood, or defence, which raise the homes of man above the lairs of wild beasts. In fact, the aboriginal tribes, in this respect, hardly went as far

* This is well illustrated in the voyage of the Rev. Richard Mather, the first pastor of Dorchester after the reorganization of the church in 1636. — Collections of Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, No. III.

as the beavers, who in their small way were very tolerable engineers for wet meadows.

Such was the coast; as you retreated from it, you entered the terrific wilderness, which stretched from ocean to ocean, the abode of the savage and the wild beast, — gloomy — awful! No civilized foot had penetrated its depths, — no surveyor's chain had measured its boundaries, — no Christian eye had searched its dismal shades. In the ignorance that prevailed as to the real character of the new and unexplored country, imagination naturally added fictitious to real terrors. Unearthly cries were sometimes heard in the crackling woods; glimpses were caught, at dusk, of animals, for which natural history had no names; and strange footmarks which men did not like to speak of, were occasionally seen in the snow. Even amidst the multiplying settlements, the hill-sides were alive with rattlesnakes, a reptile unknown and much dreaded in Europe; and the ravening bear and wolf were heard by night around the farm yard. Humanity lost the kindly links of intelligible language; and was seen only under the aspect of a strange dusky race, whose numbers and strength were unknown, and whose disposition toward the new comers remained to be learned from experience.

But these hardships and terrors yielded to the courage and perseverance of our fathers, and the all-subduing power of time. Dorchester, with the usual vicissitudes of a new country, prospered. As it was by a slight priority the first town settled by Governor Winthrop's party, it retained for a short time a certain precedence. In 1633, a tax of four hundred pounds was laid, of which Dorchester paid eighty pounds, — Boston, Roxbury, Newtown (afterwards Cambridge), Watertown, and Charlestown, paid £48 each, Saugus, £36, Salem, £28, and Medford £12; and these were the whole of Massachusetts, two centuries and a quarter ago! In the year 1633, Wood calls our ancient town "the greatest town in New England." The description of Josselyn is still more glowing. Its geographical extent, till reduced by the separation from it of several large new towns, was great. It com-

prised the modern towns of Milton, Stoughton, Sharon, Canton, and Foxborough, with a part of Wrentham and Dedham, being of the length of thirty-five miles, and the average breadth of five. Nor was it merely in time or wealth that it took for a short time the lead. It set the example, in 1633, of that municipal organization which has prevailed throughout New England, and has proved one of the chief sources of its progress. It has been supposed that the first stated provision for a public school was made here: — but the loss of the earliest leaves of our town records leaves us without the documentary proof of this fact, if it be one.

One would suppose that the extensive territory I have just described, would have afforded ample accommodation for some two or three hundred inhabitants. They had, however, scarcely established themselves in their new home, before they began to be straightened for want of room. It seems to have been thought extremely desirable, in the first settlement of the country, to be seated either on the sea-coast or the banks of a river. The inhabitants of the Bay had been early made acquainted by those at Plymouth with Connecticut River, although the court declined an application from that quarter, to join them in anticipating the Dutch in their attempts to get possession of it. Three or four individuals, however, from Dorchester, had as early as 1633 crossed the intervening wilderness, and explored this magnificent stream.

Influenced by their reports of the noble range of pasturage to be found on its banks, aided, it must be confessed, by discontents in the Bay, an emigration was contemplated in 1634 by the inhabitants of Dorchester and Newtown. Mr. Ludlow, of Dorchester, it was said, was of opinion that some other persons, himself included, would fill the chair of State as well as Governor Winthrop; and the star of Mr. Hooker in the church at Newtown, it was thought, was not wanted so near the light of John Cotton. The emigration was warmly debated in the court. Fifteen out of twenty-five of the infant house of deputies, first elected that year, were for the removal; a majority of the magistrates placed their *veto* on the measure, and great heats ensued. It was opposed on

various grounds, but the "procatarctical" reason (as Hubbard somewhat learnedly expresses it) was, that so many of its inhabitants could not safely be spared from the Bay.* The next year the Rev. Messrs. Richard Mather, and Thomas Shepherd, with numerous associates, arrived in the colony. Mr. Mather's company being prepared to fill the places of those desiring to leave Dorchester, and Mr. Shepherd's to succeed to their brethren at Newtown (Cambridge), the court gave way and permitted the undertaking. A portion of the emigrants went in the autumn of 1635, the residue in the following spring. Great were the hardships and severe the sufferings endured in this early American exodus through the wilderness, first faint image of that living tide of emigration which in all subsequent time has flowed westward from the Atlantic coast, till in our day it has reached the boundless west; and is even now swelling over the Rocky Mountains, and spreading itself on the shores of the Pacific. Still may it swell and still may it flow; bearing upon its bosom the laws and the institutions, the letters and the arts, the freedom and the faith, which have given New England her name and praise in the world!† The adventurers from Dorchester,—men, women, and children,—were fourteen days in making the journey now daily accomplished in three hours, and reached the river weak with toil and hunger, and all but disheartened. Both the Dorchester ministers, though it is said reluctantly, agreed to join their emigrating church. Mr. Maverick the senior died in Boston before starting; Mr. Warham conducted his flock to East Windsor, where they formed the first church in Connecticut, as they had been in Massachusetts second to Salem alone. Thus from our native town of Dorchester, and from Cambridge, not yet bearing that honored name, within five years from their first settlement, went forth the founders of Connecticut.

Nor was it for their own establishment alone that the early

* Winthrop's Journal for 4th September, 1634.

† This emigration is beautifully described in the life of John Mason, by Rev. George E. Ellis; Sparks's Library of American Biography, Vol. XIII. p. 331.

fathers of Dorchester were careful; they remembered the native children of the soil with kindness. When, a few years after the emigration to the Connecticut, the increase of the new comers about the falls of Neponset had begun to press hard upon the natives gathered about that spot, on the application of John Eliot, a grant of six thousand acres of land, being the greater part of the modern town of Stoughton, was made by Dorchester for their accommodation; a grant, as one of our town clerks well says, without example in the history of the State.* In this pleasant retreat were collected the remnants of the friendly tribe, who gave us this venerable name of MASSACHUSETTS, and who ruled the shores of the noble BAY, which, in years past, added another epithet to this time-honored designation. The fair domain of this, our name-sake tribe, extended from the broad smooth floor of Nantasket, where the whispering ripple, as it runs up the beach, scarcely effaces the foot-prints of the smart little sand-piper, all round to the cold gray ledges of Nahant, on which the mountain waves of the Atlantic, broken and tired with their tempestuous weltering march through seventy degrees of longitude, conflicting with all the winds of heaven, sink down upon their adamantine bed, like weary Titans after battling with the gods, and lulled by the moaning dirges of their voiceful caves, roll and rock themselves heavily to sleep. Some "old men of Massachusetts" affirmed that in the interior they extended as far west as Pocomtacook. They hunted small game in the blue-hills, and on their snow-shoes they followed the deer to Wachusett. They passed in their bark canoes through Mother Brook into Charles River; the falls of Nonantum and the head-waters of the Mystic were favorite resorts; they ranged even to the Nashua. Their war parties met the Tarratines on the Shawshine and the Merrimac;—but they loved especially the fair headland of Squantum; the centre of their power was Neponset falls.

From the origin of the colony they were the friends of the

* Noah Clap's letter, 4 Jan., 1792. Mass. Hist. Coll., First Series, Vol. I. p. 98.

white man, and in the first mention of Mattapan as the place of the future settlement, it is stated, that "there also the Indians were kind to us." Thinned by a pestilential disease before the arrival of the English; overshadowed by the numbers, the physical power, and the intellectual superiority of the new comer; reading in the events of every day the terrible but inevitable doom, "he must increase, but I must decrease," they adopted the white man's faith, and by a miracle of Christian pains and charity read the white man's Book in their native tongue. But not even that mighty element of life, to which the civilized nations of the earth owe so much of their vitality, availed to prolong the red man's existence. Twelve families only of praying Indians as they were called, the remains of those who removed from Neponset, were found by Gookin at Punkapoag in 1674.* John Eliot, Jun., the son of the apostle, — and truly I know not who, since Peter and Paul, better deserves that name, — labored with them once a fortnight. But they dwindled with each generation; till in my boyhood I remember hearing of one poor solitary Indian, who, it was said, occupied a lonely wigwam on Stoughton Pond, and who used to come down, once or twice a year, to the sea-side; hovered a day or two about Squantum; caught a few fish at the lower mills; strolled off into the woods, and with plaintive wailings cut away the bushes from an ancient mound, which, as he thought, covered the ashes of his fathers; and then went back a silent, broken, melancholy man, — the last of a perished tribe.

The agency of Dorchester in the settlement of Connecticut is not the only incident of the kind in our annals. Two generations later, namely, in 1695, application was made to our minister, Mr. Danforth, both personally and by letter, from South Carolina, setting forth the spiritual destitution of that region, and asking aid from us. A missionary church was forthwith organized, in compliance with this request from the remote sister plantation. A pastor, Mr. Joseph Lord, was ordained over it; — it sailed from Dorchester in the middle of

* Mass. Hist. Collections, First Series, Vol. I. p. 184.

December, and arrived at its destination in fourteen days. The little community established itself on Ashley River, in South Carolina, and fondly assumed the name of Dorchester. Here, for more than half a century, the transplanted church and settlement enjoyed a modest prosperity. But the situation proving unhealthy, and the quantity of land limited, a removal to Georgia was projected in 1752. The legislature of that colony made a liberal grant of land, where the emigrants from Dorchester founded the town of Midway, as being half-way between the rivers Ogeechee and Altamaha. This settlement constituted a considerable part of the parish of St. John's, afterwards honorably known as Liberty County in Georgia. Its inhabitants, in the third generation, retained the character and manners, the feelings and principles, which their ancestors brought from our Dorchester eighty years before. On the assembling of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia in 1774, Georgia as a colony not having chosen delegates, the parish of St. John's addressed themselves directly to that body, and received from them a copy of the "General Association." The convention of Georgia declining to join it without modification, the Parish of St. John's subscribed it on their own account, and sent one of their number, Dr. Lyman Hall, a native of Connecticut, a member of the little Dorchester-Midway church, to represent that parish in the congress at Philadelphia. "At this period," says Dr. Stevens, the intelligent historian of Georgia, "the parish of St. John's possessed nearly one third of the entire wealth of the province; and its inhabitants were remarkable for their upright and independent character. Sympathizing, from their New England origin, more strongly with the northern distresses than the other parts of Georgia, and being removed from the immediate supervision of the governor and his council, they pressed on with greater ardor and a firmer step, than her sister parishes. The time for action had arrived, and the irresolution of fear had no place in their decisive councils. Alone she stood, a Pharos of liberty in England's most loyal province, renouncing every fellowship that savored not of freedom, and refusing every luxury which contributed

to ministerial coffers. With a halter around her neck and a gallows before her eyes, she severed herself from surrounding associations, and cast her lot, while as yet all was gloom and darkness, with the fortunes of her country, to live with her rights or to die for their defence. Proud spot of Georgia's soil! Well does it deserve the appellation (Liberty county) which a grateful State conferred upon it; and truly may we say of its sons, in the remembrance of their patriotic services, "nothing was wanting to their glory, they were wanting to ours." *

Dr. Hall appeared at Philadelphia on the third day of the session of 1775 (13th May), and was admitted as a delegate. On that day congress was composed of the representatives of the twelve United Colonies, and Dr. Lyman Hall, the deputy from the Parish of St. John's. The patriotic example was soon followed by the colony, and four delegates, of whom Dr. Hall was one, were in the course of a few weeks deputed to Philadelphia. In this way, and by the strange sequence of events which pervades our history, the pious zeal of a few humble Christians of our ancient town, in 1695, was the remote cause that the great empire State of the south, then in its infancy, was represented at the opening of the Congress of 1775. A deputation from this distant offshoot of the old Dorchester stock has been expected to favor us with their attendance on this occasion. If they are present, we bid them cordially welcome.†

It cannot be expected that the annals of a small municipality like Dorchester should furnish many events of striking public interest. It is enough to say of our fathers that they bore their part faithfully in the silent work of progress, which was carried on under both charters. Among them were many individuals of great worth, and some who have played a distinguished part in public affairs.

* Georgia Historical Collections, Vol. II. p. 24.

† This interesting and important incident in the History of Dorchester is fully narrated by the Rev. Dr. Holmes, who in early life was the pastor of the Midway Church. See *Annals*, under the years 1696, and 1775. Also Journals of the Continental Congress for 13th May, 1775.

Of Maverick and Warham, the first ministers, not much is known. Warham had been the clergyman of Exeter in England, and they were both selected by Mr. White as the spiritual guides (and that imported little less than a moral dictatorship) of the infant colony. His name is still perpetuated in Connecticut.

When their services were lost to the church of Dorchester, by the decease of Mr. Maverick in 1636 and the emigration of Mr. Warham to Connecticut, their place was more than filled by Mr. Richard Mather, the leader of the second emigration, a person of great authority in the infant churches of the colony, the father of Increase Mather, the grandfather of Cotton Mather, and as such the head of a family which for nearly a century filled no second place in the church of New England.

Mr. Rossiter was one of the assistants chosen in London in 1629, but died in a short time after his arrival.

Mr. Ludlow, also one of the first emigration, was of the magistracy in 1630; deputy in 1634, and an unsuccessful candidate for the governorship the next year. He was unwise enough to let this want of success disturb his equanimity, and protested against the election of Winthrop. The constituency were offended at this, and refused to continue him in the second office. In the gentle phrase of Dr. Eliot, they "gave him an opportunity to enjoy private life." Disgusted with the turn things were taking in the Bay, he joined the emigration to Connecticut, and took a distinguished part in the affairs of that colony. He finally removed to Virginia.

I have already spoken of Roger Clap, whose memoir relates the voyage and settlement of the first company of Dorchester emigrants, and is an interesting original contribution to our early history. Induced by his example and advice, several of his kindred followed him to America, among whose descendants are those of that name, who in every generation have creditably served their native town, as well as some of the most eminent sons of New England in other parts of the

country. Of this stock was the learned President Clap of Yale College, and the venerable Nathaniel Clap of Newport, of whom Bishop Berkeley said, "before I saw Father Clap, I thought the Bishop of Rome (Pope Clement XI.) had the most grave aspect of any man I ever saw, but really the minister of Newport has the most venerable appearance. The resemblance is very great." I may be permitted to allude to my own grateful associations with this name, as that of the patient and faithful instructress of the same lineage,* who taught me to read before I could speak plain. Considerately mingling the teacher and nurse, she kept a pillow and a bit of carpet in the corner of the school-room, where the little heads, throbbing from a premature struggle with the tall double letters and ampersand, with Korah's troop and Vashti's pride, were permitted, nay encouraged, to go to sleep. Roger Clap was a military man; and in time succeeded, with the title of captain, to the command of our stout little colonial Sebastopol, — originally the Castle, then Castle William, and now Fort Independence: — a fortress coeval with the colony; whose walls first of mud, then of wood, then of brick, and now lastly of granite, not inappropriately symbolize the successive stages of our political growth. When the great Dutch Admiral de Ruyter, the year before that famous *Annus Mirabilis* immortalized by Dryden, having swept the coast of Africa had been ordered to the West Indies, intending, says Capt. Clap, not a whit daunted at the thought, "to visit us," the captain adds, with honest satisfaction, "Our battery was also repaired, wherein are seven good guns," probably six pounders at least. De Ruyter, however, did not think it expedient to come within two thousand miles of their range.

John Mason was a chieftain of still greater eminence. He had served under Fairfax in the low countries. He commanded the Dorchester trainband in 1633, but led the emigration three years afterwards to Connecticut. When the great Pequot war broke out, he commanded the river troops;

* Miss Lucy Clapp.

and at the famous battle of the Mystic, in May, 1637, he all but annihilated that hostile tribe. He was among the most active, useful, and honored of the Dorchester company, and of the founders of Connecticut; whose fate depended for the time on the success of the battle of the Mystic. The late Jeremiah Mason, one of the most distinguished of the statesmen and jurists of our own time, was among his descendants.

William Pynchon early removed from Dorchester to Roxbury, and thence to Springfield, — the most prominent of the founders of western Massachusetts.

Israel Stoughton was probably one of the first emigration; his name appears on one of the earliest pages of our Dorchester annals. He was a member of the first general court of deputies; a citizen of energy and public spirit. Unlike modern legislators, who, "without distinction of party," are accused of looking out for the loaves and fishes for themselves, worthy Col. Stoughton provided them for others. He built the first tide-mill for grinding corn, and established the first wier for taking fish in the colony. He, too, was a military man, and commanded the contingent from Massachusetts in the Pequot war. After filling important trusts in New England, he returned home and served as a colonel in the parliamentary army. By his will he bequeathed three hundred acres of land to Harvard College.

His son William fills a still more distinguished place in the history of Dorchester and Massachusetts. He was educated for the pulpit, and often urged to settle over the church of his native town and elsewhere. He preached the annual election sermon in 1668, from which one striking expression is still remembered: "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness." He was an agent for the colony at the court of Charles II., and was afterwards named deputy governor in the new charter, subsequently acting as chief magistrate on the departure of Phipps and Bellamont. He built a college at Cambridge, which bore his name; — a memorial of his liberality which has been perpetuated by a college edifice, of more recent

construction, but bearing the same name. His monument, the most costly in our ancient burial-ground, the work probably of a foreign artist, is conspicuous for a highly rhetorical Latin inscription, of which the material portion is borrowed from that of Pascal.

William Poole was of the first company of emigrants, for several years town clerk and schoolmaster. He lived a considerable time at Taunton, where the benefactions of his sister procured for her the honorable title of the "Virgin Mother" of that town. William Poole is spoken of in our records as a "sage, reverend, and pious man of God." His epitaph, written by himself before his death, is still legible upon his gravestone, and is one of the best expressed of our mortuary inscriptions: —

> "Ho paſsenger tis worth thy paines to ſtay
> & take a dead mans leſson by ye way
> I was what now thou art & thou ſhalt be
> what I am now what odds twixt me & thee
> Now go thy way but ſtay take one word more .
> Thy ſtaff, for ought thou knowest, stands next ye dore
> Death is ye dore ye dore of heaven or hell
> Be warned, Be armed Beliue Repent Fariewell."

Edmund Hartt is just mentioned in the list of the first company. I suppose him to be the ancestor of Edmund Hartt who built the frigate "Constitution." It has been denied that this latter drew the plan of that noble ship; doubted even if he superintended the work; but he was at least the "master" who "laid the keel;" and the master who laid the keel of "Old Ironsides," even if he worked with no higher instruments than mallet and chisel, was surely a workman that needeth not to be ashamed of his work, nor Dorchester of the workman.

Robert Pierce was of the first emigration, and was the ancestor of the late venerable and beloved Dr. Pierce of Brookline. He built the house in which one of his descendants, Mr. Lewis Pierce, lives at the present day, in whose

possession is still preserved a portion of the bread brought from England by his ancestor; a "remainder biscuit" certainly, and by this time a pretty dry one.*

Humphrey Atherton was of the second emigration, a man of mark and influence in the colony. He filled some of the most important offices of civil life, and attained the highest military rank. He was "slow of speech;" but "downright for the business, one of cheerful spirit and entire for the country." After having been employed on almost every occasion of importance, in peace or war, for thirty years, he was thrown from his horse as he was riding from Boston, and killed. His death (in 1661) was regarded as a public calamity. The sensation caused by it has been handed down to posterity in the monumental record, yet legible upon his tombstone, and still constantly quoted. At some expense of grammar and rhythm, the high qualities of his character and the pomp of his obsequies are set forth with a certain solemn quaintness not unpleasing to a native Dorchester ear: —

"Here lies ovr Captaine, & Major of Svffolk was withall;
A Godly Majistrate was he, and Maior Generall,
Two Trovps of Hors with him heare came, ſvch worth his love did crave·
Ten Companyes of Foot also movrning marcht to his grave.
Let all that Read be ſure to keep the Faith as he has don
With Chriſt he lives now Crown'd his name was Hvmpry Atherton."

But time would fail me to mention even by name all the persons entitled to a respectful recollection in our history. It is enough to say that they comprehend a fair proportion of the eminent men of the colony, and that a large number of those most distinguished in New England, or the States settled from New England, trace their origin directly or collaterally to this spot. In proof of this assertion, besides the names already given, I might repeat those of Roger Sherman, Strong, Dewey, Wolcott, Hawthorne, Putnam, Phil-

* Mr. Everett here exhibited in a glass case two sea-biscuits which were brought over by Mr. Robert Pierce, and have been carefully preserved in his family to the present day.

lips, Breck, Minot, Moseley, Withington, Robinson, and many others.

So, too, it would be easy to show, from the contents of our ancient records, if the limits of the occasion permitted it, that the character of Dorchester, as a town, was at all times sustained upon the solid basis on which the fathers had placed it. When we bear in mind the great power and influence of the church in the early days, as a species of moral and spiritual government, outside and above the municipal organization, and exercising a paramount control far beyond the strict bounds of ecclesiastical affairs, we shall be prepared to admit, that the steadiness of our progress and the general prosperity which the town has enjoyed, are owing, in no small degree, to the diligent labors, faithful services, and excellent characters of its clergy, an unbroken line of pious, learned, and devoted men. The whole period, from the emigration to Connecticut in 1636 to the resignation of Mr. Bowman in 1773, is covered by the lives of Mather, Flint, Danforth, and Bowman, who with Messrs. Burr and Wilson, both colleagues of Mather, make up the list. It would not become me to speak of Mr. Bowman's successor,* a near relative of my own; while the memory of Dr. Harris, the last pastor of the first, and of Dr. Codman, the first pastor of the second Dorchester church, is too recent to require a tribute. It would not perhaps be easy to find a town, which has been more highly favored in a succession of ministers modelled upon the true type of a New England pastor, in whom a well-digested store of human and divine learning, directed by a sound practical judgment, was united with an all-controlling sense of the worth of spiritual things; while the austerity of manners required by the taste of the former age was sustained by spotless purity of life, and habitually softened by offices of charity and words of love. Notwithstanding the dissensions with which the churches of New England, in the course of two centuries, were too often agitated, and the consequent frequent disturbance of the friendly relations of minister and

* Rev. Moses Everett.

people, I do not know that there is one of the ministers of Dorchester who may not be considered as having adorned his office, and as having exercised a kindly and healing influence on the church and the community.

With respect to the great reproach of our puritan fathers, that of intolerance, too well founded as we must all admit and lament, I cannot find that our ancient town was above or below the standard of the age. It was an age which sincerely believed itself in direct alliance with the Supreme Being. The colonial government for two generations had all the essential features of a theocracy. Every event, from the sickness or death of the minister of a village church, to that of a foreign potentate, a winter's storm or a summer's drought, canker worms in the spring and frosts in the autumn, a heresy invading in the church, a *quo warranto* threatening the charter, an Indian or a European war, was the occasion of a fast, and was "improved" in a spiritual application. We use the same language as our forefathers in this respect. The difference between us and them, I fear, is, that they believed what they said, with a more profound conviction. But while their lofty faith gave a high tone to their characters, its influence was not in all respects favorable to the happiness of their lives, the wisdom of their counsels, or the charity of their opinions. Our poor natures are not strong enough to support the idea of a direct personal union with the Infinite. We are too prone to do wrong, to be trusted with the consciousness of fancied infallibility; too ignorant, to be safely animated with the conviction that we have grasped the whole truth. The annals of Dorchester, however, present a few noble examples of charity and toleration beyond the age. When the statute against the Quakers was enacted in 1658, a statute which reproduced the worst features of the cruel law against non-conformists of 1593, Thomas Clark, with one other deputy, voted against it. He was a Dorchester man, though removed to Boston, which he represented at that time; and Nicholas Upsall, also of Dorchester, was fined, imprisoned, and eventually banished, for deeds of mercy toward that persecuted sect.

In all the important political events of the times, the town of Dorchester bore its part, often a conspicuous one. A very striking illustration of this fact may be seen in the Memorial addressed to the colonial legislature in 1664, and signed by the principal inhabitants of the town.* The New England colonies, though by no means what can be called a military people, had been led by circumstances to a large experience of the hardships and perils of war. This grew at first out of the necessity of protecting themselves against the native tribes; which they were obliged to do, entirely without aid from the mother country. I do not recollect that, under the first charter, a dollar or a man was sent from England to the colonies, to aid in their defence against the Indians, the French, or the Dutch. Under the new charter, and with the increase of population both in the French and British colonies, American interests acquired a greatly increased importance; and the colonies, as a matter of course, were involved in all the wars of Europe. A considerable military and naval force was always kept up, and the royal navies and armies were recruited for foreign service in New England. In this way, the flower of our youth, for three successive generations, were engaged in a series of sanguinary but now almost forgotten conflicts on the inland frontier, the banks of the St. Lawrence, in Cape Breton, in Martinico and Cuba, and on the Spanish Main.

Besides what was done still earlier, the New England colonies raised two thousand men in 1690 for that fatal expedition against Canada, of whom one thousand perished; "not vagrants," says Dummer, "picked up in the streets and pressed into the war, but heads of families, artificers, robust young men, such as no country can spare, and least of all, new settlements." † Expeditions of this kind, sometimes prosperous, more frequently attended with the most distressing sacrifices, not merely of property but of life, recur too frequently even

* This interesting paper was published in the New England Genealogical Register, Vol. V. p. 393, with valuable notices of the signers.

† Defence of the New England Charters, p. 17.

to be enumerated here. I mention only those which are alluded to in our town histories. In 1740, five companies of one hundred men each, as the excellent Mr. James Blake, for so many years the faithful town clerk of Dorchester, relates, "went from this province to war with Spain. They went to Jamaica, to Admiral Vernon, and so to Carthagena and Cuba." Mr. Blake adds, "we hear many or most of them are dead." Let us hope that the town clerk of Dorchester will never again have to make precisely that record. Three thousand men were raised in New England for the memorable expedition against Louisburg in 1745. "Most that went from hereabouts," says Father Blake, "that I knew, either died there, or in their passage home, or soon after they came home. 'T is said there died of our New England forces about five hundred." This expedition, as you are well aware, was planned by Gov. Shirley. The governor's stately mansion still stands upon our borders; the iron cross, brought from the market-place at Louisburg, adorns the library of Harvard College. But no monument is reared to the brave men who fell in these distant expeditions; no memorial remains of those who came back to their native villages, with wounds and diseases brought from the camp. On one mouldering stone only, in our ancient graveyard, we read that it covers a person who "died in his majesty's sarvice."

"The Indian's shaft, the Briton's ball,
The sabre's thirsting edge,
The hot-shell shattering in its fall,
The bayonet's rending wedge
There scattered death; — yet seek the spot,
No trace thine eye can see,
No altar; and they need it not,
Who leave their children free."*

The great expedition against the Havana, in 1762, was on the point of sinking under the climate and the protracted resistance of the Spaniards. "A thousand languishing and

* Holmes.

impatient looks," says the historian, "were cast *on the reinforcements from America.*" None, however, as yet appeared; and the exhausted army was left to its own resources. Many fell into despair and died, overcome with fatigue and the anguish of disappointment. These reinforcements at length arrived in two divisions. Some of the vessels composing the first, were wrecked in the Bahama passage; of the second, a part were intercepted by the French; but those who escaped, "arrived seasonably and rendered excellent service." On the 14th day of August, 1762, after a murderous siege of two months and eight days, under a burning tropical sun, in midsummer, the royal forces of England, with her brave provincial allies, marched together through the battered wall of the Havana.* This was an era in history; it was the last time in which England and her North American colonies stood side by side on the battle field. Their next meetings were fifteen years later at Lexington and Concord, at Bunker Hill and Dorchester Heights; — No, not on Dorchester Heights; it was not deemed expedient by the royal forces to meet them there.

In 1763, the temple of Janus was shut, and there was peace throughout Christendom. England had gained an empire in the war; Canada had been acquired by her, and, with her elder American colonies, spread out before her one vast field for the promotion of human happiness and the culture of a high civilization. By the hand of Chatham she might have sowed protection, and reaped grateful allegiance. From the lips of Burke she might have sowed conciliation, and reaped union and love. But by the counsels of Grenville and North she sowed taxation, and reaped revolt. In 1764, she sowed the wind (a crop which never comes up in regular drills); she came for the harvest in 1775, and, lo! the whirlwind; reaper, sickle, and sheaves swept before the tempest; the fountains of the great deep broken up; and the very soil itself, the rock-ribbed continent, torn from the British empire by the convulsion!

* Annual Register for 1762, Chap. VIII.

In the struggle, which began with the passage of the Stamp-act, Dorchester was in no degree behind the metropolis. In 1765 she instructed her representative, Col. John Robinson, "to use the utmost of his endeavors, with the great and general court to obtain the repeal of the late parliamentary act, (always earnestly asserting our rights as free-born Englishmen,) and his best skill in preventing the use of stamped paper in this government." But though resolutely bent on resisting the obnoxious and tyrannical act, they would nevertheless manifest to him their "utter abhorrence of all routs, riots, tumults, and unlawful assemblies; and if the laws now in being are not sufficient to suppress such high misdemeanors, that you would use your skill and interest in making such laws as would answer such a salutary purpose." (Dorchester Rec. III. 293.) When, in consequence of the dissolution of the general court in 1768, a convention of the Province was recommended by Boston, Dorchester voted "to choose one person to act as a committee in convention, with such committee as may be sent from other towns in the province, in order that such measures may be consulted and advised, as his majesty's service and the peace and safety of his subjects in this province may require." As a further measure to promote his majesty's service and the peace and safety of the province, the next vote passed at the same meeting was, that a "place be built under the roof of the meeting-house at the east end thereof, to keep the town's stock of powder in." (Rec. III. 333.) In 1770, Dorchester resolved not to purchase any articles of the traders in Boston, who had violated the non-importation agreement, and resolved that "whereas a duty has been laid on foreign tea, we will not make use of it in our families, except in case of sickness, till the duty is repealed." (Rec. III. 352.) On the 4th of June, 1773, Dorchester responded to the solemn exposition of the rights of America, drawn up by a committee of twenty-one of the citizens of Boston. The resolutions of this town were nine in number, expressed with perspicuity and force, and the representatives of Dorchester are instructed "to join in any motion or motions in a constitutional way,

to obtain not only redress of the aforementioned grievances, but of all others, and that they in nowise consent to give up any of our rights, whether from nature or by compact." (Rec. III. 380.)

At the close of 1773, the great question of taxation, out of which sprung the independence of America, was brought to a practical issue in reference to the duty on tea. When attempts were made to persuade Lord North not to introduce the obnoxious article into the colonies, his answer was, "It is of no use making objections, for the king will have it so. The king means to try the question;" and the question was tried in Boston and its vicinity.* As soon as information was received that two or three cargoes of tea were speedily to arrive in Boston, the consignees were called upon, by a committee of the citizens in town meeting assembled, to resign their trust. This they refused to do; and the further management of affairs was left by the citizens to the committee of correspondence. On Monday, November 22d, 1773, the committees of Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, and Cambridge, met the Boston Committee in the Selectmen's room in Faneuil Hall. At this conference of the five committees, it was unanimously voted to prevent the landing and sale of the tea, and to address a letter on the subject to all the towns in the province. On Sunday, the 28th, the "Dartmouth," the first of the tea ships, arrived. On the following day, Samuel Adams invited the committees of Dorchester and the three other towns, to meet the committee and citizens of Boston in Faneuil Hall. This is the memorable meeting that was adjourned to the Old South church, at which it was resolved that the tea should be sent back to England. On the 30th, a meeting was held in Dorchester, at which it was resolved, that "should this country be so unhappy, as to see a day of trial for the recovery of its rights, by a last and solemn appeal to Him who gave them, we should not be behind the bravest of our patriotic brethren, and that we will at all times be ready to assist our neighbors and friends, when they shall

* Bancroft's History, Vol. VI. p. 465, 472.

need us, though in the greatest danger." (Rec. III. 407.) In the course of a few days, two more ships arrived; the committee of the six towns (for Charlestown had now been added) were in continual conference. The consignees were urged to send back the tea; the collector would not clear the vessels till the tea was discharged; the governor refused a permit to pass the castle, unless the ships were cleared. No peaceable solution of the problem remained, and on the night of the 16th December, a party of persons, disguised as Mohawk Indians, boarded the ships and threw into the water three hundred and forty-two chests of tea.

One of these chests, partly emptied, and buoyant, was borne by the tide to Dorchester neck, and there picked up on the morning of the 17th, by a person who saw it on the marshes and "thought it no harm." He was speedily required to surrender the article, and it was only after apology made in public town meeting, that he was forgiven for his indiscretion. (Rec. III. 414.)

The destruction of the tea, I need hardly say, occasioned the Boston port-bill, and the occupation of the town by a greatly increased military force. These measures on the part of the government were met by the organization of measures of resistance, military and political, on the part of the colonies. On the 24th of August, 1774, delegates were chosen by Dorchester, to attend the celebrated meeting at Dedham, of all the towns in the county of Suffolk, not as yet divided. A month later, instructions were given to Capt. Lemuel Robinson to represent the town in the general court to be held at Salem. The writs for the meeting having been recalled by General Gage, Capt. Robinson was authorized to meet the representatives of the other towns IN GENERAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, to "act upon such matters as might come before that body, in such a manner as may appear to him conducive to the true interest of this town and province, and most likely to preserve the liberties of all America." (Rec. III. 435.) The persons elected, to the number of ninety, assembled at Salem on the 5th of October, notwithstanding the recall of the writs. Having waited in vain for

the appearance of the governor to administer the usual oaths, they organized themselves into a convention the next day, with John Hancock as chairman, and Benjamin Lincoln as clerk. A committee was appointed to consider the proclamation of the governor, and on their report the following day, (October 7, 1774,) it was voted, that "the members aforesaid do now resolve themselves into a PROVINCIAL CONGRESS." This body adjourned the same day to Concord, and afterwards held its meetings at Watertown. Its formation followed, by one month, the meeting of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and it was, I believe, the first regularly organized body assembled in any of the States, and assuming legislative powers of a revolutionary character.

Among its acts was one which may be considered of itself as forming, as far as Massachusetts is concerned, a precise date to the revolution in the government, regarded as a political measure; I mean the recommendation to the towns to pay their quota of the province tax not to the receiver for the crown, but to a treasurer appointed by this Provincial Congress. Dorchester, on the 27th December, 1774, complied with this recommendation, and resolved that "the collectors of this town pay the province tax, now in their hands or yet to be collected, to Henry Gardner, Esq., of Stow," a gentleman of sterling probity and a true patriot, prematurely removed from the stage of life; whose grandson, a native son of Dorchester, the chief magistrate of the Commonwealth, honors us with his presence on this occasion.

By another act equally decisive, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts made military preparation for the approaching crisis. The enlistment of twenty thousand men was recommended, and officers of the seven years' war designated for the command.

In pursuance of this recommendation, Dorchester, on the 10th March, 1775, resolved that "the whole of the inhabitants of this town assemble on a certain day, those who are liable to do military duty with arms and ammunition *according to law*, in order to be reviewed, and to see whether any members of them will enlist and hold themselves in readiness as

minute-men; and those in the alarm list to choose officers to command them." (Rec. III. 442.)

On the 19th of April the all-important blow was struck; the blow which severed the fated chain whose every link was bolted by an act of Parliament, whose every rivet was closed up by an order in council, — which bound to the wake of Europe the brave bark of our youthful fortune, destined henceforth and for ever to ride the waves alone, — the blow which severed that fated chain was struck. The blow was struck, which will be felt in its consequences to ourselves and the family of nations, till the seventh seal is broken from the apocalyptic volume of the history of empires. The consummation of three centuries was completed. The life-long hopes and heart-sick visions of Columbus, poorly fulfilled in the subjugation of the plumed tribes of a few tropical islands, and the partial survey of the continent; cruelly mocked by the fetters placed upon his noble limbs by his own menial and which he carried with him into his grave, were at length more than fulfilled, when the new world of his discovery put on the sovereign robes of her separate national existence, and joined, for peace and for war, the great Panathenaic procession of the nations. The wrongs of generations were redressed. The cup of humiliation drained to the dregs by the old puritan confessors and non-conformist victims of oppression, — loathsome prisons, blasted fortunes, lips forbidden to open in prayer, earth and water denied in their pleasant native land, the separations and sorrows of exile, the sounding perils of the ocean, the scented hedgerows and vocal thickets of the "old countrie" exchanged for a pathless wilderness ringing with the war-whoop and gleaming with the scalping-knife; the insolence of colonial rule, checked by no periodical recurrence to the public will; governors appointed on the other side of the globe that knew not Joseph; the patronizing disdain of undelegated power; the legal contumely of foreign law, wanting the first element of obligation, the consent of the governed expressed by his authorized representative; and at length the last unutterable and burning affront and shame, a mercenary soldiery en-

camped upon the fair eminences of our cities, ships of war with springs on their cables moored in front of our crowded quays, artillery planted open-mouthed in our principal streets, at the doors of our houses of assembly, their morning and evening salvos proclaiming to the rising and the setting sun, that we are the subjects and they the lords, — all these hideous phantoms of the long colonial night swept off by the first sharp volley on Lexington Green.

Well might Samuel Adams exclaim, as he heard it, "Oh, what a glorious morning is this!" glorious, but as is too often the case with human glories, the germ and the fruit of sorrow, sanctified with tears and sealed with blood. Precious lives are to be sacrificed, great trials public and private to be endured, seven years of war are to desolate the land, patriot armies are to march with bloody feet over ice-clad fields, a cloud of anxiety must hang over the prospects of one generation of the young, while another of the aged go down to the grave before the vision is fulfilled: — but still glorious at home and abroad, — glorious for America, and, strange as the word may sound, glorious even for England! Lord Chatham "rejoiced" that America had resisted. Surely Chatham never rejoiced in the shame of England; he rejoiced that America had resisted, because she resisted on the great principles of constitutional liberty. Burke, in the early stages of the contest, wrote these golden words: "We view the establishment of the British Colonies on principles of liberty, as that which is to render this kingdom venerable to future ages. In comparison of this we regard all the victories and conquests of our warlike ancestors or of our own times as barbarous and vulgar distinctions, in which many nations whom we look upon with little respect or value, have equalled if not exceeded us. THIS IS THE PECULIAR GLORY OF ENGLAND!"* All the victories and conquests of our warlike ancestors or of our own times — Plantagenets and Tudors; Crecy, Poictiers, Agincourt; Dunkirk and Calais; Jamaica and Gibraltar; the Cromwells and the Blakes; the Williams and the Georges;

* Burke's Works, Vol. II. 403.

the triumphs of Marlborough at the gates of France, the thunders of Clive on the banks of the Ganges; all, in Burke's judgment, barbarous distinctions, vulgar fame, compared with "the peculiar glory" of founding a colonial empire on the principles of liberty!

Of the great events which influenced the result of the Revotion, few are more important than that which took place within our limits. At Lexington and Concord the great appeal to arms was irrevocably made. As the alarm of that day spread through the country, the men of Dorchester hastened to the field. They stood side by side with their countrymen, from every part of New England, when the great question of the capacity of a patriotic militia to contend with veteran troops was decided at Bunker Hill. But the occupation of our Heights produced a distinct strategic result, not inferior in importance to any other in the whole war. It was literally *victoria sine clade;* a noble victory achieved without the effusion of blood.

But there is another circumstance which must ever clothe the occupation of Dorchester Heights with an affecting interest. It was the first great military operation of Washington in the revolutionary war; not a battle, indeed, but the preparation for a battle on the grandest scale, planned with such skill and executed with such vigor, as at once to paralyze the army and navy of the enemy, and force him, without striking a blow, to an ignominious retreat. Washington was commissioned as Commander in Chief of the American Armies on the day the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. The siege of Boston had been already formed; and those noble lines of circumvallation, twelve miles in compass, of which some faint remains may still be traced, had been drawn along the high grounds of Charlestown, Cambridge, Roxbury, and Dorchester. An adventurous expedition against Quebec had failed; partial collisions had taken place wherever there were royal forces throughout the country; but nothing decisive was brought about, and a feverish excitement pervaded the continent. Congress was still conducting the war without a constitutional existence; and all eyes and

hearts were turned to the army and to Washington. Men at a safe distance and with nothing at stake, are prone to judge severely the conduct of those who are at the post of responsibility and danger. Washington himself felt the delicacy and the hazards of his position; the importance of sustaining the expectations of the country; the necessity of decisive results. But his army was without discipline or experience, save a few veterans of the seven years' war, without adequate supplies of any kind, composed of men who had left their homes at a moment's warning and were impatient to return, weakened by camp diseases and the smallpox, with a stock of powder so scanty, that stratagem was resorted to by the commander to conceal the deficiency even from his officers.

Thus the summer and the autumn wore away, and every week increased the public impatience and added to the embarrassments of Washington. His private letters at this time are filled with the most touching remarks on his distressed condition. In a letter to Colonel Reed, of the 14th of January, 1776, he says, "The reflection on my situation and that of this army, produces many an unhappy hour, when all around me are wrapped in sleep. Few people know the predicament we are in on a thousand accounts; fewer still will believe, if any disaster happens to these lines, from what cause it flows. I have often thought how much happier I should have been, if, instead of accepting the command under such circumstances, I had taken my musket on my shoulder and entered the ranks; or, if I could have justified the measure to posterity and my own conscience, had retired to the back country and lived in a wigwam."

At length, however, the reënlistment of the army was completed; advance lines were thrown up, ordnance captured at Ticonderoga had been transported by Knox with prodigious effort across the country, ammunition had been taken by Manly in his prize ships, shells were furnished from the royal arsenal at New York. It was Washington's wish to cross the ice to Boston, to carry the town by assault, and destroy the royal army. The ice, however, did not make till the

middle of February; and it was decided, by a council of war, that the town could not be assaulted with success.

It was then resolved to repeat, on a grander scale, with full preparation and ample means, the hasty operation which had brought on the battle of Bunker Hill, the preceding summer. It was determined first to occupy the heights of Dorchester, and as soon as an impregnable position was secured there, to establish batteries on Nook Hill and the other rising grounds nearest Boston. As the fleet in the harbor was within range of the heights and the town was commanded from the hills below, the occupation of these points would of necessity compel the enemy to take the risk of a decisive action, or to evacuate the town.

Washington, though preferring the bolder measure of crossing on the ice, yielded to the decision of his council, and threw his whole soul into the work. A plan for a grand combined movement was matured. The heights of Dorchester were to be occupied on the night of the 4th of March, in order that the anticipated battle might be fought on the anniversary of the ever-memorable 5th of March, 1770. As soon as the conflict was engaged on the heights, Putnam was to cross from Cambridge with a body of four thousand men, land in two divisions in Boston, and, forcing his way through the town, burst open the fortifications on the neck, and thus admit a division of the American army from Roxbury. To distract and occupy the attention of the enemy, the town was severely bombarded from Somerville, East Cambridge, and Roxbury, during the nights of the 2d, 3d, and 4th of March.

I am told by professional men that these dispositions evince consummate military skill; and are among the facts which show that Washington, too often compelled by his situation to pursue the Fabian policy, possessed a talent for military combinations that entitles him to a place beside the the greatest captains of the last century.

The 4th of March, the day so long and anxiously expected, at length arrives. The troops are put in motion in the evening, from the American lines at Roxbury and Dorchester.

An advanced guard of eight hundred men precedes; the carts with intrenching tools come next, with the main body, twelve hundred strong, under General Thomas; the whole followed by a train of three hundred wagons loaded with fascines, gabions, and bundles of hay. They crossed Dorchester neck without being perceived, and reached their destination in two divisions, one for each of the heights. Bundles of hay were placed on the side of the causeway, at the most exposed parts, as a protection in case the enemy should discover and attempt to interrupt the movement. Under this shelter, parties from the American army passed several times during the night, without being perceived, though it was bright moonlight. This was owing, no doubt, to the cannonade and bombardment of the town from the opposite quarter, by which also the whole surrounding country was thrown into a state of painful expectation and alarm. The operations were conducted by Gridley, an experienced engineer of the old French war. He was aided by Colonel Putnam, in laying out and executing the works, which before morning, though incomplete, were adequate against grapeshot and musketry.

Washington was present on the heights. In the strictness of military duty, the presence of the commander-in-chief of the army was not required on the ground, on such an occasion; but the operation was too important to be trusted entirely to subordinates. Accompanied by Mr. James Bowdoin, then a young man of twenty-two, afterwards your respected fellow-citizen, and the representative of Dorchester in the Convention of Massachusetts which adopted the Constitution of the United States, Washington, whose headquarters were at Cambridge, repaired, on this eventful night, to Dorchester Heights.* He has left no record descriptive of the scene, or of his thoughts and emotions at what he must have regarded, at that time, as the most eventful hour of his life, and the most critical moment of the war. "The moon shining in its full lustre" (they are the words of Washing-

* Eulogy on Hon. James Bowdoin, by Rev. Dr. Jenks, p. 19, 20; Addresses and Speeches, by Hon. R. C. Winthrop, p. 109.

ton), revealed every object through the clear cold air of early March, with that spectral distinctness, with which things present themselves to the straining eye, at a great juncture. All immediately around him intense movement, but carried on in deathlike silence; nothing heard but the incessant tread of busy feet, and the dull sound of the mattock upon the soil, frozen so deep as to make it necessary to place the chief reliance on the fascines and gabions. Beneath him, the slumbering batteries of the castle; the roadstead and harbor filled with the vessels of the royal fleet, motionless except as they swung round at their moorings at the turn of the midnight tide; the beleaguered city, occupied by a powerful army and a considerable non-combatant population, startled into unnatural vigilance by the incessant and destructive cannonade, but yet unobservant of the great operations in progress so near them; the surrounding country, dotted with a hundred rural settlements, roused from the deep sleep of a New England village by the unwonted tumult and glare.

It has been stated, in some well-authenticated cases of persons restored after drowning, where life has been temporarily extinguished in the full glow of health, with the faculties unimpaired by disease and in perfect action, that, in the last few minutes of conscious existence, the whole series of the events of the entire life comes rushing back to the mind, distinctly but with inconceivable rapidity; that the whole life is lived over again in a moment. Such a narrative, by a person of high official position in a foreign country, and perfect credibility, I have read. We may well suppose that at this most critical moment of Washington's life, a similar concentration of thought would take place, and that the events of his past existence as they had prepared him for it, — his training while yet a boy in the wilderness, his escape from drowning and the rifle of the savage on his perilous mission to Venango, the shower of iron hail through which he rode unharmed on Braddock's field, would now crowd through his memory; that much more also the past life of his country, the early stages of the great conflict now brought to its crisis, and still more solemnly the possibilities of the future for himself and

for America, would press upon him; the ruin of the patriotic cause if he failed at the outset; the triumphant consolidation of the Revolution if he prevailed; with higher visions of the hopeful family of rising States, their auspicious growth and prosperous fortunes, hovering like a dream of angels in the remoter prospect; — all this, attended with the immense desire of honest fame (for we cannot think even Washington's mind too noble to possess the "last infirmity"), the intense inward glow of manly heroism about to act its great part on a sublime theatre, — the softness of the man chastening the severity of the chieftain, and deeply touched at the sufferings and bereavements about to be caused by the conflict of the morrow; the still tenderer emotions that breathed their sanctity over all the rest; the thought of the faithful and beloved wife who had followed him from Mount Vernon, and of the aged mother whose heart was aching in her distant Virginia home for glad tidings of "George, who was always a good boy," — all these pictures, visions, feelings, pangs; — too vast for words, too deep for tears, — but swelling, no doubt, in one unuttered prayer to Heaven, we may well imagine to have filled the soul of Washington at that decisive hour, as he stood upon the heights of Dorchester, with the holy stars for his camp-fire, and the deep folding shadows of night, looped by the hand of God to the four quarters of the sky, for the curtains of his tent.*

* This imagery was partly suggested to me by a noble stanza in Gleim's Ode on the victory gained by Frederic the Great, at Lowositz, dimly retained in a recollection of forty years. Since the Address was delivered, my friend, Prof. Felton, has, at my request, with the kind aid of Dr. Beck, helped me to the original, which is as follows: —

" Auf einer Trommel sass der Held,
Und dachte seine Schlacht;
Den Himmel über sich zum Zelt,
Und um sich her die Nacht."

In English as follows: —

Upon a drum the hero sat,
And thought upon his fight;
The heaven above him for his tent,
And all around the night.

The morning of the 5th of March dawned, and the enemy beheld with astonishment, looming through a heavy mist, the intrenchments thrown up in the night. Gen. Howe wrote to the minister that they must have been the work of at least twelve thousand men. In the account given by one of his officers, and adopted in the Annual Register, it is said that the expedition with which these works were thrown up, with their sudden and unexpected appearance, "recalled to the mind those wonderful stories of enchantment and invisible agency, which are so frequent in the eastern romances."

General Howe, like a gallant commander, immediately determined on the perilous attempt to dislodge the Americans before their intrenchments should be rendered impregnable. A powerful detachment, led by Lord Percy, dropped down to the castle in the afternoon, to rendezvous there, and thence cross over to Dorchester Point, and storm the heights. A heavy gale (a "dreadful storm," it is called, in the British account) scattered the barges, and prevented the embarkation of the troops. This delay gave the Americans time to perfect their works, barrels filled with earth were placed round the heights, an *abattis* of trees was disposed around the foot of the hill, a reinforcement of two thousand men was ordered to the support of General Thomas, and every preparation made for a decisive conflict.*

It was soon understood that the royal commander, not deeming it safe to take the risk of an engagement, had determined to evacute Boston. To prevent the destruction of the town, Washington was willing that they should leave it unmolested. Finding, however, after some days, that no apparent movement was made for this purpose, he determined without further delay to occupy Nook Hill and the other elevations fronting and commanding the town. This produced the desired effect, and General Howe was at length compelled to acknowledge the inability of a powerful land and naval force, under veteran leaders, to maintain themselves against untried levies whom they were accustomed to regard with contempt,

* Heath's Memoirs, p. 40.

led by officers from whom they affected even to withhold the usual titles of military command. He was obliged to acquiesce in an engagement with the selectmen of Boston, tacitly sanctioned by "Mr. Washington," that his army should be allowed to embark without being fired upon, on condition that they would not burn the town.*

Thus, on the 17th of March, 1776, an effective force of many thousand men evacuated the town, and with a powerful fleet and a numerous train of transports, sailed for Halifax. Putnam, with a detachment of the American army, took possession of Boston. The beloved commander himself made his entry into the town the following day, and the first great act of the drama of the Revolution was brought to a triumphant close, on that old Dorchester Neck which, before the foundation of Boston, our fathers selected as a place for settlement.

This event diffused joy throughout the Union, and contributed materially to prepare the public mind for that momentous political measure, of which we this day commemorate the seventy-ninth anniversary. That civil government, however human infirmities mingle in its organization, is, in its ultimate principle, a Divine ordinance, will be doubted by no one who believes in an overruling Providence. That every people has a right to interpret for itself the will of Providence, in reference to the form of government best suited to its condition, subject to no external human responsibility, is equally certain, and is the doctrine which lies at the basis of the Declaration of Independence. But what makes a people, — what constitutes this august community, to which we give that name; how many persons — how few; bound to each other by what antecedent ties of physical descent, of common language, of local proximity, of previous political connection? This is a great question, to which no answer, that I know, has yet been given; to which, in general terms, perhaps, none can be given. Physiologists have not yet found the seat of animal life, — far less of the rational intel-

* Newell's Journal, Mass. Hist. Collections, Fourth Series, Vol. I. 272.

lect or spiritual essence in the individual Man. Who can wonder that it should be still further beyond our ability to define the mysterious laws which, — out of the physical instincts of our nature, the inexplicable attractions of kindred and tongue, the persuasions of reason, the social sympathies, the accidents as we call them of birth, the wanderings of nations in the dark ages of the past, the confederacies of peace, the ravages of war, employed by the all-fashioning hand of time, which moulds every thing human according to the eternal types in the divine mind, — work out, in the lapse of centuries, with more than Promethean skill, that wondrous creation which we call A PEOPLE!

The Declaration of Independence which we celebrate to-day, attempted no definition of these mysterious agencies; it assumed their result. It assumed that the late Colonies of England were a People, and entitled to all the rights implied in the name. "When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to the separation." Such is the dignified and solemn commencement of the great instrument by which, seventy-nine years ago, with the hearty concurrence of the citizens of Dorchester, the Continental Congress of America, renouncing allegiance to the British government, asserted the Independence of these United States.* They left, — they were com-

* The Council of Massachusetts directed (July 17, 1776) that a copy of the Declaration should be sent to each minister of every denomination in the State, to be read to his congregation, and then handed to the town clerks, "who are required to record the same in their respective town or district books, there to remain as a perpetual memorial thereof." It is found in Dorchester Records, III. p. 461–5.

It is a matter of interest to compare the Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America, of the 4th July, 1776, with that of the States General of the United Provinces of Holland, of the 26th of July,

pelled to leave it to the bloody arbitrament of war, to decide whether they were rebellious colonies to be lawfully reduced by force, or a sovereign people rightfully struggling to be free.

Happy for humanity would it be, if this question could find a peaceful and practical solution. It will, in the coming centuries, perhaps in times near at hand, be a frequently recurring question. Extensive colonial dependencies exist in various parts of the world, subject to the powers of Western Europe. Such is the case with half the continent of North America; with all the West India Islands, with a single exception; with an immense region of southern Africa; with the vast territory of India, and with most of the islands of the Indian Archipelago; and with the whole Australian world. There is no reason to doubt that, in the lapse of time, these colonial dependencies will grow up in population, in wealth, in intelligence, and in all the elements of political life, to the stature of a perfect State. How devoutly is it to be wished that principles of public law should be established, regulating the transition of colonies into a condition of Independence, by great constitutional compacts, and not through the gates of bloody revolution!

There is another momentous question which is left undecided in the great declaration; and that is, whether all the inhabitants of British America in their united capacity, and in that alone, formed the "one People" which asserted their independence (which was perhaps the opinion generally entertained by the statesmen of 1776), or whether the inhabi-

1581, by which they asserted their independence of the Spanish Crown. The two Declarations are necessarily altogether different in their details, but as the occasions which produced them are alike, so there is a similarity in their structure, and in the mode of treating the subject, which I hardly think can be mere coincidence. I have a black-letter copy of the original in Dutch, printed at Leyden by the sworn Printer of the State of Holland, in 1581, with this title:—Placcaet vande Staten generael vande ghevnieerde Nederlanden: byden welcken, midts den redenen in't lange in't selfde begrepen, men verclaert den Coninck van Spaegnien vervallen vande Ouerheyt ende Heerschappije van dese voors. Nederlanden, ende verbiet sijnen naem ende zeghel inde selue Landen meer te ghebruycken, etc. A translation is contained in Lord Somers's Tracts, Vol. I. p. 323, Sir Walter Scott's Edition.

tants of the several colonies were each a people who, if it had pleased them, could each have declared its separate independence (as some appear afterwards to have held and to hold); — this was a question not discussed this day seventy-nine years ago. That was a period of high patriotic excitement, of fervid sentiment, of impulsive effort against an impending danger. The metaphysics of state are an after-thought of prosperous and speculative times. But, however these questions may be decided, whatever foundation there may be for the opinion that the inhabitants of each State in the Union are entitled to the name and rights of an independent people; it may be safely affirmed that they cannot at one and the same time be the people of two different States or Territories; although the contrary doctrine seems to prevail to some extent, I trust not widely, in the West, where it has lately been maintained, by the sharp logic of the revolver and the bowie-knife, that the people of Missouri are the people of Kansas!

It would have been a pleasing task, fellow-citizens, had time permitted it, to pursue this rapid glance at the fortunes of our native town, through the period which has elapsed from the Declaration of Independence to the present time. Such a glance would have exhibited, at least since the commencement of this century, a picture of steady growth and almost uninterrupted prosperity, of which few brighter examples can be found in the Commonwealth. It is within this period that my own family associations with Dorchester, and my personal recollections, fall. I seem even now to hear the voice of the same ancient bell which cheered us this morning with its festal peal, as fifty-five years ago it called together the citizens of Dorchester to the meeting-house on yonder hill, to listen to the eulogy on Washington from the lips of one, whom I was called too soon to deplore; and who is not to be named by me, after the lapse of so many years, but with tenderness and veneration.* In this period, under the influ-

* A eulogy on Washington was, at the request of the citizens of Dorchester, delivered on the 22d February, 1800, by my honored father, Oliver Everett, who died 19th December, 1802.

ence of the principles of solid national growth which gave character to the earliest settlements of Massachusetts, and of which, thank heaven, the force is not yet expended; of that love of liberty which prompted the Declaration of Independence; and of that spirit of fraternal affection which produced the last great fruit of the Revolution,—the union of the States under a constitution of confederated republican government,—our country has increased in population, in wealth, in strength, in all that benefits or adorns the societies of men, till it stands the admiration of the world. *O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint!* Happy, too happy, did we but know our blessings. Perfection belongs to nothing human. Times of trial have come upon the country, at different periods; wars abroad and dissensions at home,—alarming junctures of affairs;—and these vicissitudes must be anticipated in time to come as they have happened in time past. But hitherto an unfailing good Providence has carried us through the trials, without which this world would come too near perfection. Let us, my fellow-citizens, on this anniversary of the nation's birth, rescue one day from the cruel dominion of those passions which fill us with bitterness toward each other, and unite in the hope, that we shall still be sustained by the same Almighty arm which bore our fathers over the waters, which supported them under the hardships of the first settlement,—conducted them through the difficulties of the colonial period,—protected them amidst the dangers of the revolutionary struggle,—and has guided their career as an independent State.

Thus, my friends, in the neighborhood of the spot where, in my early childhood, I acquired the first elements of learning at one of those public schools, which are the glory and strength of New England, I have spoken to you imperfectly of the appropriate topics of the day. Retired from public life, without the expectation or the wish to return to it, but the contrary,—grateful for the numerous marks of public confidence which I have received, and which I feel to be beyond my merits,—respecting the convictions of those from

whom I have at any time differed, and asking the same justice for my own,—I confess, fellow-citizens, that few things would better please me than to find a quiet retreat in my native town, where I might pass the rest of my humble career in the serious studies and tranquil pursuits which befit the decline of life, till the same old bell should announce that the chequered scene is over, and the weary is at rest.

APPENDIX.

THE more than usual interest of the occasion on which the preceding oration was delivered, has seemed to make it proper to place the following correspondence on record. A detailed account of the proceedings of the day will be found appended to the original edition.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTER TO MR. EVERETT FROM THE CITIZENS OF DORCHESTER.

DORCHESTER, October 10, 1853.

HON. EDWARD EVERETT,

SIR, — Actuated by motives of public good, and believing in the salutary teachings of national events when contemplated with an inquiring spirit and enlightened judgment — the undersigned, citizens of Dorchester, without distinction of party, are desirous of celebrating the 4th of July, 1854, in a manner that shall prove creditable to that ancient town, instructive to the young, renovating to the aged, and morally profitable to the nation.

Although the occasion is one of annual occurrence, its magnitude increases with every revolution of the great wheel of progress, and the growing and diversified interests of the country are unceasingly presenting new and momentous questions to be studied, illustrated, and explained. The asylum of freedom, and equally the director of progress, America, in her youth, stands in the highly responsible positions of both protector and pioneer; and while it is her ambition to secure an unquestionable efficiency in the one, it is no less her pride to aim at the highest standard of wisdom in the other.

Placed in such fearful relations of responsibility, and held strictly accountable to posterity for the faithfulness with which they perform the sacred duties of citizenship, the American people owe it to the achievements of the past, to the bloody toils and sacrifices of their ancestors; to their hopes and

* Dorchester in 1630, 1776, and 1855; an oration delivered on the fourth of July, 1855, by Edward Everett. Also an account of the proceedings in Dorchester at the celebration of the day. Boston, printed and published by David Clapp, 1855. pp. 158.

aspirations as immortal beings for the advancement of their descendants, and to the universal cause of humanity in the immeasurable future, — so to sanctify and ennoble the great birthday of freedom by constantly associating with it the cheering and weighty events of progress, as to render identical the power of knowledge and the blessings of freedom. The intellect should be trained to acknowledge and to practise the true means of happiness. Such a theme demands a patriot's spirit, a statesman's knowledge, and a master's skill. It is a lesson to be taught to an entire nation, — to the observers of all nations. It is a subject narrowed to no limits of township, commonwealth, or country, but illimitable as the workings in the invisible and unfathomable depths and recesses of the soul.

The humble but ancient town of Dorchester, though once the chief of New England, affords but a slender stock of materials for the scrutinizing historian. Still its annals are not entirely void of national interest. Its early example of town organization, and the zeal of her sons to extend the domain of truth, and to give form to the colonizing spirit in distant sections of the continent, were characteristic indications of its first settlers. Its Heights were made to frown upon an invading foe, and its brave citizens were among the first to resist the acts of British oppression. Its hills were honored by a Bowdoin, and its plains by a Stoughton and an Everett.

In asking you to address the people of Dorchester, and such others as may honor the occasion with their presence, on the 4th of July 1854, the subscribers are not unmindful of your important and laborious position in the councils of the nation, and of those numerous engagements ever incident to the transcendent gifts and acquirements of mind. It is hoped, however, that the place of your nativity may be regarded in the present case with an indulgent and special consideration, — believing, as we do, that whatever and whenever you speak as a statesman, the people of a nation will seek to become acquainted with your counsels.

We have the honor to be, with considerations of respect and esteem, your most obedient servants and fellow-citizens.

Oliver Hall,	Thomas Tremlett,
Ebenezer Eaton,	Nathaniel R. Childs,
Samuel P. Loud,	Nathan Carruth,
John Kettell,	Henry Gardner,
Edward King,	John Barnard,
Daniel Denny,	Wm. Worthington,
David Cummins,	Charles Ranstead,
Charles Hood,	M. O. Barry,
Marshall P. Wilder,	Wm. P. Barnard,
Edward Sharp,	A. C. Dorr,
John G. Nazro,	Wm. H. Richardson,
Thomas Groom,	John H. Sumner,

M. Field Fowler,
Lorenzo Prouty,
Thomas M. Vinson,
Elisha Preston,
E. P. Tileston,
William D. Swan,
Thomas D. Quincy,
Lewis Pierce,
Eleazer J. Bispham,
Darius Brewer,
J. B. Robb,
John H. Robinson,
Ebenezer Clapp,
George Richardson,
John Richardson,
Cornelius Bird,
William Richardson,
Nahum Capen,
Edward Everett Rice,
James Tucker, Jr.
Nath'l E. Tucker,
Wm. E. Vincent,
James Sivret,
Henry J. Gardner,
Eben. Clapp, Jr.
Seth C. Jones,
C. M. Thompson,
E. P. Robinson,
Harvey Howe,
W. A. Gilbert,
Charles Hunt,
Amos Upham,
Charles Bradlee,
Robert Richardson,
Samuel J. Capen,
Joseph Tuttle,
Thomas M. Mosely,
Nath'l W. Tileston,
John C. Brown,
Charles B. Peirce,
Charles Howe,
Elijah Vose,
James Jenkins,
William Clap,
T. J. Vinton,

Samuel Gilbert, Jr.
Charles Emery,
Williams B. Brooks,
Charles H. Pierce,
O. Putnam Bacon,
Otis Wright,
Wm. H. Chamberlain,
Charles Lane,
J. W. Pottle,
Wm. F. Worthington,
Elisha H. Preston,
John Preston, 2d,
Richard Pitts,
O. A. Farwell,
George M. Browne,
John W. Blanchard,
Edmund Wright,
Wm. E. Abbot,
Robert Pierce,
S. B. Pierce,
Robert Vose,
Samuel E. Sawyer,
James W. Sever,
Charles P. Ripley,
Roswell Gleason,
George Haynes,
R. F. Tolman,
Nath'l F. Safford,
Amasa Pray,
Ebenezer Holden,
Robert Codman,
William Tolman,
Benjamin Cushing,
Benjamin Jacobs,
John W. Porter,
Robert Rhodes,
Nathan Holbrook,
John P. Spooner,
Eben Tolman,
George C. Thacher,
John J. May,
D. E. Wadleigh,
Daniel Lane,
John Mears,
Barnabas Davis,

James Swan,
William Pope, Jr.
J. P. Clapp,
Edward Jarvis,
Charles Ansorge,
T. H. Cleaveland,
Wm. R. Austin,
Augustus Brown,
William T. Andrews,
Oliver Downing,
James H. Upham,
Enoch Train,
Samuel Swan,
Dean F. Battles,
Bradish Billings,
John O. B. Minot,
Fred. F. Hassam,
Samuel Hall,
E. H. R. Ruggles,
John Burt,
Edmund J. Baker,
Thomas Howe,
Samuel B. Pierce, 2d,
Isaac Clapp,
W. F. Temple,
H. Temple,
Cheever Newhall,
Edward Jones,
Wm. M. Jackson,
Frederick Nichols,
John Fox,
G. W. Boynton,
Thomas C. Wales,
Nath'l Hall,
Henry Lunt,
George W. Porter,
George Yendell,
S. S. Curtis,
J. H. Pray,
John A. Pray,
Wm. H. Pray.

LETTER OF COMMITTEE OF INVITATION.

DORCHESTER, October 10, 1853.

HON. EDWARD EVERETT,

SIR: — We have the honor to present to you a communication, numerously signed by citizens of Dorchester, and respectfully ask that you will give to the subject of it the most favorable consideration consistent with your convictions of duty.

The Committee, in performing the agreeable duty assigned to them, take great pleasure in extending to you the assurance, that could the celebration take place as proposed in the communication now presented, it has the promise of being singularly distinguished by the spirit of unanimity and of patriotism.

With high considerations of respect and true regard, we have the honor to be your most obedient servants,

MARSHALL P. WILDER,
DANIEL DENNY,
WILLIAM T. ANDREWS,
NAHUM CAPEN,
ROBERT CODMAN,
} *Com. of Invitation.*

MR. EVERETT'S REPLY.

BOSTON, November 30, 1854.

GENTLEMEN: —

You are aware, through my personal communications with Mr. Capen, of the reasons which prevented me, a twelvemonth since, from returning a formal answer to the invitation of a very large number of the citizens of Dorchester, transmitted to me with your letter of the 10th of October, 1853, to deliver an oration on the 4th of July of the present year.

My congressional duties at that time forbade my entering into an engagement for the 4th of July last, and you were pleased to propose the extension of the invitation to the 4th of July, 1855.

I cannot but feel gratified and honored by an invitation proceeding from so large a number of the most respected citizens of the town where I was born and passed my childhood, and at whose schools I received the rudiments of my education. I have been obliged for many years, in consequence of the very great number of applications to address public meetings of every kind, to excuse myself almost altogether; and I might find, in the state of my health and other domestic circumstances, an apology for declining this invitation. But I cannot resist the temptation to avail myself of this opportunity, to address my fellow-citizens of Dorchester, for the first time in my life, and to unite with them in a festival, which, as I infer from the communication with which you have favored me, has been projected with more than usual thoughtful reference to the nature and consequences of the great event commemorated.

With these feelings, gentlemen, I accept with pleasure the invitation which I have received through you from a large number of the citizens of Dorchester, without distinction of party, to deliver an oration before them on the fourth of July next.

I remain, with great respect, gentlemen, sincerely yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

HON. MARSHALL P. WILDER,
DANIEL DENNY, ESQ.
WILLIAM T. ANDREWS, ESQ.
NAHUM CAPEN, ESQ.
ROBERT CODMAN, ESQ.

BOSTON SCHOOL FESTIVAL.*

MR. MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND MY YOUNG FRIENDS OF BOTH SEXES:—

I REALLY rise with no little diffidence to address you at this time. You have remarked truly, sir, that I never before have had the happiness to be present on an occasion like this. Many years ago in old times, I used to go to the old "school dinner"—a very different affair, my friends, I assure you, from that which has called us together on this occasion. I do not wish to speak disparagingly of former days, or of any thing that was done under the auspices of the city fathers in the olden time, but it used to be a feast of rather an unintellectual character. Eating and drinking, after a laborious day, was the greatest part of the occupation at that time at the school dinner. There was nothing of that which now surrounds us, nothing of the intellectual treats prepared for us in these odes and songs, these flowers from the field of nature, and these fairer flowers, where intellect, and grace, and loveliness are added to the red and white, which

"Nature's own sweet and cunning hand laid on."

I have, however, had much pleasure in complying with the particular request of the committee, that I would be present on this occasion and say a few words to our young friends. Dr. Shurtleff, in desiring me to do so, suggested as a reason, that my connection with the public schools of Boston, which

* Remarks made in Faneuil Hall, on the 23d July, 1855, at the Annual Festival of the Boston Public Schools.

began as a pupil fifty-two years ago, ceases this year as a parent. Having enjoyed their great advantages in my own person, and that of my son, I feel it to be a kind of duty to say a grateful word at parting.

It was, as I have said, sir, fifty-two years last April since I began, at the age of nine years, to attend the reading and writing schools in North Bennett street. The reading school was under *Master* Little, (for "Young America" had not yet repudiated that title,) and the writing school was kept by Master Tileston. Master Little, in spite of his name, was a giant in stature—six feet four, at least—and somewhat wedded to the past. He struggled earnestly against the change then taking place in the pronunciation of *u*, and insisted on our saying *monooment* and *natur*. But I acquired, under his tuition, what was thought in those days a very tolerable knowledge of Lindley Murray's abridgment of English grammar, and at the end of the year could parse almost any sentence in the American Preceptor. Master Tileston was a writing-master of the old school. He set the copies himself, and taught that beautiful old Boston handwriting, which, if I do not mistake, has in the march of innovation (which is not always the same thing as improvement) been changed very little for the better. Master Tileston was advanced in years, and had found a qualification for his calling as a writing-master, in what might have seemed at first to threaten to be an obstruction. The fingers of his right hand had been contracted and stiffened in early life, by a burn, but were fixed in just the position to hold a pen, a penknife, and a rattan! As they were also considerably indurated, they served as a convenient instrument of discipline. A copy badly written or a blotted page was sometimes visited with an infliction which would have done no discredit to the beak of a bald eagle. I speak, sir, from observation not from experience. His long deep desk was a perfect curiosity-shop of confiscated balls, tops, penknives, marbles, and jews-harps; the accumulation of forty years. I desire, however, to speak of him with gratitude, for he put me on the track of an acquisition which has been extremely useful to me in after-

life, — that of a plain, legible hand. I remained at these schools about sixteen months, and, on leaving them, had the good fortune in 1804 to receive the Franklin medal in the English department.

After an interval of about a year, (during which I attended a private school taught by Mr. Ezekiel Webster, a distinguished gentleman of New Hampshire, and on occasion of his absence, by his much more distinguished and ever memorable brother, Daniel Webster, at that time a student of law in Boston,) I went to the Latin school, then slowly emerging from a state of extreme depression. It was kept in School street, where the Horticultural Hall now stands. Those who judge of what the Boston Latin School ought to be from the spacious and commodious building in Bedford street, can form but little idea of the old school-house. It contained but one room, heated in the winter by an iron stove, which sent up a funnel into a curious brick chimney built down from the roof, in the middle of the room, to within seven or eight feet from the floor, being, like Mahomet's coffin, held in the air to the roof I hardly know how, perhaps by bars of iron. The boys had to take their turns in winter in coming early to the school-house, to open it; to make a fire sometimes of wet logs and a very inadequate supply of other combustibles, if such they might be called; to sweep out the room, and, if need be, to shovel a path through the snow to the street. These were not very fascinating duties for an urchin of ten or eleven; but we lived through it, and were perhaps not the worse for having to turn our hand to these little offices.

The standard of scholastic attainment was certainly not higher than that of material comfort in those days. We read pretty much the same books — or books of the same class — in Latin and Greek as are read now, with the exception of the Greek Testament, but we read them in a very cursory and superficial manner. There was no attention paid to the philosophy of the languages, to the deduction of words from their radical elements, to the niceties of construction, still less to prosody. I never made an hexameter or pentameter verse, till years afterwards, when I had a son at school in Lon-

don, who occasionally required a little aid in that way. The subsidiary and illustrative branches were wholly unknown in the Latin School in 1805. Such a thing as a school library, a book of reference, a critical edition of a classic, a map, a blackboard, an engraving of an ancient building, or a copy of a work of ancient art, such as now adorn the walls of our schools, was as little known as the electric telegraph. If our children, who possess all these appliances and aids to learning, do not greatly excel their parents, they will be much to blame.

At this school, in 1806, I had the satisfaction to receive the Franklin medal, which, however, as well as that received at the English School in 1804, during my absence from the country in early life, I was so unfortunate as to lose. I begged my friend, Dr. Shurtleff, a year or more ago, to replace them — these precious trophies of my school-boy days — at my expense, which he has promised to do. He has not yet had time to keep his word; but as, in addition to his other numerous professional and official occupations, he is engaged in editing the Records of the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, in about twenty-five volumes folio, and is bringing out the work at the rate of five or six volumes a year, I suppose I must excuse him for not attending to my medals; although, like Julius Cæsar, the Doctor possesses the faculty of doing three or four things at the same time, and all with great precision and thoroughness. I take this public occasion to bring the matter to his recollection, and I think now, unless he has a much poorer memory than I believe he possesses, he will not forget it.

Mr. Mayor, the schools of Boston have improved within fifty years, beyond what any one will readily conceive, who has not in his own person made the examination. I have made it myself only with reference to the Latin School, but I have no reason to doubt that it is the same with all the others. The support of the schools is justly regarded as the first care of the city government; and the public expenditure upon them is greater in proportion to the population than in any city in the world. I had occasion last week to make a

statement on this subject, to a gentleman from a distant part of the country, and when I informed him that the richest individual in Boston could not, with all his money, procure better schooling for his son than the public schools furnish to the child of the poorest citizen, he was lost in admiration. I do not think the people of Boston themselves value as they ought the privilege which they possess in having that education brought to their doors, for which parents in some other parts of the country are obliged to send their children a hundred or a thousand miles from home; to say nothing of the home-sickness and heart-sickness of the poor children, who, at the age when the affections are tender, are thus banished from the paternal roof; and we may well repeat the inquiry of Cicero: "Ubi enim aut jucundius morarentur quam in patria, aut pudicitius continerentur quam sub oculis parentum, aut minore sumtu quam domi?"

In a word, sir, when the Public Library shall be completed, (and thanks to the liberality of the city government it is making the most satisfactory progress,) which I have always regarded as the necessary supplement to our schools, I do really think that Boston will possess an educational system superior to any other in the world.

Let me, sir, before I sit down, congratulate the boys and girls on their success, who as medal scholars are privileged to be here. The reward they have now received for their early efforts is designed as an incentive to future exertion; without which the Franklin medal will be rather a disgrace than a credit to them. But let them also bear their honors with meekness. Of their school mates of both sexes who have failed to attain these coveted distinctions, some, less endowed with natural talent, have probably made exertions equally if not more meritorious; some have failed through ill-health. Some whom you now leave a good way behind will come straining after you and perhaps surpass you in the great race of life. Let your present superior good fortune, my young friends, have no other effect than to inspire you with considerateness and kind feeling towards your school mates. Let not the dark passions, and base selfish and party feelings which

lead grown men to hate and vilify, and seek to injure each other, find entrance into your young and innocent bosoms. Let these early honors lead you to a more strict observance of the eleventh commandment, toward those whom you have distanced in these school-day rivalries, or who from any cause have been prevented from sharing with you the enjoyments of this hour; and as you may not all know exactly what the eleventh commandment is, I will end a poor speech by telling you a good story.

The celebrated Archbishop Usher was, in his younger days, wrecked on the coast of Ireland, at a place where his person and character were alike unknown. Stripped of every thing, he wandered to the house of a dignitary of the church, in search of shelter and relief, craving assistance as a brother clergyman. The dignitary, struck with his squalid appearance after the wreck, distrusted his tale, and doubted his character; and said that, so far from being a clergyman, he did not believe he could even tell how many commandments there were. "I can at once satisfy you," said the Archbishop, "that I am not the ignorant impostor you take me for. There are eleven commandments." This answer confirmed the dignitary in his suspicions; and he replied with a sneer, "Indeed, there are but ten commandments in my Bible; tell me the eleventh, and I will relieve you." "Here it is," said the Archbishop, "A NEW commandment give I unto you, THAT YE LOVE ONE ANOTHER."

LAUNCH OF THE DEFENDER.*

Mr. McKay, —

Ladies and Gentlemen: — Although I perceive from the manner in which our host has presented me to you that something is expected from me, yet I must say I think it is an occasion where any thing like a set speech would be not only unusual, but very much out of place. My friend Mr. Kendall, if within the sound of my voice, will bear me witness, that when he proposed to me the gratification of being present on this occasion nothing was said about speech making; and most certainly I find myself here entirely unprepared for any thing formal. By a workman and architect like Mr. McKay, a mere orator must be regarded very much in the light of a land-lubber; and if one should come down here to sport with his tropes and figures on tide water, he would be thought to be playing a superfluous and foolish part. We look to you, Mr. McKay, for entertainment on this occasion. We have not come here, I am sure, to have our ears tickled with figures of rhetoric, but to hear the music of your mallet knocking away the last block, and sending off your beautiful vessel to its destined element.

You were good enough, however, to present me as the friend of that great and good man, whose loss we, as well as the whole country, have so much reason to deplore. For myself, and in behalf of others whom I see around me, I have much pleasure in expressing the great gratification which we have all experienced in witnessing this successful launch. We are

* Remarks made at the residence of Mr. Donald McKay, on the occasion of the launch of the ship "Defender," on the 28th July, 1855.

indebted to you, sir, and also to the owners, for the tribute you have paid to this great man, who is honored by the name your beautiful vessel bears, as the "Defender of the Constitution." It was a pleasing sight to behold his well-represented and majestic figure upon the prow, looking down upon the waters as the vessel glided into its appointed element, as if he commanded them, now that he is gone, as he commanded the hearts of men while living. Sir, it is a just tribute to his patriotism, to his long and faithful, and must I not add, ill-requited services. He did defend the Constitution, not merely as every good citizen is obliged in duty to defend the government under which he lives, but he defended it because it is the guaranty of inestimable blessings, surrounding us on every side. He defended the Constitution of the United States because he felt, as you and I, and all of us feel, that it is a kind of earthly providence, surrounding us alike while we wake and while we sleep, and assuring us an amount of blessings, such as I firmly believe never before were enjoyed by any other people since the creation of this world.

Sir, there is another ground on which it was appropriate to give his well-earned title — "The Defender" — to this noble vessel. Mr. Webster, among other reasons, supported and defended the Constitution of the United States because it spread its ægis over the commerce of the country, — because it was, in fact, the bulwark of commerce. He knew, as we all know, that commerce is the great civilizer of nations; the parent of liberty, of the arts, of refinement. He knew from the history of our own country, how the Constitution of the United States had elevated its commerce from that miserable point of depression in which it existed before the adoption of the Constitution; when three or four gentlemen, Boston merchants, were obliged to raise a subscription for the purpose of building two or three small vessels, because there was not capital enough in one man's hands to build a vessel alone. He recollected that commerce had joined the States together, and he did not forget what the Constitution had done in establishing this harmonious intercourse between the

North and the South, the East and the West. Instead of revolutionary legislation, hostile tariffs, and capricious prohibitions, which broke up the country and divided it into governments in reality foreign towards each other, he knew how much the Constitution had done by abolishing that condition of things, and bringing us all into the prosperous intercourse now existing between the several States.

This noble ship which has just been launched, will soon spread her canvas abroad to the breeze, but as her Commander — a brave man I am sure he will be, to be entrusted with property of so much value — as her Commander stands upon her deck and looks towards his home, and sees his native shores melting in the distance, he may be assured that the best wishes of numerous friends, those around us here and others, will follow him over the deep. He may be sure, too, that to no point however distant can he carry his vessel where the name and fame of the "Defender of the Constitution" will not have preceded him. He can enter no port however distant, where the flag of the Union which his vessel bears will not be a sufficient defence; and, sir, I will say one other thing, although you are present, that there is no port however distant which he can reach, where a ship built by Donald McKay, will not stand "A, No. 1." Yes, sir, and if there were any letter coming before A, or any figure standing higher than 1, the vessels of Donald McKay would be indicated by that letter and that figure.

I was at a little loss, I confess, to comprehend the secret of the great success which has attended our friend and host. Eighty-two ships, I understand, he has built, — all vessels such as we have seen to-day. I do not mean that they were all as large, but they were as well built. Eighty-two vessels! No one else, certainly, has done more than our friend to improve the commercial marine of this country, and it has long seemed to me that there was a mystery about it. But since I have been under this roof to-day I have learned the secret of it; excellent family government, and a good helpmeet to take counsel with and encouragement from. A fair proportion of the credit and praise for this success is, I am sure, due to our

amiable and accomplished hostess. I congratulate also the father of our host, who is present with us, the father of such a son, and the father of such a family. He has, I am told, fourteen sons and daughters, and fifty grandchildren, nine of the latter having been born during the last year. I wish to know, my friends, if you do not call that being a good citizen?

I am told, ladies and gentlemen, that our friend Mr. Train first heard of our host, Mr. McKay, at Windsor Castle, in England, several years ago, and what he then heard led Mr. Train to place that confidence in him which has never failed to this hour. Now as Windsor Castle, the residence of the British monarchs, was the first place of introduction, may we not well regard our friend as the "Sea King of the United States?" I will not, however, take up more of your time, but as a concluding toast I propose that we all drink the health of

Our host, Mr. Donald McKay: — A successful voyage to the noble vessel he has launched this morning, and all prosperity to her enterprising owners.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.*

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: —

I HAVE come a considerable distance this morning, (from Newport,) at the request of the committee having charge of the arrangements for this meeting, with scarce any preparation to address you but what consists in a most heartfelt participation in the feeling which calls you together. I come to tell you that already, at a distance from home, the news of Mr. Lawrence's decease excites the same deep sympathy as here. With ample opportunities to witness the great and excellent qualities which made him so respected and valued a member of the community, acting with him confidentially on many important occasions, public and private, I need scarcely add that I have cherished for him feelings of the warmest personal regard, the fruit of a friendly intercourse, commencing with my entrance upon life and continued without a moment's interruption or chill, to the close of his. He was, sir, but one or two years my senior, and I should be wanting in common sensibility if, on this occasion, I did not associate with that sorrowful regret, which is common to us all, the more solemn reflection, that, having walked side by side with him for forty years, — having accompanied him to the brink of the "narrow sea" which "divides that happy land from ours," — in a few years only at most, in the course of nature, that narrow sea will cease to divide us.

It would be an unseasonable and superfluous, though a

* Remarks made at a public meeting of the citizens of Boston, in Faneuil Hall, on the 20th of August, 1855, on occasion of the decease of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence.

grateful task, before this assembly,—composed of the neighbors, the associates, the fellow-citizens of our deceased friend,—to attempt minutely to relate his career or delineate his character. You are acquainted with them from personal observation, and they have already gone forth, on the wings of the press, to the four quarters of the land. You have been accustomed to hold them up and to speak of them as a most happy specimen of the life and qualities, which, without early advantages over the rest of the community, are naturally produced by that equality of condition which prevails in New England, and by those means of common school education, and the facilities which among us attend a virtuous, energetic and industrious young man upon his entrance on the world. You habitually point to him, as a bright example of the highest social position, of commanding influence over others, of overflowing abundance of this world's goods, attained by the calm and steady exercise of homebred virtues and practical qualities, by the energetic and unostentatious pursuit of an industrious career, which are the common birthright of the country; and the greater his praise, who out of these familiar elements of prosperity was able to rear such a rare and noble fabric of success.

Mr. Lawrence, sir, as you well know, belonged to that class of merchants, who raise commerce far above the level of the selfish pursuit of private gain. He contemplated it as a great calling of humanity, having high duties and generous aims; one of the noblest developments of our modern civilization. I know these were his views. I had a conversation with him many years ago, which I shall never forget. I was to deliver an address before one of our young men's associations, and I went to him and asked him what I should say to the young men. "Tell them," said he, "that commerce is not a mercenary pursuit, but an honorable calling. Tell them that the hand of God has spread out these mighty oceans, not to separate but to unite the families of men; and that the various climates of the earth and their different products are designed by Providence to be the foundation of a mutually beneficial intercourse between distant regions."

Mr. Lawrence was justly proud of the character of a Boston merchant, and that character suffered nothing at his hands. His business life extended over two or three of those terrible convulsions, which shake the pillars of the commercial world, but they disturbed in no degree the solid foundations of his prosperity. He built upon the adamantine basis of Probity; beyond reproach, beyond suspicion. His life gave a lofty meaning to the familiar line, and you felt, in his presence, that

"An honest man *is* the noblest work of God."

Far from being ashamed of his humble beginnings, he was proud of them, as the merchant princes of Florence, at the height of their power and when they were giving the law to Italy, preserved upon their houses the cranes by which bales of merchandise were raised to their attics. A young gentleman told me yesterday at Newport, that two or three months ago, Mr. Lawrence took from his waistcoat pocket and exhibited in his presence, a pair of blunt scissors, which had served him for daily use at the humble commencement of his business life. As for his personal integrity, Mr. Chairman, to which you alluded, I am persuaded that if the dome of the State house, which towers over his residence in Park street, had been coined into a diamond, and laid at his feet, as the bribe of a dishonest transaction, he would have spurned it like the dust he trod on. His promise was a sacrament.

Although in early life brought up in a limited sphere, and in the strictness of the old school, which prescribed a somewhat rigid perseverance in one track, Mr. Lawrence was not afraid of bold and novel projects; he rather liked them. He was an early and an efficient friend of the two great business conceptions, creations I may call them, of his day and generation. As much as any one man, more than most, he contributed to realize them, to the inappreciable benefit of the country. When he came forward into life, India cottons, of a coarser and flimsier texture than any thing that has ever been seen in this country by any man under thirty-five years of age, were sold in this market at retail for a quarter of a

dollar a yard. Every attempt to manufacture a better article was crushed by foreign competition, acting upon imperfect machinery, want of skill incident to a novel enterprise, and the reluctance of capital to seek new and experimental investments. Mr. Lawrence felt that this was an unnatural state of things. He believed, if our infant arts could be sustained through the first difficulties, that they would assuredly prosper. He believed the American Union to be eminently calculated for a comprehensive manufacturing system. He saw, in no distant perspective, the great agricultural staple of the South enjoying the advantage of a second and that a home market, by being brought into connection with the mechanical skill and the capital of the North. He saw the vast benefit of multiplying the pursuits of a community, and thus giving play to the infinite variety of native talent. He heard in advance the voice of a hundred streams, now running to waste over barren rocks, but destined hereafter to be brought into accord with the music of the water-wheel and the power-loom. He contemplated a home consumption at the farmer's door, for the products of his corn field, his vegetable garden, and his dairy. These were the views and the principles which led Mr. Lawrence in conjunction with Mr. Jackson, Mr. Francis C. Lowell, Mr. Appleton, and their enlightened associates, to labor for the establishment of the manufactures of the United States. These surely were large and generous views. At the time when his own pursuits and interests were deeply engaged in commerce, entertaining the opinions I have so briefly indicated, he threw himself with characteristic ardor into the new pursuit, and the country is largely indebted to Mr. Lawrence for the noble result. We are now, without any diminution of our agriculture and navigation, but on the contrary with a large increase of both, the second manufacturing country in the world. The rising city which bears his name, on the beautiful banks of the Merrimack, will carry down to posterity no unworthy memorial of his participation in this auspicious work.

The other great conception, or creation, to which I had reference, is the railroad system of the country. For this

also the community is largely indebted to Mr. Lawrence. With respect to the first considerable work of this kind in New England, the Worcester Railroad, I cannot speak with so much confidence of Mr. Lawrence's connection with it, as my friend behind me (Hon. N. Hale); but with regard to the extension of that road westward, I am able to speak from my own information. Mr. Lawrence was one of its earliest and most efficient friends. It is twenty years ago this summer since we had a most enthusiastic and successful meeting in this hall in furtherance of that great enterprise. Mr. Lawrence contributed efficiently to get up the meeting, and took a very active part in the measures proposed by it. It was my fortune to take some part in the proceedings. At the end of my speech, for which he had furnished me valuable materials and suggestions, he said to me, with that beaming smile which we all remember so well, "Mr. Everett, we shall live to see the banks of the Upper Mississippi connected by iron bands with State street." He has passed away too soon for all but his own pure fame; but he lived to see that prophecy fulfilled. I need not tell you, Mr. Chairman, that to these two causes, the manufactures and the net of railroads thrown over the country, New England is greatly indebted for her present prosperity.

There is another cause to which she owes still more, than to any thing that begins and ends in material influences — the cause of education. Of this, also, Mr. Lawrence was an efficient friend. Besides all that he did for the academies and schools of the country, in answer to applications for aid continually made, and as constantly granted in proportion to their merits, he has left that enduring monument of his enlightened liberality, the Scientific School at Cambridge. My friend and former associate in the corporation of Harvard College (Hon. S. A. Eliot) can vouch for the accuracy of what I say on this head. Mr. Lawrence felt that our collegiate seminaries, from the nature of those institutions, made but inadequate provision for scientific education as a preparation for the industrial career. He determined, as far as possible, to remedy the defect. He had felt himself the want of

superior education, and resolved, that, as far as he was able to prevent it, the rising generation of his young countrymen should not suffer the same privation. I had the honor, at that time, to be connected with the University at Cambridge. I conferred with him on this subject from the time when it first assumed distinct shape in his mind, to that of its full development. He saw the necessity of systematic training in the principles of science, in order to meet the growing demands of the country and the age. He saw that it was a period of intense action. He wished our agriculturists, our engineers, our chemists, our architects, our miners, our machinists, — in a word all classes engaged in handling the natural elements, to lay a solid foundation on the eternal basis of science. But his views were not limited to a narrow utilitarianism. He knew the priceless worth of pure truth. He wished that his endowment should contribute to promote its discovery by original researches into the mysteries of nature, and he especially rejoiced in being able to engage for his infant establishment the services of the great naturalist (Professor Agassiz) of the day. These were the objects of the scientific school, — this the manner in which he labored for their promotion. What nobler object for the appropriation of the fruit of his hardly earned affluence could be devised? For material prosperity and all the establishments by which it is augmented and secured may flee away; commerce may pass into new channels; populous cities in the lapse of ages may be destroyed; and strong governments be overturned in the convulsion of empires; but science and truth are as eternal as the heavens, and the memory of him who has contributed to their discovery or diffusion, shall abide till the heavens themselves have departed as a scroll.

In these and other ways, of which I have not time to speak, Mr. Lawrence rendered noble service to the community, but always as a private man. He wished to serve it in no other capacity. He resisted, as much as possible, all solicitations to enter public life. He served a little while in our municipal councils and our State legislature, but escaped from them as

soon as possible. He served two terms in Congress, with honor and good repute. He brought to that market articles with which it is not overstocked; sound reliable practical knowledge, and freedom from electioneering projects. He rendered the most important aid as one of the commissioners on behalf of Massachusetts in the negotiation of the North-Eastern Boundary question. He was offered a seat in General Taylor's Cabinet, which was promptly declined; and when the mission to London was placed at his disposal, he held it long under advisement. While he was deliberating whether to accept the place, he did me the honor to consult me, naturally supposing I could give him particular information as to the duties of the office, and remarking that it would depend in a considerable degree on my report, whether he accepted it. Among many other questions, he asked me "whether there was any real foundation in truth, for the ancient epigrammatic jest, that an ambassador is a person sent to a foreign government to tell lies for his own," * adding that, "if that was the case, his mind was made up; he had never yet told a lie, and was not going to begin at the age of fifty-six." I told him, "I could answer for myself as a foreign minister, that I had never said a word or written a line which, as far as my own character or that of my government was concerned, I should have been unwilling to see in the newspapers the next day;" and this explanation, he said, removed one of his scruples. I encouraged him, of course, to accept the mission; and his brilliant success is known to the country and to Europe; success equal to that of any of his predecessors, living

* This celebrated jest was written by Sir Henry Wotton, in the album of a German friend at Augsburg, Sir Henry being on his way to Venice in 1604, as ambassador in ordinary to that Republic. As expressed originally in Latin, it reads, "Legatus est vir bonus, peregrè missus ad mentiendum reipublicæ causa," which Sir Henry Wotton (says his friend and biographer Walton), "could have been content should have been thus Englished, "an ambassador is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his country." — But as the play on the words "lie abroad" wholly disappears in the Latin, the jest becomes very reprehensible, and at a later day drew upon its author, a person of great purity of character, — much obloquy. — See Walton's Life of Sir H. Wotton, p. 149.

or dead, however distinguished. His genial disposition, his affable manners, his princely hospitality, his appropriate speeches at public meetings and entertainments, — not studied harangues nor labored disquisitions, but brief, animated, cordial appeals to the good feelings of the audience, — the topics pertinent to the occasions, — the tone cheerful and radiant with good temper, — lively touches on the heart-strings of international sympathy, — these were the manly and honest wiles with which he won the English heart. His own government, (first duty of a foreign minister,) was faithfully served. The government to which he was accredited was conciliated. The business confided to him, (and it is at all times immense,) was ably transacted. The convenience of a host of travelling countrymen promoted. The public in England gratified. What more could be done or desired? His success, as I have said, was fully equal to that of any of his predecessors; — perhaps I ought to use a stronger term.

He came home and returned to private life, the same man. He resumed his place in his happy home, in his counting-house, in the circle of friends, wherever duty was to be performed or good done. To the sacred domain of private life I will not follow him, except to say a word on that trait of his character to which the gentlemen who have preceded me have so feelingly alluded, I mean his beneficence, a topic never to be omitted in speaking of Mr. Lawrence. And here I will say of him, what I heard President John Quincy Adams say of another merchant prince of Boston (Col. Perkins), in the hall of the House of Representatives, that "he had the fortune of a prince, and a heart as much larger than his fortune, as that was than a beggar's." I will say of him what was said of his lamented brother Amos, that "every day of his life was a blessing to somebody." Sir, he gave constantly, by wholesale and retail; and as I venture to affirm without certainly knowing the fact, every day of his life. His bounty sometimes descended in copious showers and sometimes distilled in gentle dews. He gave munificent sums publicly, where it was proper to do so, by way of setting an example to others; and far oftener his benefactions followed humble

want to her retreat, and solaced the misery known only to God and the earthly steward of his bounty. Vast sums were given by him while he lived, which evinced, but, if I mistake not, did not exhaust, his liberality.*

Such he was; so kind, so noble, so complete in all that makes a MAN, and the ultimate source of all this goodness, its vital principle, that which brought all his qualities into harmonious relation, was religious principle; the faith, the hope of the gospel. This is no theme for a place like this, — other lips and another occasion will do it justice, but this it was which gave full tone to his character, and which bore him through the last great trial. This it is which must console us under his irreparable loss, and administer comfort to those with whose sorrow the stranger intermeddleth not.

*Mr. Lawrence, by his will, bequeathed: —

To the Scientific School at Cambridge a second sum of . . .	$50,000
For Model Lodging-Houses [the income only to be expended,] . .	50,000
For the Boston Public Library, ...	10,000
To the American Bible Society, ...	5,000
To the American Tract Society, ...	5,000
To the American Home Missionary Society, ...	5,000
To the Franklin Library Association in Lawrence, ...	5,000
	$130,000

Besides $70,600 in private bequests outside of his family.

OBITUARY NOTICE.*

Our readers are doubtless prepared, by the melancholy announcements of some days past, for the news of the death of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, which event took place at his residence in Park street, on Saturday forenoon, in the sixty-third year of his age, after a severe illness of eleven weeks. Although at different times since his confinement to his house, strong hopes have been entertained of his recovery, encouraged in no small degree by his entire self-possession and command of his mental faculties to the last, it has pleased an all-wise Providence that these hopes should be disappointed.

By this event, Boston has lost one of her most useful and honored citizens. No person was more thoroughly identified with the prosperity of the city, or had done more to promote it. By his untiring energy and sound judgment, aided by the universal confidence in his personal character which he commanded through life, and favored by an overruling good fortune, he rose from humble beginnings to the possession of great wealth, and to a position of high influence in the community and the country at large. The moderation with which he enjoyed and the liberality with which he dispensed his affluence raised him above envy; and the admirable qualities of his well-balanced character made him an object of esteem and regard wherever he was known.

* The following obituary notice (written by Mr. Everett) of Mr. Lawrence, who died Saturday, 18th August, 1855, appeared in the Boston Daily Advertiser of the following Monday.

He had for some time, by general admission, stood at the head of the mercantile profession in Boston. Since the retirement of Col. Perkins from active life, no one contested that position with Mr. Lawrence. With what vigor and judgment he conducted the vast concerns of the commercial house, of which he was the efficient head, need not be stated in this community. The feeble health of his lamented brother, the late Mr. Amos Lawrence, under whom he received his business education, and with whom he was afterwards associated in partnership, threw upon him the chief direction of an establishment, second to few in the world for the extent of its transactions; second to none in standing and character. It is not too much to say, that to the house of A. & A. Lawrence & Co., of which Mr. Abbott Lawrence, though not the senior partner during the lifetime of his brother, was, for the reason stated, the active head and the controlling mind, the mercantile profession in Boston is in no small degree indebted for the good name which it bears throughout the Union and the world.

Mr. Lawrence very early took an interest in American manufactures. At a time when the merchants of the United States generally looked with indifference, if not distrust, upon the attempt to compete with the fabrics of Europe, Mr. Lawrence took a different view of the subject, not from selfish motives, for his interests at that time ran rather in the channels of trade. But he felt the importance of diversifying the pursuits of a community, in order to the full development of the endless variety of its talent. He calculated much on the indomitable energy of the American mind and the matchless skill of the American hand. He saw with impatience the vast water power with which Providence has endowed the country, running to waste; a water power equal in the aggregate to the whole steam power of Great Britain. He regarded it as a practical absurdity of the grossest kind to consume coarse tissues made of the cotton of India, and sold here at twice and thrice the cost for which a vastly better article could be made from the product of our own soil; and he considered it but little less improvident to send our cotton and

our wool to Europe, in order to employ foreign labor in converting them into cloth for our own consumption. On the contrary, he saw benefits far beyond those of a pecuniary nature, in building up a great manufacturing system, which should bring the raw material of the South and the capital and manufacturing skill of the North into a mutually beneficial connection. His own immediate interests and those of his house were, as we have intimated, closely connected with foreign trade; he was, as a merchant, on the high road to wealth. But the large views we have indicated took possession of his mind. He looked to the development of the resources of the whole country, and to the harmonious combination of its remote sectional interests, and saw that it could be effected only by the introduction of manufactures. Notwithstanding the local jealousies and party opposition with which the policy was met, Mr. Lawrence lived to see the manufactures of the country firmly established. He had the satisfaction to witness the fulfilment of all his predictions; to behold the benefits which they confer upon every part of the Union, and to find them able to dispense, and that sooner than could have been anticipated, with the moderate legislative protection reluctantly accorded them.

Nor was Mr. Lawrence a less early and efficient friend of that system of internal communication by railroads, to which, conjointly with her manufactures, New England owes so much of her present prosperity. Especially in the measures which resulted in the construction of our great Western Railroad, Mr. Lawrence took an early and a deep interest. His wise counsel, his powerful influence, and his pecuniary aid were liberally given, at that stage of the enterprise when capitalists who look only to profitable investments and large dividends stood aloof.

Notwithstanding the extent and variety of his business relations and the time and attention which they required, Mr. Lawrence neglected none of the duties which a good citizen owes to the community. He took at all times a lively interest in public affairs, not from ambition for political advancement or a wish for office, (which could only be an inconven-

ience and a sacrifice to him,) but because he felt it incumbent upon him to exert his great influence for the public good. He felt that when men of high character, having a large stake in the community, withhold themselves from all participation in public affairs, their control falls into the hands of incompetent, selfish, and perhaps corrupt men. During the early part of his life, however, he steadily declined office, confining himself to the discharge of the duties of a good citizen, by the emphatic expression of his opinion on all public questions and the earnest support of able, right-thinking, and patriotic men. In later life he became a member of the State Legislature, and for a short period represented this district in the House of Representatives of the United States. Of every public body to which he belonged he was a leading member; exercising a commanding influence on all financial and most other practical questions; a forcible, eloquent, and persuasive, though not a frequent, speaker; a legislator of the class rapidly passing away, who owe their advancement neither to party management, sectional agitation, nor secret machinery; but to merit felt and acknowledged by the community; to the qualification of fitness for the place.

In 1848, Mr. Lawrence was looked to as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. Accidental causes decided the vote of the nominating convention in favor of Mr. Fillmore, a result in which Mr. Lawrence and his friends most cheerfully acquiesced. A place in the cabinet was offered him by General Taylor, and that being declined, the mission to England was placed at his disposal.

With what distinguished success he filled that important and laborious office; how much to the credit of the country; how greatly to the advantage of all persons having business to be transacted with his legation; how much, in particular, to the convenience of travellers, (now a very large class of the community,) how acceptably to the government of the country to which he was accredited and to the people of England generally, with whom his affable manners, his genial disposition and generous hospitality, brought him extensively into connection, is too well known on both sides of the Atlantic to

need comment. Entering upon the office without any experience of its duties in subordinate stations, or that acquaintance with diplomatic functions which may be gathered from books, we have reason to think that they were discharged by him to the entire satisfaction of his government; while it is well known that his general success and popularity as the American Minister at the Court of St. James, were fully equal to those of the most able and distinguished of his predecessors. The tidings of Mr. Lawrence's decease, we are well persuaded, will be received in the highest circles of society in England with a sensibility scarcely inferior to that which it awakens here.

Mr. Lawrence's principles as a public man were those of a liberal conservatism. He did not think that political wisdom consists in disparaging the characters or undermining the work of our fathers. The son of a revolutionary officer, who was one of the foremost on the field, the spirit of 1776 gave tone to the political feelings of the son, and he reverenced the men of that day and their principles and characters. But he understood the law of our social, industrial, and national progress. Great ideas found easy entrance into his mind. He was not startled with bold projects. He formed them himself, and comprehended them when proposed by others. He firmly believed, and frequently expressed the opinion, that if the affairs of the country were wisely conducted, it would move rapidly forward to a state of prosperity, of which all that has hitherto been effected is but the elementary preparation. Of this prosperity he regarded the Union of the States as the essential condition; and he looked with equal anxiety and aversion on every thing which menaced its stability.

Mr. Lawrence valued property as the means of personal independence to himself and of doing good to others. His benefactions, like those of his lamented brother Amos, were almost boundless in number and amount. Every meritorious public object, every benevolent institution, every incorporated charity, every association of a more private nature for the relief of want, we may almost say every individual in the com-

munity standing in need of aid, shared his liberality. No day in the year probably passed without an application and, according to its desert, a successful application to him. Many who read these sentences, will be able to bear witness to their truth. The extent of his bounties was publicly known only in cases where notoriety was necessary; but hundreds of instances, we have reason to think, of good done in secret are known only to those immediately benefited, and to the Being who seeth in secret.

Mr. Lawrence took an especial interest in the cause of education. He looked to substantial training in the various departments of useful knowledge as the great safeguard, humanly speaking, of society. He valued the free schools of New England as prime elements of our prosperity. Besides liberal donations to schools and academies throughout the country, as cheerfully accorded as they were constantly solicited, he made provision by a handsome endowment for an annual distribution of prizes in the Boston schools.

But Mr. Lawrence's views on the subject of education took a higher range. In the year 1847, he founded the scientific school which bears his name, as a separate department of the University at Cambridge. The spacious edifice appropriated to it was built by him, and successive liberal pecuniary endowments were made by him for the support of its professors. This foundation (the first of the kind in the United States) was the embodiment of long and mature reflections, on the importance of the systematic education for those engaged in conducting the great industrial pursuits of the community as engineers, chemists, geologists, architects, machinists, and manufacturers, as well as those who are disposed to aim at the increase of useful knowledge by original researches into the mysteries of organic life. For such an education, it was the object of his generous endowment to provide. The great success which has attended the operations of the school evinces the soundness of Mr. Lawrence's views as to the desirableness of such an institution, as one of the public wants of the country and age, as well as the ability and zeal with which those views have been carried out by the accomplished

and distinguished men, selected at his suggestion or with his approval, as the professors.

In this connection, it will not be thought invidious if we allude to the agency of Mr. Lawrence in inducing Mr. Agassiz to establish his residence in the United States. This eminent naturalist arrived in this country, as a lecturer before the Lowell Institute, precisely at the time when Mr. Lawrence was maturing the project of the Scientific School. The peculiar fitness of Mr. Agassiz for a chair in such an institution did not escape his penetration, and the liberal appropriation, originally intended by him as the endowment of the school, was enlarged with a view to a more adequate provision for the celebrated foreigner just coming among us,— happily no longer to be designated as such. The last days of Mr. Lawrence's life were soothed by the receipt of the interesting letter from Professor Peirce, given in the Daily Advertiser a few days since, and bearing witness to the great success of the Scientific School.

Mr. Lawrence, though not professedly a man of letters, had found time, in the intervals of business, for the acquisition of a great amount of miscellaneous knowledge by a judicious course of reading. His house was filled with books, paintings, and works of art; his conversation was at all times intelligent and instructive; his appreciation of liberal pursuits prompt and cordial.

In manner he was eminently courteous and affable. His kindly disposition found constant expression in a beaming smile, in tones, and words, and acts of cheerfulness, in unaffected sympathy with those around him. His purse, his advice, his encouraging voice were ever at the command of modest worth. His house was the stranger's home; his fireside the favored resort of friendship. Unostentatious hospitality was the presiding genius within his doors. Gloom and austerity were strangers to his countenance. He lived in an atmosphere of good-will; not a languid sentiment, still less an empty profession; but substantial effective good-will, manifested in deeds of beneficence. It might be said of him,

as it was said of his brother Amos, that "every day of his life was a blessing to some one."

We should leave this hasty sketch too imperfect, if we forbore to add, that Mr. Lawrence was a religious man in principle and feeling, in heart and in life; a believer whose Christian profession was exemplified in all his conduct. He was a member of the Brattle street church, and a regular and devout attendant on the ministrations of the gospel. The rules of life which he deduced from the oracles of Divine Truth were seen in his performance of all the personal and social duties. In every relation to others, as a son, a brother, a husband, a father, his life, — now brought to a close, prematurely for all but for himself, — may be safely held up as a model. Gentleness of demeanor, considerateness for the rights and feelings of others, equanimity under the trials of our imperfect nature, and the habit of finding his own happiness in the promotion of the happiness of others, spread sunshine and serenity in his domestic circle. The reality of his Faith and Hope in the promises of the gospel, shone brightly in the unmurmuring resignation with which he supported the weariness and sufferings of the last trying weeks of his life. Not a look of despondency or a word of complaint escaped him. He was ready for the great summons; and at the critical moment when the chances in favor and against his recovery seemed to be equally balanced, he rejoiced that a higher wisdom than his own was to decide the question.

As a member of the community, a citizen of influence, and a tried patriot, there are few among us who could not be better spared at a moment like the present, when firmness, experience, and wisdom are so much needed in our public counsels.

VEGETABLE AND MINERAL GOLD.*

MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: —

MY worthy friend, Mr. Winthrop, who has just taken his seat, was good enough to remark that he was waiting with impatience for me to speak. Far different was my feeling while he was speaking.

I listened not only with patience, but with satisfaction and delight, as I am sure you all did. If he spoke of the embarrassment under which he rose to address such an assembly, an embarrassment which all, however accustomed to public speaking, could not but feel, how much greater must be my embarrassment! He had to contend only with the difficulties natural to the occasion, and with having to follow the eloquent gentleman from Philadelphia, (Mr. McMichael). I have to contend with all that difficulty, and also with the difficulty of following not only *that* gentleman, who delighted us all so much, but my eloquent friend who has just taken his seat.

And when two such gentlemen have passed over the ground, the one with his wide-sweeping reaper, and the other with his keen trenchant scythe, there is nothing left but a gleaning to their successor.

With respect to the kind manner, sir, in which you have been so good as to introduce my name to this company, it is plain that I can have nothing to respond, but to imitate the example of the worthy clergyman upon the Connecticut

* At the public dinner of the United States' Agricultural Society, in Boston, on the 4th of October, 1855, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder in the chair, in reply to a complimentary toast.

River, who, when some inquisitive friend, from a distant part of the country, asked him, somewhat indiscreetly, whether there was much true piety among his flock, said, "Nothing in that way to boast of."

Mr. President, if this were a geological instead of an agricultural society, and if it were your province not to dig the surface, but to bore into the depths of the earth, it would not be surprising if, in some of your excavations, you should strike upon such a fossil as myself. But when I look around upon your exhibition — the straining course — the crowded, bustling ring — the motion, the life, the fire — the immense crowds of ardent youth and emulous manhood, assembled from almost every part of the country, actors or spectators of the scene, I feel that it is hardly the place for quiet, old-fashioned folks, accustomed to quiet, old-fashioned ways. I feel somewhat like the Doge of Genoa, whom the imperious mandate of Louis XIV. had compelled to come to Versailles, and who, after surveying and admiring its marvels, exclaimed, that he wondered at every thing he saw, and most of all at finding himself there.

Since, however, sir, with that delicate consideration toward your "elder brethren," which I so lately had occasion to acknowledge at Dorchester, you are willing to trust yourself by the side of such a specimen of palæontology as myself, I have much pleasure in assuring you that I have witnessed with the highest satisfaction the proof afforded by this grand exhibition, that the agriculture of our country, with all the interests connected with it, is in a state of active improvement. In all things, sir, though I approve a judicious conservatism, it is not merely for itself, but as the basis of a safe progress. I own there are some old things, both in nature, and art, and society, that I like for themselves. I all but worship the grand old hills, the old rivers that roll between them, and the fine old trees bending with the weight of centuries. I reverence an old homestead, an old burying-ground, the good men of olden times. I love old friends, good old books, and I don't absolutely dislike a drop of good old wine for the stomach's sake, provided it is taken from an original

package. But these tastes and sentiments are all consistent with, nay, in my judgment, they are favorable to, a genial growth, progression, and improvement, such as is rapidly taking place in the agriculture of the country. In a word, I have always been, and am now, for both stability and progress; learning, from a rather antiquated, but not yet wholly discredited, authority, "to prove all things, and to hold fast to that which is good." I know, sir, that the modern rule is "try all things, and hold fast to nothing." I believe I shall adhere to the old reading a little longer.

But, sir, to come to more practical, and you will probably think more appropriate topics, I will endeavor to show you that I am no enemy to new discoveries in agriculture or any thing else. So far from it, I am going to communicate to you a new discovery of my own, which, if I do not greatly overrate its importance, is as novel, as brilliant, and as auspicious of great results, as the celebrated discovery of Dr. Franklin; *not* the identity of the electric fluid and lightning, I do n't refer to that; but his other famous discovery; that the sun rises several hours before noon; that he begins to shine as soon as he rises; and that the solar ray is a cheaper light for the inhabitants of large cities, than the candles, and oil, and wax tapers, which they are in the habit of preferring to it. I say, sir, my discovery is somewhat of the same kind; and I really think full as important. I have been upon the track of it for several years; ever since the glitter of a few metallic particles in the gravel washed out of Capt. Sutter's mill-race first led to the discovery of the gold diggings of California; which for some time past have been pouring into the country fifty or sixty millions of dollars annually.

My discovery, sir, is nothing short of this, that we have no need to go or send to California for gold, inasmuch as we have gold diggings on this side of the continent much more productive, and consequently much more valuable, than theirs. I do not of course refer to the mines of North Carolina or Georgia, which have been worked with some success for several years, but which, compared with those of California, are of no great moment. I refer to a much broader vein of aurif-

erous earth, which runs wholly through the States on this side of the Rocky Mountains, which we have been working unconsciously for many years, without recognizing its transcendent importance; and which it is actually estimated will yield, the present year, ten or fifteen times as much as the California diggings, taking their produce at sixty millions of dollars.

Then, sir, this gold of ours not only exceeds the California in the annual yield of the diggings, but in several other respects. It certainly requires labor, but not nearly as much labor to get it out. Our diggings may be depended on with far greater confidence, for the average yield on a given superfices. A certain quantity of moisture is no doubt necessary with us, as with them, but you are not required, as you are in the *placers* of California, to stand up to your middle in water all day, rocking a cradle filled with gravel and gold dust. The cradles we rock are filled with something better. Another signal advantage of our gold over the California gold, is, that after being pulverized and moistened, and subjected to the action of moderate heat, it becomes a grateful and nutritious article of food; whereas no man, not even the long-eared King of Phrygia himself, who wished that every thing he touched might become gold, could masticate a thimbleful of the California dust, cold or hot, to save him from starvation.

Then, sir, we get our Atlantic gold on a good deal more favorable terms than we get that of California. It is probable, nay, it is certain, that, for every million dollars' worth of dust that we have received from San Francisco, we send out a full million's worth in produce, in manufactures, in *notions* generally, and in freight; but the gold which is raised from the diggings this side, yields, with good management, a vast increase on the outlay, some thirty fold, some sixty, some a hundred. But, besides all this, there are two discriminating circumstances of a most peculiar character, in which our gold differs from that of California, greatly to the advantage of ours. The first is this: —

On the Sacramento and Feather Rivers, throughout the *placers*, in all the wet diggings and the dry diggings, and in all

the deposits of auriferous quartz, you can get but one solitary exhaustive crop from one locality; and, in getting that, you spoil it for any further use. The soil is dug over, worked over, washed over, ground over, sifted over — in short, turned into an abomination of desolation, which all the guano of the Chincha Islands would not restore to fertility. You can never get from it a second yield of gold, nor any thing else, unless, perhaps, a crop of mullen or stramonium. The Atlantic diggings, on the contrary, with good management, will yield a fresh crop of the gold, every four years, and remain in the interval in condition for a succession of several other good things of nearly equal value.

The other discriminating circumstance is of still more astonishing nature. The grains of the California gold are dead, inorganic masses. How they got into the gravel; between what mountain mill-stones, whirled by elemental storm winds on the bosom of oceanic torrents, the auriferous ledges were ground to powder; by what Titanic hands the coveted grains were sown broadcast in the *placers*, human science can but faintly conjecture. We only know that those grains have within them no principle of growth or reproduction, and that, when that crop was put in, Chaos must have broken up the soil. How different the grains of our Atlantic gold, sown by the prudent hand of man, in the kindly alternation of seed-time and harvest; each curiously, mysteriously organized; hard, horny, seeming lifeless on the outside, but wrapping up in the interior a seminal germ, a living principle! Drop a grain of California gold into the ground, and there it will lie unchanged to the end of time, the clods on which it falls not more cold and lifeless. Drop a grain of our gold, of our blessed gold, into the ground, and lo! a mystery. In a few days it softens, it swells, it shoots upwards, it is a living thing. It is yellow itself, but it sends up a delicate spire, which comes peeping, emerald green, through the soil; it expands to a vigorous stalk; revels in the air and sunshine; arrays itself more glorious than Solomon, in its broad, fluttering, leafy robes, whose sound, as the west wind whispers through them, falls as pleasantly on the husbandman's ear, as the rustle of

his sweetheart's garment; still towers aloft, spins its verdant skeins of vegetable floss, displays its dancing tassels, surcharged with fertilizing dust, and at last ripens into two or three magnificent batons like this, (an ear of Indian corn,) each of which is studded with hundreds of grains of gold, every one possessing the same wonderful properties as the parent grain, every one instinct with the same marvellous reproductive powers. There are seven hundred and twenty grains on the ear which I hold in my hand. I presume there were two or three such ears on the stalk. This would give us one thousand four hundred and forty, perhaps two thousand one hundred and sixty grains as the produce of one. They would yield, next season, if they were all successfully planted, four thousand two hundred, perhaps six thousand three hundred ears. Who does not see that, with this stupendous progression, the produce of one grain in a few years might feed all mankind? And yet with this visible creation annually springing and ripening around us, there are men who doubt, who deny the existence of God. Gold from the Sacramento River, sir! There is a sacrament in this ear of corn enough to bring an atheist to his knees.

But it will be urged, perhaps, sir, in behalf of the California gold, by some miserly "old fogy," who thinks there is no music in the world equal to the chink of his guineas, that, though one crop only of gold can be gathered from the same spot, yet, once gathered, it lasts to the end of time; while (he will maintain) our vegetable gold is produced only to be consumed, and, when consumed, is gone forever. But this, Mr. President, would be a most egregious error both ways. It is true the California gold will last forever unchanged, if its owner chooses; but, while it so lasts, it is of no use; no, not as much as its value in pig-iron, which makes the best of ballast; whereas gold, while it is gold, is good for little or nothing. You can neither eat it, nor drink it, nor smoke it. You can neither wear it, nor burn it as fuel, nor build a house with it; it is really useless till you exchange it for consumable, perishable goods; and the more plentiful it is the less its exchangeable value. Far different the case with our Atlantic

gold; it does not perish when consumed, but, by a nobler alchemy than that of Paracelsus, is transmuted in consumption to a higher life. "Perish in consumption," did the old miser say? "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened *except* it die." The burning pen of inspiration, ranging heaven and earth for a similitude, to convey to our poor minds some not inadequate idea of the mighty doctrine of the resurrection, can find no symbol so expressive as "bare grain, it may chance of wheat or some other grain." To-day a senseless plant, to-morrow it is human bone and muscle, vein and artery, sinew and nerve; beating pulse, heaving lungs, toiling, ah, sometimes, overtoiling brain. Last June, it sucked from the cold breast of the earth the watery nourishment of its distending sap-vessels; and now it clothes the manly form with warm, cordial flesh; quivers and thrills with the five-fold mystery of sense; purveys and ministers to the higher mystery of thought. Heaped up in your granaries this week, the next it will strike in the stalwart arm, and glow in the blushing cheek, and flash in the beaming eye;—till we learn at last to realize that the slender stalk, which we have seen shaken by the summer breeze, bending in the cornfield under the yellow burden of harvest, is indeed the "staff of life," which, since the world began, has supported the toiling and struggling myriads of humanity on the mighty pilgrimage of being.

Yes, sir, to drop the allegory, and speak without a figure, it is this noble agriculture, for the promotion of which this great company is assembled from so many parts of the Union, which feeds the human race, and all the humbler orders of animated nature dependent on man. With the exception of what is yielded by the fisheries and the chase, (a limited, though certainly not an insignificant, source of supply,) Agriculture is the steward which spreads the daily table of mankind. Twenty-seven millions of human beings, by accurate computation, awoke this very morning, in the United States, all requiring their "daily bread," whether they had the grace to pray for it or not, and under Providence, all looking to the agriculture of the country for that daily bread, and the food

of the domestic animals depending on them; a demand, perhaps, as great as their own. Mr. President, it is the daily duty of you farmers to satisfy this gigantic appetite; to fill the mouths of these hungry millions — of these starving millions, I might say, — for if, by any catastrophe, the supply were cut off for a few days, the life of the country — human and brute — would be extinct.

How nobly this great duty is performed by the agriculture of the country, I need not say at this board, especially as the subject has been discussed by the gentleman (Mr. Winthrop) who preceded me. The wheat crop of the United States the present year, is variously estimated at from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five millions of bushels; the oat crop at four hundred millions of bushels; the Indian corn, our precious vegetable gold, at one thousand millions of bushels! a bushel at least for every human being on the face of the globe. Of the other cereal, and of the leguminous crops, I have seen no estimate. Even the humble article of hay, — this poor timothy, herds' grass, and red top, which, not rising to the dignity of the food of man, serves only for the subsistence of the mute partners of his toil, — the hay crop of the United States is probably but little, if any, inferior in value to the whole crop of cotton, which the glowing imagination of the South sometimes regards as the great bond which binds the civilized nations of the earth together.

I meant to have said a few words, sir, on the nature of your institution, and its relations to our common country as a bond of union, but I have lost my voice and strength, and my good friend, who has treated that topic, never yet left any thing to be said by those who come after him. I will only, in sitting down, take occasion to express the great interest I feel in the operations of this association. I see that it is doing, and I have no doubt it will yet do, great good.

I beg, in taking my seat, sir, to tender you my most fervent wishes and hopes for its increased and permanent prosperity and usefulness.

DANIEL WEBSTER AS A MAN.*

GENTLEMEN,—

I RISE in pursuance of the object which has brought us together at this time; the only object, certainly, which, after long retirement from scenes of public festivity, would have induced me to occupy the chair in which you have placed me this evening. We have assembled on this, the anniversary of his birthday, to pay an affectionate tribute to one of the greatest and wisest and purest of the patriots, statesmen, and citizens of America. Still, my friends, I do not rise to pronounce the eulogy of Daniel Webster. That work was performed, at the time of his lamented decease, in almost every part of the country, and by a greater number of the distinguished writers and speakers of the United States than have, in any former instance, with the single exception of Washington, paid this last office of respect to departed worth. It was in many cases performed with extraordinary ability; among others, especially, by gentlemen of more than one profession, who favor us with their presence on this occasion, whose performances, besides doing noble justice to their great theme, will take a permanent place in the literature of the country. In their presence I rise for no such presumptuous purpose; before this company I rise for no such superfluous attempt, as that of pronouncing a formal eulogy on the public character and services of the great man to whose memory we consecrate the evening.

On the contrary, gentlemen, on this occasion and in this

* At a dinner on the 18th January, 1856, the Anniversary of the Birthday of Daniel Webster.

circle of friends, most of whom, in a greater or less degree of intimacy, were individually known to him, and had cultivated kindly personal relations with him, I wish rather to speak of the MAN. Let us to-night leave his great fame to the country's, — to the world's care. It needs not our poor attestation; it has passed into the history of the United States, where it will last and bloom for ever. The freshly remembered presence of the great jurist, invisible to the eye of sense, still abides in our tribunals; the voice of the matchless orator yet echoes from the arches of Faneuil Hall. If ever it is given to the spirits of the departed to revisit the sphere of their activity and usefulness on earth, who can doubt that the shade of Webster returns with anxiety to that Senate which so often hung with admiration upon his lips, and walks by night an unseen guardian along the terrace of the capitol? Of what he was and what he did, and how he spoke and wrote and counselled and persuaded and controlled and swayed, in all these great public capacities, his printed works contain the proof and the exemplification; recent recollection preserves the memory; and eulogy, warm and emphatic, but not exaggerated, has set forth the marvellous record. If all else which in various parts of the country has been spoken and written of him should be forgotten, (and there is much, very much that will be permanently remembered,) the eulogy of Mr. Hillard pronounced at the request of the city of Boston, and the discourse of Mr. Choate delivered at Dartmouth College, — whose great sufficiency of fame it is to have nurtured two such pupils, — have unfolded the intellectual, professional, and public character of Daniel Webster, with an acuteness of analysis, a wealth of illustration, and a splendor of diction, which will convey to all coming time an adequate and vivid conception of the great original.

But, my friends, how little they knew of him, who knew him only as a public man; how little they knew even of his personal appearance, who never saw his countenance except when darkened with the shadows of his sometimes saddened brow, or clothed with the terrors of his deep flashing eye! These at times gave a severity to his aspect, which added not

a little to the desolating force of his invective and the withering power of his sarcasm, when compelled to put on the panoply of forensic or parliamentary war. But no one really knew even his personal appearance who was not familiar with his radiant glance, his sweet expression, his beaming smile, lighting up the circle of those whom he loved and trusted, and in whose sympathy he confided!

Were I to fix upon any one trait as the prominent trait of his character as a man, it would be his social disposition, his loving heart. If there ever was a person who felt all the meaning of the divine utterance, "it is not good that man should be alone," it was he. Notwithstanding the vast resources of his own mind, and the materials for self-communion laid up in the store-house of such an intellect, few men whom I have known have been so little addicted to solitary and meditative introspection; to few have social intercourse, sympathy, and communion with kindred or friendly spirits been so grateful and even necessary. Unless actually occupied with his pen or his books, and coerced into the solitude of his study for some specific employment, he shunned to be alone. He preferred dictation to solitary composition, especially in the latter part of his life, and he much liked, on the eve of a great effort, if it had been in his power to reduce the heads of his argument to writing, to go over them with a friend.

Although it is not my purpose, as I have said, on this occasion to dwell on political topics, I may, in illustration of this last remark, observe that it was my happiness, at his request, to pass a part of the evening of the 25th January, 1830, with him; and he went over to me from a very concise brief the main topics of the speech prepared for the following day — the second speech on Foot's resolution, which he accounted the greatest of his parliamentary efforts. Intense anticipation, I need not remind you, awaited that effort, both at Washington and throughout the country. A pretty formidable personal attack was to be repelled; New England was to be vindicated against elaborate disparagement; and, more than all, the true theory of the Constitution, as hereto-

fore generally understood, was to be maintained against a new interpretation, devised by perhaps the acutest logician in the country; asserted with equal confidence and fervor; and menacing a revolution in the government. Never had a public speaker a harder task to perform; and except on the last great topic, which undoubtedly was familiar to his habitual contemplations, his opportunity for preparation had been most inconsiderable, — for the argument of his accomplished opponent had been concluded but the day before the reply was to be made.

I sat an hour and a half with Mr. Webster the evening before this great effort. The impassioned parts of his speech, and those in which the personalities of his antagonist were retorted, were hardly indicated in his prepared brief. So calm and tranquil was he, so entirely at ease and free from that nervous excitement which is almost unavoidable, so near the moment which is to put the whole man to the proof, that I was tempted, absurdly enough, to think him not sufficiently aware of the magnitude of the occasion. I ventured even to intimate to him, that what he was to say the next day would, in a fortnight's time, be read by every grown man in the country. But I soon perceived that his calmness was the repose of conscious power. The battle had been fought and won within, upon the broad field of his own capacious mind; for it was Mr. Webster's habit first to state to himself his opponent's argument in its utmost strength, and having overthrown it in that form, he feared the efforts of no other antagonist. Hence it came to pass that he was never taken by surprise, by any turn of the discussion. Besides, the moment and the occasion were too important for trepidation. A surgeon might as well be nervous, who is going to cut within a hair's breadth of a great artery. He was not only at ease, but sportive and full of anecdote; and, as he told the senate playfully the next day, he slept soundly that night on the formidable assault of his accomplished adversary. So the great Condé slept on the eve of the battle of Rocroi; so Alexander the Great slept on the eve of the battle of Arbela; and so they awoke to deeds of immortal fame. As I saw

him in the evening, (if I may borrow an illustration from his favorite amusement,) he was as unconcerned and as free of spirit as some here present have often seen him, while floating in his fishing-boat along a hazy shore, gently rocking on the tranquil tide, dropping his line here and there, with the varying fortune of the sport. The next morning, he was like some mighty Admiral, dark and terrible; casting the long shadow of his frowning tiers far over the sea, that seemed to sink beneath him; his broad pendant streaming at the main, the stars and the stripes at the fore, the mizzen, and the peak; and bearing down like a tempest upon his antagonist, with all his canvas strained to the wind, and all this thunders roaring from his broadsides.

Do not wonder, my friends, that I employ these military illustrations. I do so partly because, to the imaginations of most men, they suggest the liveliest conceptions of contending energy and power; partly because they are in themselves appropriate —

"Peace hath her victories
Not less renowned than war."

On the two sides of this great parliamentary contest there were displayed as much intellectual power, as much moral courage, as much elevation of soul, as in any campaign, ancient or modern. And from the wars of those old Assyrian kings and conquerors, whose marble effigies, now lying on the floor of Mr. William Appleton's warehouse, after sleeping for twenty-five hundred years on the banks of the Tigris, have, by the strange vicissitudes and changes of human things, been dug up from the ruins of Nineveh and transported across the Atlantic — a wonder and a show, — I say from the wars of Sennacherib and Nimrod himself, whose portraits, for aught I know to the contrary, are among the number, down to that now raging in the Crimea, there never was a battle fought whose consequences were more important to humanity, than the maintenance or overthrow of that constitutional Union which, in the language of Washington, "makes us one people." Yes, better had

Alexander perished in the Granicus, better had Asdrubal triumphed at the Metaurus, better had Nelson fallen at the mouth of the Nile or Napoleon on the field of Marengo, than that one link should part in the golden chain which binds this Union together, or the blessings of a peaceful confederacy be exchanged for the secular curses of border war.

That strong social disposition of Mr. Webster of which I have spoken, of course, fitted him admirably for convivial intercourse. I use that expression in its proper etymological sense, pointed out by Cicero in a letter to one of his friends, and referred to by Mr. Webster in a charming note to Mr. Rush, in which he contrasts the superior refinement of the Roman word *convivium*, living together, with the Greek *symposium*, which is merely drinking together. Mr. Webster entered most fully into the sentiment of Cicero, so beautifully expressed in the letter alluded to: "Sed, mehercule, mi Pœte, extra jocum, moneo te, quod pertinere ad beate vivendum arbitror; ut cum viris bonis, jucundis, amantibus tui vivas. Nihil aptius vitæ; nihil ad beate vivendum accommodatius. Nec id ad voluptatem refero, sed ad communitatem vitæ et victus, remissionemque animorum, quæ maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in convivio dulcissimus, ut sapientius nostri quam Græci; illi *συμπόσια*, aut *σύνδειπνα*, id est compotationes aut concœnationes: nos convivia; quod tum maxime simul vivitur."* Mr. Webster loved to live with his friends, with "good, pleasant men who loved him."

* Epist. ad Divers. IX. 24: — "But, without a joke, my dear Pœtus, I would advise you to spend your time in the society of a set of worthy and cheerful friends; as there is nothing, in my estimation, that more effectually contributes to the happiness of human life. When I say this, I do not mean with respect to the sensual gratifications of the palate, but with regard to that pleasing relaxation of the mind, which is best produced by the freedom of social converse, and which is always most agreeable at the hour of meals. For this reason the Latin language is much happier, I think, than the Greek, in the term it employs to express assemblies of this sort. In the latter they are called by a word which signifies *compotations*, whereas in ours they are more emphatically styled *convivial meetings;* intimating that it is in a communication of this nature, that life is most truly enjoyed." Melmoth, XIII. 9.

This was his delight, alike when oppressed with the multiplied cares of office at Washington, and when enjoying the repose and quiet of Marshfield. He loved to meet his friends at the social board, because it is there that men most cast off the burden of business and thought; there, as Cicero says, that conversation is sweetest; there that the kindly affections have the fullest play. By the social sympathies thus cultivated, the genial consciousness of individual existence becomes more intense. And who that ever enjoyed it can forget the charm of his hospitality, so liberal, so choice, so thoughtful? In the very last days of his life, and when confined to the bed from which he never rose, he continued to give minute directions for the hospitable entertainment of the anxious and sorrowful friends who came to Marshfield.

If he enjoyed society himself, how much he contributed to its enjoyment in others! His colloquial powers were, I think, quite equal to his parliamentary and forensic talent. He had something instructive or ingenious to say on the most familiar occasion. In his playful mood he was not afraid to trifle; but he never prosed, never indulged in commonplace, never dogmatized, was never affected. His range of information was so vast, his observation so acute and accurate, his tact in separating the important from the unessential so nice, his memory so retentive, his command of language so great, that his common table-talk, if taken down from his lips, would have stood the test of publication. He had a keen sense of the ludicrous, and repeated or listened to a humorous anecdote with infinite glee. He narrated with unsurpassed clearness, brevity, and grace, — no tedious, unnecessary details to spin out the story, the fault of most professed *raconteurs*, — but its main points set each in its place, so as often to make a little dinner-table epic, but all naturally and without effort. He delighted in anecdotes of eminent men, especially of eminent Americans, and his memory was stored with them. He would sometimes briefly discuss a question in natural history, relative for instance to climate, or the races, and habits and breeds of the different domestic animals, or the various kinds of our native game, for he knew the secrets of the forest. He

delighted to treat a topic drawn from life, manners, and the great industrial pursuits of the community; and he did it with such spirit and originality as to throw a charm around subjects which, in common hands, are trivial and uninviting. Nor were the stores of our sterling literature less at his command. He had such an acquaintance with the great writers of our language, especially the historians and poets, as enabled him to enrich his conversation with the most apposite allusions and illustrations. When the occasion and character of the company invited it, his conversation turned on higher themes, and sometimes rose to the moral sublime. He was not fond of the technical language of metaphysics, but he had grappled, like the giant he was, with its most formidable problems. Dr. Johnson was wont to say of Burke, that a stranger who should chance to meet him under a shed in a shower of rain would say, "this was an extraordinary man." A stranger, who did not know Mr. Webster, might have passed a day with him in his seasons of relaxation, without detecting the jurist or the statesman, but he could not have passed a half an hour with him, without coming to the conclusion that he was one of the best informed of men.

His personal appearance contributed to the attraction of his social intercourse. His countenance, frame, expression, and presence arrested and fixed attention. You could not pass him unnoticed in a crowd; nor fail to observe in him a man of high mark and character. No one could see him and not wish to see more of him, and this alike in public and private. Notwithstanding his noble stature and athletic development in after-life, he was in his childhood frail and tender. In an autobiographical sketch taken down from his dictation, he says: "I was a weak and ailing child and suffered from almost every disease that flesh is heir to. I was not able to work on the farm." This it was, which determined his father, though in straitened circumstances, to make the effort to send Daniel to college; because, as some said, "he was not fit for any thing else." His brother Joe, "the wit of the family," remarked that "it was necessary to send Dan to school to make him equal to the rest of the boys."

It was a somewhat curious feature of New England life at that time, not wholly unknown now, that it was thus owing to his being "a weak and ailing child," that Mr. Webster received in youth the benefit of a college education. This inversion of the great law of our nature, which requires in a perfect man "a sound mind in a sound body," was, I suppose, occasioned by the arduous life required to be led by the industrious yeoman in a new country. Whatever was the cause, in a large family of sons the privilege of a "public education," as it was called, was usually reserved for the narrow-chested, pale-faced Benjamin of the flock, the mother's darling. In consideration of showing symptoms of tendency to pulmonary disease, he was selected for a life of hard study and sedentary labor, flickered awhile in the pulpit, and too often crept before he was fifty to a corner of his own churchyard.

Mr. Webster, by the blessing of Providence, overcame the infirmities of his childhood, and although not long subjected to the hardships of the frontier, grew up in the love of out-door life, and all the manly and healthful pursuits, exercises, and sports of the country. Born upon the verge of civilization, — his father's house the furthest by four miles on the Indian trail to Canada, — he retained to the last his love for that pure fresh nature in which he was cradled. The dashing streams, which conduct the waters of the queen of New Hampshire's lakes to the noble Merrimac; the superb group of mountains (the Switzerland of the United States) among which those waters have their sources; the primeval forest, whose date runs back to the twelfth verse of the first chapter of Genesis, and never since creation yielded to the settler's axe; the gray buttresses of granite which prop the eternal hills; the sacred alternation of the seasons, with its magic play on field and forest and flood; the gleaming surface of lake and stream in summer; the icy pavement with which they are floored in winter; the verdure of spring, the prismatic tints of the autumnal woods, the leafless branches of December, glittering like arches and corridors of silver and crystal in the enchanted palaces of fairy land; sparkling in the morning

sun with winter's jewelry, diamond and amethyst, and ruby and sapphire;* the cathedral aisles of pathless woods, — the mournful hemlock, the "cloud-seeking" pine, — hung with drooping creepers, like funeral banners pendent from the roof of chancel or transept over the graves of the old lords of the soil; — these all retained for him to the close of his life an undying charm.

But though he ever clung with fondness to the wild mountain scenery amidst which he was born and passed his youth, he loved nature in all her other aspects. The simple beauty to which he had brought his farm at Marshfield, its approaches, its grassy lawns, its well-disposed plantations on the hill-sides, unpretending but tasteful, and forming a pleasing interchange with his large corn fields and turnip patches, showed his sensibility to the milder beauties of civilized culture. He understood, no one better, the secret sympathy of nature and art, and often conversed on the principles which govern their relations with each other. He appreciated the infinite bounty with which nature furnishes materials to the artistic powers of man, at once her servant and master; and he knew not less that the highest exercise of art is but to imitate, interpret, select, and combine the properties, affinities, and proportions of nature; that in reality they are parts of one great system: for nature is the Divine Creator's art, and art is rational man's creation. The meanest weed and the humblest zoophyte are most wondrous works of a more than human art, and a chronometer or an electric telegraph is no dead machine, but a portion of the living and inscrutable powers of nature — magnetism, cohesion, elasticity, gravitation, — combined in new forms, and skilfully arranged conditions, boxed up and packed away, if I may so express it, for his convenience and service, by the creative skill of man.

But not less than mountain or plain he loved the sea. He

* The appearances here described were exhibited with unusual brilliancy by the trees in many parts of New England, about the time this speech was made.

loved to walk and ride and drive upon that magnificent beach which stretches from Green Harbor all round to the Gurnet. He loved to pass hours, I might say days, in his little boat. He loved to breathe the healthful air of the salt water. He loved the music of the ocean, through all the mighty octaves deep and high of its far-resounding register; from the lazy plash of a midsummer's ripple upon the margin of some oozy creek to the sharp howl of the tempest, which wrenches a light-house from its clamps and bolts, fathom deep in the living rock,* as easily as a gardener pulls a weed from his flower border. There was, in fact, a manifest sympathy between his great mind and this world-surrounding, deep heaving, measureless, everlasting, infinite deep. His thoughts and conversation often turned upon it and its great organic relations with other parts of nature and with man. I have heard him allude to the mysterious analogy between the circulation carried on by veins and arteries, heart and lungs, and the wonderful interchange of venous and arterial blood, — that miraculous complication which lies at the basis of animal life, — and that equally complicated and more stupendous circulation of river, ocean, vapor, and rain, which from the fresh currents of the rivers fills the depths of the salt sea; then by vaporous distillation carries the waters which are under the firmament up to the cloudy cisterns of the waters above the firmament; wafts them on the dripping wings of the wind against the mountain sides; precipitates them to the earth in the form of rain; and leads them again through a thousand channels, open and secret, to the beds of the rivers, and so back to the sea. He loved to contemplate the profusion of life in the ocean, from the scarcely animated gelatinous spark, which lights up the bow of the plunging vessel with its spectral phosphorescent gleam, through the vast varieties of fish that form so important a part of the food of man, up to the mighty monsters which wallow through its depths, from which they are dragged by the skill and courage of the whale-

* Alluding to the destruction of the Light-house on Minot's Ledge, not far from Marshfield, on the 17th of April, 1851.

man, to light our dwellings; — a species of industry, by the way, first practised in this country in the waters of the old colony, and along this very beach and the adjoining shores.* Few persons, not professed men of science, were as well acquainted as Mr. Webster with the natural history of the sea. And then the all-important functions of the ocean in reference to the civilization and social progress, to the commercial and political relations of nations; — you can easily see, my friends, by how many points of attraction a mind like his would be led to meditate on these subjects.

I remember with great distinctness a drive which I took with him upon that noble beach to which I have just alluded, in the summer of 1849. It was a rainy morning, and we were in an open chaise. Heavy clouds alternately lifting and sinking, hung over the water, and the wind was chilly for the season, from the north-east, but he enjoyed the drive. The state of public affairs was interesting at the commencement of a new administration, but not a word was said of politics. He talked principally of the scene before us, of the sea, dwelling upon some of the topics to which I have alluded. He did not like the epithet "barren," applied to the sea in Homer, as usually translated, and was gratified with the suggestion that there were other interpretations of the word more elevated and full of meaning. As we drove off the beach, being compelled to do so by the shower, he said, "when I am at Franklin, I think there is nothing like the rivers and mountains, and when I come to Marshfield, it seems to me there is nothing like the sea. There is certainly something in it which fills the mind, and which defies expression. Upon the whole, Byron was right: —

> "There is a pleasure in the pathless woods,
> There is a rapture in the lonely shore,
> There is society where none intrudes
> By the deep sea, and music in its roar.

* North American Review, XXXVII. 100; Mass. Hist. Coll., First Series, III. 157.

I love not man the less, but nature more
For these our interviews, in which I steal
From all I may be and have been before,
To mingle with the universe, and feel
What I can ne'er express, but cannot all conceal."

Mr. Webster's keen relish for the beauties of nature gave a freshness to his perception of her every-day occurrences, which, in consequence of their familiarity, are looked upon by most persons with indifference. Witness that beautiful letter on "the Morning" which has found its way into the papers. Surely never was such a letter written before by a statesman in active political life just starting on a tour of observation. Spending but a single day in Richmond, he rises at four o'clock to survey the city in the gray of the morning, and returning to his lodgings at five o'clock, addresses that admirable letter to his friend and relative, Mrs. J. W. Paige, of Boston: —

"It is morning, and a morning sweet, fresh, and delightful. Everybody knows the morning in its metaphorical sense, applied to so many objects and on so many occasions. . . . But the morning itself few people, inhabitants of cities, know any thing about. Among our good people of Boston, not one in a thousand sees the sun rise once in a year. They know nothing of the morning. Their idea of it is, that it is that part of the day which comes along after a cup of coffee and a beef-steak, or a piece of toast. With them morning is not an issuing of light, a new bursting forth of the sun, a new waking up of all that has life from a sort of temporary death, to behold again the works of God, the heavens and the earth. . . . The first faint streaks of light, the earliest purpling of the east which the lark springs up to greet, and the deeper and deeper coloring into orange and red, till at length the glorious sun is seen, 'regent of day,' — this they never enjoy, for they never see.

"Beautiful descriptions of the sun abound in all languages, but they are the strongest perhaps in those of the East, where the sun is so often an object of worship. King David speaks of taking to himself the 'wings of the morning.' This is highly poetical and beautiful. The wings of the morning are the beams of the rising sun. Rays of light are wings. It is thus said that 'the sun of righteousness shall arise with healing in his wings;' a rising sun which shall scatter life and health and joy throughout the universe." . . .

"I know the morning, I am acquainted with it, and I love it, fresh and sweet as it is, a daily new creation breaking forth and calling all that have life and breath and being, to new adoration, new enjoyment, and new gratitude."

But Mr. Webster's mind was eminently practical, and it was by no means through his taste and feelings alone that he entered into this intimate communion with nature. He allied himself to it by one of the chief pursuits of his life. Notwithstanding the engrossing nature of his professional and official duties, he gave as much time and thought to agriculture as is given by most persons to their main occupation. His two extensive farms at Franklin and Marshfield, the former the much loved place of his birth, the latter, the scarcely less favored resort of which he became possessed in middle life, were carried on under his immediate superintendence, — not the nominal supervision of amateur agriculturists, leaving every thing, great and small, to a foreman; but a minute and intelligent supervision given to particulars, to the work of every week, and where it was possible every day; when at home by actual direction, and when absent by regular and detailed correspondence. In the large mass of Mr. Webster's letters, there is no subject more frequently treated or with greater interest than this, in his correspondence with his foremen and others in relation to his farms. Brought up on a New England farm, he knew something from the associations of his early days of old-fashioned husbandry; and in later life, observation, experiment, and books had kept him up with the current of all the recent improvements.

With every department of husbandry, — the qualities of the soil, the great art of enriching it, to which modern chemistry has given such extension; the succession of crops and their comparative adaptation to our soil and climate; the varieties of animals, and their preference for draft, flesh, and the dairy; the construction and use of agricultural implements, — with all these subjects, in all their branches and details, he appeared to me as familiar as with the elementary principles of his profession. His knowledge of them was practical as well as theoretical, derived in part from experience, and actually applied by him in the management of his own farms. He had an especial fondness for fine live-stock, and possessed admirable specimens of it, European and American. This taste never deserted him. On one of the

last days of his life, he caused himself to be moved to a favorite bay window, and after he had been employed with his friend and secretary (Mr. G. J. Abbot) in dictating a part of his will, he directed three favorite yoke of Styrian oxen to be driven up to his window, and having entered into a particular description of their age, breed, and history, gave directions for their being weighed and measured the following day. No subject attracted more of his attention in England than farming. The only public speech made by him in that country, of which a report has been preserved, was that made at the meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society at Oxford. His first public address on his return to this country, delivered in the State House in Boston, contained the results of his observations on the agriculture of England.* Many of you, my friends, must have heard Mr. Webster converse on agricultural topics. I recollect on one occasion to have heard him explain the conditions which determine the limits within which the various cereal grains can be cultivated to advantage in Europe and America; unfolding the doctrine of isothermal lines, in connection with the various grains, some of which require a long summer and some a hot summer. His remarks on this subject, evidently thrown off without premeditation, would have enriched the pages of a scientific journal. On another occasion I remember to have heard him state with precision the descent of a favorite native breed of horses, with all the characteristic points of a good animal; and on another, the question relative to the indigenous origin of Indian corn. I name these familiar instances, which now occur to me, among the recollections of the social board. Several of you, my friends, could greatly enlarge the list.

In fact, whether as a citizen, a patriot, or a practical philosopher, Mr. Webster's mind was powerfully drawn to agriculture. Could he have chosen his precise position in life, I think it would have been that of an extensive landholder, conducting the operations of a large farm. At Oxford he said — "Whatever else may tend to enrich and beautify

* Webster's Works, Vol. I. 435, 443.

society, that which feeds and clothes comfortably the mass of mankind should always be regarded as the *great foundation of national prosperity*." In the beginning of that address in the State House to which I have referred, he said — "I regard agriculture as the *leading interest* of society. . . . I have been familiar with its operations from my youth, and I have always looked upon the subject with a lively and deep interest." At the meeting of the Norfolk Agricultural Society at Dedham, (which Mr. Harvey recollects,) he called agriculture "the *main pursuit* of life." Weighty words from such a source! What Mr. Webster considered "the leading interest of society" and "the great foundation of national prosperity," "the main pursuit of life," might well occupy his time, his thoughts, and his profound attention. Before popular bodies he spoke of it in its economical relations; but in narrower circles and on proper occasions he delighted to dwell on its sublime philosophy.

And what worthier theme, my friends, can occupy the most exalted intellect; what subject is so well calculated to task the highest powers of thought? Where in the natural world do we come so near the traces of that ineffable Power, which, in the great economy of vegetation, hangs orchard and grove and forest with the pompous drapery of May, and strips them to their shivering branches in November; which lays out universal nature as we now behold her, cold and fair, in this great winding-sheet of snow, not to sleep the sleep of death, but to waken her again by the concert of birds and warbling brooks and the soft breezes of spring; and which, when man cries to heaven for his daily bread, instead of giving him a stone, smites the marble clods of winter all round the globe with his creative wand, and bids them bring forth grass for the cattle and herb for the service of man, and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil that causeth his face to shine, and bread which strengtheneth the heart of man.

I meant, gentlemen, to have said a word of the delight taken by Mr. Webster in the healthful and invigorating sports of the forest, the field, and the sea; with what keenness and success he followed them, how well he understood them. In

these he found his favorite relaxation from the anxieties of office, and the labors of his profession. They were to him a *diversion*, in the proper sense of the word. They *diverted*, turned away, his mind from the great cares of life, and furnished him an exhilarating occupation, which, without mental strain, stimulated and refreshed his intellectual powers. To these sports he brought all the science and mastery which their nature admits. An apt pupil in the school of old Izaac Walton, he was entirely familiar with the angler's curious lore. The different kinds of fish that fill our waters — their habits, their resorts, their seasons, their relations to each other; the birds which frequent our shores, marshes, and uplands, with every variety of larger game, had been subjected by him to accurate investigation, particularly in reference to their points of resemblance to their European congeners. It was not easy to ask him a question upon any topic of this kind, to which a satisfactory reply was not ready.

I hope, my friends, you will not think I am dwelling on trifles. You all know how deeply the taste for these manly sports entered into Mr. Webster's character. The Americans, as a people, at least the professional and mercantile classes, and the other inhabitants of the large towns, have too little considered the importance of healthful, generous recreation. They have not learned the lesson contained in the very word, which teaches that the worn-out man is *re-created*, made over again, by the seasonable relaxation of the strained faculties. The father of history tells us of an old king of Egypt, Amasis by name, who used to get up early in the morning, (but not earlier than Mr. Webster,) despatch the business and issue the orders of the day, and spend the rest of the time with his friends, in conviviality and amusement. Some of the aged counsellors were scandalized, and strove by remonstrance to make him give up this mode of life. But no, said he, as the bow always bent will at last break, so the man, for ever on the strain of thought and action, will at last go mad or break down. You will find this in the second book of Herodotus, in the one hundred and seventy-third section. Thrown upon a new continent, — eager to do the work

of twenty centuries in two, the Anglo-American population has overworked and is daily overworking itself. From morning to night, from January to December, brain and hands, eyes and fingers, — the powers of the body and the powers of the mind, are kept in spasmodic, merciless activity. There is no lack of a few tasteless and soulless dissipations which are called amusements, but noble, athletic sports, manly out-door exercises, which strengthen the mind by strengthening the body, and bring man into a generous and exhilarating communion with nature, are too little cultivated in town or country.

Let me not conclude, my friends, without speaking of a still more endearing aspect of Mr. Webster's character, I mean the warmth and strength of his kindly natural affections. The great sympathies of a true generous spirit were as strongly developed in him as the muscular powers of his frame or the capacities of his mighty intellect. In all the gentle humanities of life he had the tenderness of a woman. He honored his parents, he loved brother and sister and wife and child, he cherished kinsman, friend, and neighbor, the companions of his boyhood, townsman, aged schoolmaster, humble dependant, faithful servant, and cultivated all the other kindly instincts, if others there be, with the same steadiness, warmth, and energy of soul with which he pursued the great material objects of life. Mere social complacency may have a selfish basis, but Mr. Webster's heart was "full of great love." * Religious conviction is an act of the understanding, but he bowed to the Infinite with the submissiveness of a child. With what tenderness he contemplated the place of his birth; how fondly he pointed to the site of the humble cottage where he first drew the breath of life; how he valued the paternal trees that shaded it; how his heart melted through life at the thought of the sacrifices made by his aged parent, — the hard-working veteran of two wars, — to procure him an education; how he himself toiled till midnight with his pen in the least intellectual employment to secure that advantage to his older brother; how he cherished

* Spenser.

the fond sympathies of husband and father, how he sorrowed over the departed; how he planted his grief, if I may say so, in the soil of Marshfield, in designating the trees by the names of his beloved son and daughter; how beautiful the dedications in which he has consigned his friendships and his loves to immortality; how sublime and touching the pathos of his last farewells; how saint-like the meditations of his departing spirit! How can I attempt to do justice to topics like these, whose sacredness shrinks from the most distant approach to public discussion! These were the pure fountains from which he drew not merely the beauty but the force of his character, every faculty of his mind and every purpose of his will, deriving new strength and fervor from the warmth of his heart.

But some one may ask, is this bright picture, like the portraits of Queen Elizabeth, without a shade; were there no spots upon the disc of this meridian sun? Was he at length

> "That faultless monster which the world ne'er saw,"

or did he partake the infirmities of our common humanity? Did this great intellectual, emotional, and physical organization, amidst the strong action and reaction of its vast energies, its intense consciousness of power, its soaring aspirations, its hard struggles with fortune in early life, its vehement antagonisms of a later period, the exhilarations of triumph, the lassitude of exertion, did it never, under the urgent pressure of the interests, the passions, the exigencies of the hour, diverge in the slightest degree from the golden mean, in which cloistered philosophy places absolute moral perfection? To this question, which no one has a right to put but an angel, whose serene vision no mote distempers; to which no one will expect a negative answer, but a Pharisee, with a beam in his eye big enough for the cross-tree of a synagogue, I make no response. I confine myself to two reflections: first, that, while contemporary merit is for the most part grudgingly estimated, the faults of very great men, placed as they are upon an eminence where nothing can be concealed, and

objects of the most scrutinizing hostility, personal and political, are like the spots on the sun, to which I have compared them, seen for the most part through telescopes that magnify a hundred, a thousand times; and second, that in reference to questions that strongly excite the public mind, the imputed error is as likely to be on the side of the observer as of the observed. We learn from the Earl of Rosse, that the most difficult problem in practical science is to construct a lens which will not distort the body it reflects. The slightest aberration from the true curve of the specular mirror is enough to quench the fires of Sirius and break the club of Hercules. The motives and conduct, the principles and the characters of men buried deep in the heart, are not less likely to be mistaken than the lines and angles of material bodies. The uncharitableness of individuals and parties will sometimes confound a defect in the glass with a blemish in the object. A fly hatched from a maggot in our own brain creeps into the tube, and straightway we proclaim that there is a monster in the heavens, which threatens to devour the sun.

Such, my friends, most inadequately sketched, in some of his private and personal relations, was Mr. Webster; not the jurist, not the senator, not the statesman, not the orator, but the man; and when you add to these amiable personal traits, of which I have endeavored to enliven your recollections, the remembrance of what he was in those great public capacities, on which I have purposely omitted to dwell, but which it has tasked the highest surviving talent to describe, may we not fairly say that, in many respects, he stood without an equal among the men of his day and generation? Besides his noble presence and majestic countenance, in how many points, and those of what versatile excellence, he towered above his fellows! If you desired only a companion for an idle hour, a summer's drive, an evening ramble, whose pleasant conversation would charm the way, was there a man living you would sooner have sought than him? But if, on the other hand, you wished to be resolved on the most diffi-

cult point of constitutional jurisprudence or public law, to whom would you have propounded it sooner than to him? If you desired a guest for the festive circle, whose very presence, when ceremony is dropped and care banished, gave life and cheerfulness to the board, would not your thought, while he was with us, have turned to him? And if your life, your fortune, your good name were in peril; or you wished for a voice of patriotic exhortation to ring through the land; or if the great interests of the country were to be explained and vindicated in the senate or the cabinet; or if the welfare of our beloved native land, the union of the States, peace or war with foreign powers, all that is dear or important for yourselves and your children were at stake, did there live the man, nay, did there *ever* live the man, with whose intellect to conceive, whose energy to enforce, whose voice to proclaim the right, you would have rested so secure? Finally, if, through the "cloud" of party opposition, sectional prejudice, personal "detraction," and military availabilities which catch the dazzled fancies of men, he could have "ploughed his way," at the meridian of his life and the maturity of his faculties, to that position which his talents, his patriotism, and his public services so highly merited, is there a fair man of any party, who, standing by his honored grave, will not admit that, beyond all question, he would have administered the government with a dignity, a wisdom, and a fidelity to the Constitution, not surpassed since the days of Washington?

Two days before the decease of Daniel Webster, a gentle and thoughtful spirit touched to the finest issues, (Rev. Dr. Frothingham,) who knew and revered him, as who that truly knew him did not, contemplating the setting sun as he "shed his parting smile" on the mellow skies of October, and anticipating that a brighter sun was soon to set, which could rise no more on earth, gave utterance to his emotions in a chaste and elevated strain, which I am sure expresses the feelings of all present: —

"Sink, thou autumnal sun!
The trees will miss the radiance of thine eye,
Clad in their Joseph-coat of many a dye,
The clouds will miss thee in the fading sky;
But now in other climes thy race must run,
This day of glory done.

"Sink thou of nobler light!
The land will mourn thee in its darkling hour,
Its heavens grow gray at thy retiring power,
Thou shining orb of mind, thou beacon-tower!
Be thy great memory still a guardian might
When thou art gone from sight."

RECEPTION AT PHILADELPHIA.*

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN, —

I BEG you to believe me duly sensible of the honor done me by this reception. A unanimous vote of the councils of this great and patriotic city, an address like that just pronounced by the honored chief of her magistracy, a concourse of my fellow-citizens such as that which I see before me — these are distinctions which call loudly for my most grateful acknowledgments. They would do so under any circumstances; but when I reflect that (as you, sir, have been pleased to remark,) a reception like this is rarely given to a private citizen, in which character alone I appear before you, I feel that the hour is one to be ever remembered with gratitude.

I am fully aware, sir, that these distinguished municipal courtesies are usually awarded only to persons in high official station, or to those who are marked out by the public opinion of the country, as the just expectants of its favors. I am neither, sir; wearied with the labors and cares, and satiated with the honors, which have fallen to my lot, I desire to pass the residue of my humble career in those pursuits and avocations which befit the down-hill of life, leaving all the distinctions of public life to those who bear its burdens and court its rewards.

But it is no affected humility which leads me to ascribe

* Reply to a complimentary address of his Honor R. T. Conrad, the Mayor of Philadelphia, in behalf of the City Council, in Independence Hall, on the 5th of April, 1856.

this flattering reception, not to any relation in which I stand to the country, or your prosperous and hospitable city, but to the accidental circumstances, which have placed my visit to you in momentary association with the brightest name in the history, not merely of the American Union, but of the civilized world. You honor not me, but my errand. In that association I may without arrogance accept your courtesies. They are but a new expression of your reverence for the name of Washington, which to some extent ennobles all it touches. Men in high office write their own names upon their letters, and thus frank them to the furthest borders of the country. We private citizens have but to stamp ours with the image of Washington, and they will travel as fast and as far as those of secretaries and senators.

It adds inexpressibly, Mr. Mayor, to the value of these courtesies so kindly tendered to me, that they are offered in Independence Hall, whose name will ever stand side by side with that of Faneuil Hall, on the brightest page of the history of freedom. This hall, this venerated hall, in the times that tried men's souls, witnessed the consummation of an act already felt to be the most important in the progress of free institutions, and one which wraps up in its bosom consequences yet to be unfolded of inestimable importance, not merely to ourselves, but to mankind.

I hold it to be certain, that, if the manifold political evils which afflict the societies of men in the elder world are to be remedied, and if any mode of settling national controversies without a resort to war is to be devised, it must be by the development and application of the two great ideas, solemnly inaugurated in this hall on the 4th of July, 1776, namely, the ideas of representative government and confederate union. Whenever, throughout the civilized world, the first of these great ideas shall be so applied, not only in theory but in practice, as to bring every citizen, however humble, into vital union with every other, thus forming one harmonious whole; and whenever great and kindred States, retaining their separate sovereignties for all their local interests, shall be willing to unite for the designated objects of common concernment,

in well-balanced confederacies cemented by constitutional compacts, then, and not till then, the political millennium is at hand. When that day shall come, sir, the nations of the East and the nations of the West will alike turn their faces to Independence Hall. Regenerated Europe will renew her youth, by the streams of life drawn from her daughter's bosom, and the rising republics of the Pacific will gratefully acknowledge the exemplar of their hopeful institutions.

I have not the voice nor the strength, Mr. Mayor, after the effort of last evening, to make any thing that can be called a speech; but among the memories which cluster around this hall, there are some to which, as a dutiful son of Massachusetts, I must give utterance. Here, on the 15th of June, 1775, George Washington was unanimously chosen to the chief command of the armies of United America, on the earnest recommendation of John Adams. Massachusetts had her own troops, her own generals, in the field. The patriot army which held the forces of Great Britain closely besieged in Boston, were commanded by a Massachusetts major-general. There hangs his likeness, Mr. Mayor, (pointing to the portrait of General Ward); but with prophetic discernment inspired by patriotic disinterestedness, John Adams urged the appointment of the Virginia colonel over the Massachusetts major-general; and on the 15th of June, 1775, under these auspices and in this hall, Washington was called to the command of "all the continental forces raised or to be raised in defence of American liberty."

But the 17th of June was a day of brighter and dearer fame, with which this hall also is intimately associated. On the very day, probably at the very hour, when Warren fell on Bunker Hill, the commission of Washington was reported and adopted in this hall. Providence was pleased, on that day, to hold an even balance with the rising liberties of the country. While the lifeblood of Warren was ebbing away, Washington was clothed with his country's panoply. Oh! that the hero-victim, in his parting hour, could have caught a glimpse of the hero-chieftain of the Revolution! Oh! that

the dying agonies of the patriot son of Massachusetts could have been cheered by the auspicious vision of the patriot son of Virginia!

Again, the next year and on days to be for ever remembered in the annals of liberty, the great declaration, drafted by Jefferson, was sustained in this hall by John Adams, styled by the illustrious author of that immortal state-paper, the "Colossus of debate;" and when, on the glorious 4th of July, it was formally adopted, and ordered to be signed by every member of the body, John Hancock, its president, a Boston merchant, wrote his name in those clear, bold characters with which you are so well acquainted, in order that "John Bull might read it without spectacles, and if he pleased, double the price put on his head."

Forgive me, sir, a citizen of Massachusetts and of Boston, for alluding to these recollections with a feeling of local pride. They are not the only kindly association between Boston and Philadelphia. Franklin, Franklin! What citizen of Boston can enter this hall — this city — and not think of Franklin? I am not going to contest him with you, Mr. Mayor. A much valued friend (Hon. W. B. Reed) cautioned me against doing so, the day of my arrival. He was born in Boston; his parents are buried there; he got what little education he had at our free schools; he learned his trade of his brother, a Boston printer. When he ran away from us, you received him with a single dollar in his pocket; he grew up among you the statesman, the philosopher, the patriot; his ashes rest in your soil. Sir, we will not quarrel about him, as the citizens of Greece did about Homer. There is enough of him for both of us, and for ten Bostons and ten Philadelphias beside; and if the earth itself were too narrow for his renown, it will forever shine in the heavens whose lightnings, — which have since become, partly through the genius of another American philosopher, the "flaming ministers" of human thought, — he robbed of their terrors.

But, sir, I forbear; I should trespass too largely on your time, should I attempt to do justice to all the recollections

which crowd upon me in this venerable hall. I will close where I began, with my warm thanks for this honorable reception, and with my best wishes for the continued prosperity of your noble city, and for the personal welfare of every one of my fellow-citizens who honors me with his attendance on this occasion.

MR. DOWSE'S LIBRARY.*

I RISE, Mr. President, to express the satisfaction which I am sure we all feel, at the very important and interesting communication just made from the chair. After what has been so well said and so judiciously done by yourself and the gentleman (Mr. Livermore), to whose friendly offices the society is so much indebted on this occasion, I do not feel as if any thing further were necessary than to confirm your proceedings. At any rate, sir, I did not come to the meeting prepared to take the lead, in reference to any measures which it may be thought proper for the society to adopt. I had been led to suppose that that duty would devolve upon a distinguished gentleman (President Quincy), to whom, on account of his longer acquaintance with Mr. Dowse and his noble library, it more appropriately belongs. Deprived as we are of his presence, I rise with great cheerfulness to submit the only motion to you, which seems to be required by the occasion. Before doing so, sir, I will observe, that I have for more than thirty years had the good fortune to enjoy the friendship of Mr. Dowse, and to be well acquainted with the riches of his library. Twenty-five years ago I stated in a public address, that I considered it for its size the most valuable library of English books with which I was acquainted. A quarter of a century has since past, during the greater part

* Remarks made at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, on the 5th of August, 1856, called for the purpose of accepting the donation of Mr. Dowse's Library, Hon. R. C. Winthrop, the President of the Society, in the chair.

of which Mr. Dowse has continued to increase the number of his books and the value of his library by new acquisitions; and it now amounts, as our president informs us, to about five thousand volumes. Many of these are books of great rarity, such as are usually found only in the collections of the curious. A still greater number, in fact a large proportion, are books of great intrinsic value, which is by no means sure to be the case with bibliographical rarities. In a word, sir, it is a choice library of the standard literature of our language. Most of these books, where there was more than one edition, are of the best edition. They are all in good condition, — that has ever been a rule with Mr. Dowse; and very much the larger part of them are in elegant, some in superb, bindings. It is, in truth, a collection reflecting equal credit on the judgment, taste, and liberality of its proprietor.

We have a guaranty for the value of his library, in the inducement which led Mr. Dowse, very early in life, to commence its formation, and which has never deserted him. His interest in books is not, like that of some amateur collectors, limited to their outsides. He has loved to collect books because he has loved to read them; and I have often said that I do not believe there is a library in our neighborhood better *read* by its owner than that of Mr. Dowse.

Mr. Dowse may well be called a public benefactor, sir, and especially for this, that he has shown, by a striking example, that it is possible to unite a life of diligent manual labor with refined taste, intellectual culture, and those literary pursuits which are commonly thought to require wealth, leisure, and academical education. He was born and brought up in narrow circumstances. He had no education but what was to be got from a common town school seventy years ago. He has worked all his life at a laborious mechanical trade; and never had a dollar to spend but what he had first earned by his own manual labor. Under these circumstances he has not only acquired a handsome property, — not an uncommon thing under similar circumstances in this country, — but he has expended an ample portion of it in surrounding himself with a noble collection of books, — has found leisure to

acquaint himself with their contents, — has acquired a fund of useful knowledge, — has cultivated a taste for art, and thus derived happiness of the purest and highest kind, from those goods of fortune which too often minister only to sensual gratification and empty display.

I rejoice, sir, that our friend has adopted an effectual method of preventing the dispersion of a library, brought together with such pains and care and at so great an expense. Apart from the service he is rendering to our society, which, as one of its members, I acknowledge with deep gratitude, he is rendering a great service to the community. In this way, he has removed his noble collection from the reach of those vicissitudes to which the possessions of individuals and families are subject. There is no other method by which this object can be obtained. I saw the treasures of art and taste collected at Strawberry Hill, at untold expense, during a lifetime, by Horace Walpole, scattered to the four winds. The second best private library I ever saw, (Lord Spencer's is the best,) was that of the late Mr. Thomas Grenville, the son of George Grenville, of stamp act memory. He intended that it should go to augment the treasures of taste and art at Stowe, to whose proprietor (the Duke of Buckingham) he was related. In a green old age — little short of ninety — he had some warning of the crash which impended over that magnificent house; and by a codicil to his will, executed but a few months before his death, he gave his invaluable collection to the British Museum. In the course, I think, of a twelvemonth from that time, every thing that could be sold at Stowe was brought to the hammer.

Mr. Dowse has determined to secure his library from these sad contingencies, by placing it in the possession of a public institution. Here it will be kept together, — appreciated as it deserves, — and conscientiously cared for. While it will add to the importance of our society and increase our means of usefulness, it will share that safety and permanence to which the Massachusetts Historical Society, under the laws of the Commonwealth, is warranted in looking forward.

Finally, sir, I rejoice that our friend has taken this step

when he has and as he has; and has thus put it in our power to convey to him the assurance of our heartfelt gratitude; of our high sense of the value of his gift; and of the fidelity with which, regarding it as a great trust, it shall be preserved and used, so as best to promote the wise and liberal objects of the donation.

In taking my seat, sir, I beg leave to submit the motion, that a committee of five be appointed by the Chair to consider and report immediately what measures it may be expedient for the society to adopt, in reference to the communication from the president.

After some conversation, this resolution was adopted, and the following persons were named of the committee: Hon. Edward Everett, Chief Justice Shaw, Hon. Judge White, Hon. Nathan Appleton, and Rev. Dr. Lothrop.

The committee retired, and after a short time reported the following resolutions:—

Whereas, It has this day been announced to the Massachusetts Historical Society by the president, at a special meeting of said Society convened for that purpose, that the venerable Thomas Dowse of Cambridge, has, during the past week, presented to the Society his whole noble collection of rare and valuable books, a catalogue of which was at the same time laid upon the table by the president, upon the single condition that they shall be preserved together for ever, in a separate room, and shall only be used in said room. Now, therefore,

Resolved, unanimously, by the Massachusetts Historical Society, that they highly approve of the acts of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, their president, in his conferences and dealings with our distinguished benefactor, Mr. Dowse, in reference to this munificent donation, and that they do adopt, ratify, and confirm all his assurances and acts in receiving the said donation, in the name, and for the use and benefit of the Society; and that the said donation is gratefully accepted by the Society, upon the terms prescribed by the liberal and enlightened donor, and that said collection shall be sacredly preserved together in a room by itself, to be used only in said room.

Resolved, That the collection of books thus presented and accepted, shall be known always as the Dowse Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and that an appropriate book-plate be procured, with this or a similar inscription to be placed in each volume of the collection.

Resolved, That this Society entertain the deepest sense of the liberality and munificence of Mr. Dowse in making such a disposition of the library, which he has collected with such care and at such cost during a long lifetime, as shall secure it for the benefit of posterity, and for the honor of his native State, and that they offer to Mr. Dowse in return, their most grateful and heart-felt acknowledgments for so noble a manifestation of his confidence in the society, and of his regard for the cause of literature and learning.

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society respectfully and earnestly ask the favor of Mr. Dowse, that he will allow his portrait to be taken for the Society, to be hung for ever in the room which shall be appropriated to his library, so that the person of the liberal donor may always be associated with the collection which he so much loved and cherished, and that the form as well as the name of so wise, and ardent, and munificent a patron of learning and literature, may be always connected with the result of his labors, at once as a just memorial of himself, and an animating example to others.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions duly attested by all the officers of the Society, be communicated to Mr. Dowse by the president, with the cordial wishes of every member that the best blessings of heaven may rest upon the close of his long, honorable, and useful life.

THE USES OF ASTRONOMY.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF ALBANY,—

ASSEMBLED as we are under your auspices in this ancient and hospitable city, for an object indicative of a highly advanced stage of scientific culture, it is natural in the first place to cast an historical glance at the past. It seems almost to surpass belief, though an unquestioned fact, that more than a century should have passed away, after Cabot had discovered the coast of North America for England, before any knowledge was gained of the noble river on which your city stands, and which was destined by Providence to determine in after-times the position of the commercial metropolis of the continent. It is true that Verazzano, a bold and sagacious Florentine navigator in the service of France, had entered the Narrows in 1524, which he describes as a very large river, deep at its mouth, which forced its way through steep hills to the sea. But though he, like most of the naval adventurers of that age, was sailing westward in search of a shorter pas-

* A Discourse delivered at Albany, on occasion of the Inauguration of the Dudley Observatory, in that city, on the 28th of August, 1856. The original edition contained the following dedication: —

To Mrs. BLANDINA DUDLEY, to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, to the Regents of the University of the State of New York, and to the citizens of Albany generally, this Discourse, delivered on their invitation and in their presence, and published at the request of the committee of arrangements for the Inauguration of the Dudley Observatory, is, with the best wishes for the complete success of that noble enterprise, respectfully dedicated by EDWARD EVERETT.

sage to India, he left this part of the coast without any attempt to ascend the river; nor can it be gathered from his narrative that he believed it to penetrate far into the interior.

Near a hundred years elapsed, before that great thought acquired substance and form. In the spring of 1609, the heroic but unfortunate Hudson, one of the brightest names in the history of English maritime achievement, but then in the employment of the Dutch East India Company, in a vessel of eighty tons, bearing the very astronomical name of the "Half-moon," having been stopped by the ice in the polar sea, in the attempt to reach the East by the way of Nova Zembla, struck over to the coast of America in a high northern latitude. He then stretched down south-westwardly to the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, (of which he had gained a knowledge from the charts and descriptions of his friend, Capt. Smith,) — thence returning to the North, entered Delaware Bay, — standing out again to sea arrived on the 2d of September in sight of the "high hills" of Neversink, pronouncing it "a good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see," and on the following morning, sending his boat before him to sound the way, passed Sandy Hook, and there came to anchor, on the 3d of September, 1609; two hundred and forty-seven years ago, next Wednesday. What an event, my friends, in the history of American population, enterprise, commerce, intelligence, and power, — the dropping of that anchor at Sandy Hook!

Here he lingered a week, in friendly intercourse with the natives of New Jersey, while a boat's company explored the waters up to Newark Bay. And now the great question. Shall he turn back like Verazzano, or ascend the stream? Hudson was of a race and in an employ, not prone to turn back, by sea or by land. On the 11th of September, he raised the anchor of the "Half-moon," passed through the Narrows, beholding on both sides "as beautiful a land as one can tread on;" and floated cautiously and slowly up the noble stream, the first ship that ever rested on its bosom. He passed the Palisades, nature's dark basaltic Malakoff; forced

the iron gateway of the Highlands, and anchored on the 14th, near West Point; swept onward and upward the following day by grassy meadows and tangled slopes, hereafter to be covered with smiling villages; — by elevated banks and woody heights, the destined site of future towns and cities, — *tot egregias urbes*, — of Newburg, Poughkeepsie, Catskill; — on the evening of the 15th arrived opposite "the mountains which lie from the river side," where he found "a very loving people and very old men;" and the day following reached the spot, hereafter to be honored by his own illustrious name. One more day wafts him up between Schodac and Castleton, and here he landed and passed a day with the natives, — greeted with all sorts of barbarous hospitality, — the land "the finest for cultivation he ever set foot on," the natives so kind and gentle that, when they found he would not remain with them over night, and feared that he left them, — poor children of nature, — because he was afraid of their weapons, he, whose quarter-deck was heavy with ordnance, they "broke their arrows in pieces and threw them in the fire." On the following morning, with the early flood-tide, on the 19th of September, 1609, the Half-moon "ran higher up two leagues above the Shoals," and came to anchor in deep water, near the site of the present city of Albany. Happy, if he could have closed his gallant career, on the banks of the stream which so justly bears his name, and thus have escaped the sorrowful and mysterious catastrophe which awaited him in the Arctic waters, the next year!

But the discovery of your great river and of the site of your ancient city is not the only event, which renders the year 1609 memorable in the annals of America and the world. It was one of those years, in which a sort of sympathetic movement toward great results unconsciously pervades the races and the minds of men. While Hudson was exploring this mighty river and this vast region for the Dutch East India Company, Champlain, in the same year, carried the lilies of France to the beautiful lake which bears his name on your northern limits; — the languishing establishments of

England in Virginia were strengthened by the second charter granted to that colony; — the little church of Robinson removed from Amsterdam to Leyden, from which, in a few years, they went forth, to lay the foundations of New England on Plymouth Rock; — the seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, after that terrific struggle of forty years, (the commencement of which has just been embalmed by an American historian,* in a record worthy of the great event,) wrested from Spain the virtual acknowledgment of their independence in the Twelve Years' truce; — and James the First, in the same year, granted to the British East India Company their first permanent charter; corner-stone of an empire destined in two centuries to overshadow the East.

One more incident is wanting to complete the list of the memorable occurrences which signalize the year 1609, and one most worthy to be remembered by us on this occasion. Contemporaneously with the events which I have enumerated, — eras of history, dates of empire, the starting point in some of the greatest political, social, and moral revolutions in our annals, — an Italian astronomer, who had heard of the magnifying glasses which had been made in Holland, by which distant objects could be brought seemingly near, caught at the idea, constructed a telescope, and pointed it to the heavens. Yes, my friends, in the same year in which Hudson discovered your river and the site of your ancient town, and in which Robinson made his melancholy Hegira from Amsterdam to Leyden, Galileo Galilei, with a telescope, the work of his own hands, discovered the phases of Venus and the satellites of Jupiter; and now, after the lapse of less than two centuries and a half, on a spot then imbosomed in the wilderness, the covert of some of the least civilized of all the races of men, we are assembled, descendants of the Hollanders, descendants of the Pilgrims, in this ancient and prosperous city, to inaugurate the establishment of a first class Astronomical Observatory.

One more glance at your early history. Three years after

* J. Lathrop Motley.

the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth (for I delight to trace these kindly synchronisms), Fort Orange was erected, in the centre of what is now the business part of the city of Albany, and a few years later, the little hamlet of Beverswyck began to nestle under its walls. Two centuries ago, my Albanian friends, this very year, your forefathers assembled, not certainly to inaugurate an observatory, but to lay the foundations of a new church in the place of the rude cabin which had hitherto served them in that capacity. It was built at the intersection of Yonker's and Handelaar's, better known to you as State and Market streets. Public and private liberality coöperated in the important work. The authorities at the fort gave fifteen hundred guilders; — the Patroon of that early day, with a liberality coeval with the name and the race, contributed a thousand; — while the inhabitants, for whose benefit it was erected, whose numbers were small, and their resources smaller, subscribed twenty beavers, "for the purchase of an oaken pulpit in Holland." Whether the largest part of this subscription was bestowed by some liberal benefactress, tradition has not informed us. It has however informed us, as I learned a few hours since from Mr. Brodhead, that the corner-stone of the little church was laid by the Rev. Rutger Jacobsen; and that his daughter married Jan Jansen Bleecker, from whom is lineally descended Mrs. Blandina Bleecker Dudley, to whom we are so largely indebted for this day's celebration.

Nor is the year 1656 memorable in the annals of Albany alone. In that same year your imperial metropolis, which had then recently been incorporated as a city by the name of New Amsterdam, was first carefully surveyed by official authority, and found to contain one hundred and twenty houses and one thousand inhabitants.* In eight years more New Netherland becomes New York; Fort Orange, with its dependent hamlet, assumes the name of Albany; — a century of various fortune succeeds, — the scourge of French and

* These historical notices, relative to the discovery of the river by Hudson and the foundation of Albany, are for the most part abridged from Mr. Brodhead's excellent history of New York

Indian war is rarely absent from the land, — every shock of European policy vibrates with electric rapidity across the Atlantic, but the year 1756 finds a population of three hundred thousand in your growing province. Albany, however, may still be regarded almost as a frontier settlement. Of the twelve counties into which the province was divided a hundred years ago, the county of Albany comprehended all that lay north and west of the city; and the city itself contained but about three hundred and fifty houses.

One more century; another act in the great drama of empire; another French and Indian war beneath the banners of England; a successful revolution, of which some of the most momentous events occurred within your immediate neighborhood; a union of States; a constitution of federal governments; your population carried to the St. Lawrence and the great Lakes, and their waters poured into the Hudson; your territory covered with a network of canals and railroads, filled with life, and action, and power, with all the works of peaceful art and prosperous enterprise, with all the institutions which constitute and advance the civilization of the age, its population exceeding that of the Union at the date of the Revolution, your own numbers twice as large as those of the largest city of that day, you have met together, my friends, just two hundred years since the erection of the little church of Beverswyck, to dedicate a noble temple of science, and to take a becoming public notice of the establishment of an institution destined, as we trust, to exert a beneficial influence on the progress of useful knowledge at home and abroad, and through that on the general cause of civilization.

You will observe that I am careful to say the progress of science "at home and abroad;" for the study of astronomy in this country, like that of many other branches of natural science, has long since, I am happy to add, passed that point where it is content to repeat the observations and verify the results of European research. It has boldly and successfully entered the field of original investigation, discovery, and speculation; and there is not now a single department of the science in which the names of American observers and math-

ematicians are not cited by our brethren across the water, side by side with the most eminent of their European contemporaries. Gibbon, after his magnificent enumeration of the seven appearances of the comet of 1680, adds, "at the eighth period, in the year two thousand two hundred and fifty-five, the calculations of Bernouilli, Newton, and Halley, may perhaps be verified by the astronomers of some future capital in the Siberian or American wilderness." * It is a somewhat singular circumstance, that at a date nearly four hundred years in advance of that assumed by Gibbon, the two largest refracting telescopes in the world are found, the one in Russia and the other in America; and in either country a degree of astronomical skill equal to the highest operations of the science.

This state of things is certainly recent. During the colonial period, and in the first generation after the Revolution, no department of science was, for obvious causes, very extensively cultivated in America, — astronomy perhaps as much as the kindred branches. The improvement in the quadrant, commonly known as Hadley's, had already been made at Philadelphia by Godfrey in the early part of the last century, and the beautiful invention of the collimating telescope was made at a later period by Rittenhouse, an astronomer of distinguished repute. The transits of Venus of 1761 and 1769 were observed in different parts of the country; orreries, a favorite scientific toy in the last century, were constructed in Philadelphia and Boston; and some respectable scientific essays are contained, and valuable observations are recorded, in the early volumes of the transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston and Cambridge. But in the absence of a numerous class of men of science to encourage and aid each other, in a state of the country as yet too poor to extend a liberal patronage to the expensive arts, without observatories and without valuable instruments, little of importance could be expected in the higher walks of astronomical research.

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, ch. xliii.

The greater the credit due for the achievement of an enterprise commenced in the early part of the present century, and which would reflect honor on the science of any country and any age, I mean the translation and commentary on Laplace's *Mécanique Céleste*, by Bowditch; a work whose merit I am myself wholly unable to appreciate, but which I have been led to think places the learned translator and commentator on a level with the ablest astronomers and geometers of the day. This work may be considered as opening a new era in the history of American science. The country was still almost wholly deficient in instrumental power; but the want was generally felt by men of science, and the public mind in various parts of the Union began to be turned towards the means of supplying it. In 1825, President John Quincy Adams brought the subject of a National Observatory before congress. Political considerations prevented its being favorably entertained at that time; and it was not till 1842, and as an incident of the exploring expedition, that an appropriation was made for a *dépot* for the charts and instruments of the navy. On this modest basis has been reared the National Observatory at Washington; an institution which has already taken and fully sustains an honorable position among the scientific establishments of the age.

Besides the institution at Washington, fifteen or twenty observatories have, within the last few years, been established in different parts of the country, some of them on a modest scale for the gratification of the scientific taste and zeal of individuals, others on a broad foundation of expense and usefulness. In these establishments, public and private, the means are provided for the highest order of astronomical observation, research, and instruction. There is already in the country an amount of instrumental power (to which addition is constantly making), and of mathematical skill on the part of our men of science, adequate to a manly competition with their European contemporaries in astronomy and the branches of science, theoretical and applied, con-

nected with it. The proceedings of the present meeting of the American Association fully justify this remark. The fruits are already before the world in the triangulation of several of the States, in the great work of the coast survey, in the numerous scientific surveys of the interior of the continent, in the astronomical department of the exploring expedition, in the more recent scientific expedition to Chili;— in the brilliant hydrographical labors of the observatory at Washington; in the published observations of Washington and Cambridge; in the general character of the contents of the journal conducted by the Nestor of American Science, now in its eighth lustrum, of the Sidereal Messenger, and the Astronomical Journal; in the National Ephemeris; in the great chronometrical expeditions to determine the longitude of Cambridge, better ascertained than that of Paris was till the last year (1855); in the prompt rectification of the errors in the predicted elements of Neptune, in its identification with Lalande's missing star, and in the calculation of its ephemeris; in the discovery of the satellite of Neptune, of the eighth satellite of Saturn, and of the innermost of its rings; in the establishment, both by observation and theory, of the non-solid character of Saturn's rings; in the recent remarkable speculations on the nature of the zodiacal light; in the separation and measurement of many double and triple stars, amenable only to superior instrumental power; in the immense labor already performed in preparing Star Catalogues, and in numerous accurate observations of standard stars; in the diligent and successful observation of the meteoric showers; in an extensive series of magnetic observations; in the discovery of an asteroid and ten or twelve telescopic comets (the latter not the achievement of the stronger sex alone); in the resolution of nebulæ, which have defied every thing in Europe but Lord Rosse's great Reflector; in the application of electricity to the measurement of differences in longitude, in the corrected ascertainment of the velocity of the electro-magnetic fluid, and its truly wonderful uses in recording astronomical observations. These

are but a portion of the achievements of American astronomical science within fifteen or twenty years, and fully justify the most sanguine anticipations of its further progress.

How far our astronomers may be able to pursue their researches, will depend upon the resources of our public institutions, and the liberality of wealthy individuals in furnishing the requisite means. With the exception of the observatories at Washington and West Point, little can be done or expected to be done by the government of the Union or the States; but in this, as in every thing else connected with the patronage of art and science, the great dependence, and may I not add the safe dependence, as it ever has been, must continue to be upon the bounty of enlightened, liberal, and public-spirited individuals.

It is by a signal exercise of this bounty, my friends, that we are called together to-day. The munificence of several citizens of this ancient city, among whom the first place is due to the generous lady, whose name has with great propriety been given to the institution, has furnished the means for the foundation of the Dudley Observatory at Albany. On a commanding elevation, on the northern edge of the city, liberally given for that purpose by the head of a family (Van Rensselaer) in which the patronage of science is hereditary, a building of ample dimensions has been erected, upon a plan which combines all the requisites of solidity, convenience, and taste. A large portion of the expense of the structure has been defrayed by Mrs. Blandina Dudley, to whose generosity, and that of several other public-spirited individuals, the institution is also indebted for the provision which has been made for an adequate supply of first-class instruments, executed and to be executed by the most eminent makers in Europe and America; and which, it is confidently expected, will yield to none of their class in any observatory in the world.*

With a liberal supply of instrumental power; established

* For this description of the Dudley Observatory I am indebted to a valuable article on American Observatories, by Professor Loomis, in Harper's Magazine for June, 1856, p. 49.

in a community to whose intelligence and generosity its support may be safely confided, and whose educational institutions are rapidly realizing the conception of a university; countenanced by the gentleman who conducts the United States Coast Survey with such scientific skill and administrative energy, and by the men of science generally in the United States; committed to the immediate supervision of an astronomer (Dr. B. A. Gould), to whose distinguished talent has been added the advantage of a thorough scientific education in the most renowned universities of Europe, and who, as the editor of the American Astronomical Journal, has shown himself to be fully qualified for the high trust;— under these favorable circumstances, the Dudley Observatory at Albany now takes its place among the scientific foundations of the country and the world.

It is no affected modesty which leads me to express the regret that this interesting occasion could not have taken place under somewhat different auspices. I feel that the duty of addressing this great and enlightened assembly, comprising so much of the intelligence of the community and of the science of the country, ought to have been elsewhere assigned; that it should have devolved upon some one of the eminent persons, many of whom I see around me, to whom you have been listening the past week,* who as observers and geometers could have treated the subject with a master's power; astronomers, whose telescopes have penetrated the depths of the heavens, or mathematicians, whose analysis unthreads the maze of their wondrous mechanism. If, instead of commanding, as you easily could have done, qualifications of this kind, your choice has rather fallen on one, making no pretensions to the honorable name of a man of science, — but whose delight it has always been to turn aside from the dusty and thankless paths of active life, for an interval of recreation in the green fields of sacred nature in all her kingdoms, — it is, I presume, because you have desired, on an occasion of this kind, necessarily of a popular character, that

* This discourse was delivered on the last day of the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Albany.

those views of the subject should be presented which address themselves to the general intelligence of the community, and not to its select scientific circles. For astronomy, perhaps to a greater extent than any other department of natural science, exhibits phenomena, which, while they task the highest powers of philosophical research, are also well adapted to arrest the attention of minds barely tinctured with scientific culture, and even to touch the sensibilities of the wholly uninstructed observer. The profound investigations of the chemist into the ultimate constitution of material nature, the minute researches of the physiologist into the secrets of animal life, the transcendental logic of the geometer bristling in a notation, the very sight of which terrifies the uninitiated, are lost on the common understanding. But the unspeakable glories of the rising and the setting sun; the serene majesty of the moon, as she walks in full-orbed brightness through the heavens; the soft witchery of the morning and the evening star; the imperial splendors of the firmament on a bright unclouded night; the comet, whose streaming banner floats over half the sky, — these are objects which charm and astonish alike the philosopher and the peasant, — the mathematician who weighs the masses and defines the orbits of the heavenly bodies, and the untutored observer who sees nothing beyond the images painted upon the eye.

An astronomical observatory, in the general acceptation of the word, is a building erected for the reception and appropriate use of astronomical instruments, and the accomodation of the men of science employed in making and reducing observations of the heavenly bodies. These instruments are mainly of three classes, to which I believe all others of a strictly astronomical character may be referred.

1st. The instruments by which the heavens are inspected, with a view to discover the existence of those celestial bodies which are not visible to the naked eye, (beyond all comparison more numerous than those which are,) and to observe the magnitude, shapes, and other sensible qualities, both of those which are, and those which are not thus visible, to the unaided sight. The instruments of this class are designated

by the general name of Telescope; and are of two kinds;—the refracting telescope, which derives its magnifying power from a system of convex lenses; and the reflecting telescope, which receives the image of the heavenly body upon a concave mirror.

2d. The second class of instruments consists of those, which are designed principally to measure the angular distances of the heavenly bodies from each other, and their time of passing the meridian. The transit instrument, the meridian circle, the mural circle, the heliometer, and the sextant, belong to this class. The brilliant discoveries of astronomy are for the most part made with the first class of instruments;—its practical results wrought out by the second.

3d. The third class contains the clock, with its subsidiary apparatus for measuring the time and marking its subdivisions, with the greatest possible accuracy;—indispensable auxiliary of all the instruments, by which the positions and motions of the heavenly bodies are observed, and measured, and recorded.

The telescope may be likened to a wondrous Cyclopean eye, endued with superhuman power, by which the astronomer extends the reach of his vision to the further heavens, and surveys galaxies and universes, compared with which the solar system is but an atom floating in the air. The transit may be compared to a measuring rod which he lays from planet to planet and from star to star, to ascertain and mark off the heavenly spaces, and transfer them to his note-book. The clock is the marvellous apparatus by which he equalizes and divides into nicely measured parts a portion of that unconceived infinity of duration, without beginning and without end, in which all existence floats as on a shoreless and bottomless sea.

In the contrivance and the execution of these instruments, the utmost stretch of inventive skill and mechanical ingenuity has been put forth. To such perfection have they been carried, that a single second of magnitude or space is rendered a distinctly visible and appreciable quantity. "The arc of a circle," says Sir J. Herschel, "subtended by one second, is less

than the two hundred thousandth part of the radius, so that on a circle of six f et in diameter, it would occupy no greater linear extent than $\frac{1}{5700}$ part of an inch; a quantity requiring a powerful microscope to be *discerned* at all."* The largest body in our system, the sun, whose real diameter is 882,000 miles, subtends, at a distance of 95,000,000 miles, but an angle of a little more than 32′; while so admirably are the best instruments constructed, that both in Europe and America, a satellite of Neptune, an object of comparatively inconsiderable diameter, has been discovered at a distance of 2,850,000,000 of miles.

The object of an Observatory, erected and supplied with instruments of this admirable construction and at proportionate expense, is, as I have already intimated, to provide for an accurate and systematic survey of the heavenly bodies, with a view to a more correct and extensive acquaintance with those already known, and as instrumental power and skill in using it increase, to the discovery of bodies hitherto invisible, and in both classes of objects to the determination of their distances, their time of passing the meridian, their relations to each other, and the laws which govern their movements.

Why should we wish to obtain this knowledge? What inducement is there to expend large sums of money in the erection of observatories, in furnishing them with costly instruments, and in the support of the men of science employed in making, discussing, and recording, for successive generations, these minute observations of the heavenly bodies?

In an exclusively scientific treatment of this subject, an inquiry into its utilitarian relations would be superfluous,—even wearisome. But on an occasion like the present, you will not, perhaps, think it out of place, if I briefly answer the questions what is the use of an astronomical observatory, and what benefit may be expected from the operations of such an establishment in a community like ours?

I. In the first place, then. we derive from the observations

* Herschel's Outlines of Astronomy, § 131.

of the heavenly bodies which are made at an observatory, our only adequate measures of time and our only means of comparing the time of one place with the time of another. Our artificial timekeepers, — clocks, watches, and chronometers, — however ingeniously contrived and admirably fabricated, are but a transcript, so to say, of the celestial motions, and would be of no value without the means of regulating them by observation. It is impossible for them under any circumstances to escape the imperfection of all machinery, the work of human hands; and the moment we remove with our timekeeper east or west, it fails us. It will keep home time alone, like the fond traveller who leaves his heart behind him. The artificial instrument is of incalculable utility, but must itself be regulated by the eternal clock-work of the skies.

This single consideration is sufficient to show how completely the daily business of life is affected and controlled by the heavenly bodies. It is they and not our main-springs, our expansion balances, and our compensation pendulums, which give us our time. To reverse the line of Pope, —

> 'Tis with our watches as our judgments; none
> Go just alike, but each believes his own; —

But for all the kindreds and tribes and tongues of men, — each upon their own meridian, — from the Arctic pole to the equator, from the equator to the Antarctic pole, the eternal sun strikes twelve at noon, and the glorious constellations, far up in the everlasting belfries of the skies, chime twelve at midnight; — twelve for the pale student over his flickering lamp, twelve amid the flaming wonders of Orion's belt, if he crosses the meridian at that fated hour; — twelve by the weary couch of languishing humanity, twelve in the star-paved courts of the empyrean; — twelve for the heaving tides of the ocean; twelve for the weary arm of labor; twelve for the toiling brain; twelve for the watching, waking, broken heart; twelve for the meteor which blazes for a moment and expires; twelve for the comet whose period is measured by centuries; twelve for every substantial, for every imaginary thing, which exists in the sense, the intellect, or

the fancy, and which the speech or thought of man, at the given meridian, refers to the lapse of time.

Not only do we resort to the observation of the heavenly bodies for the means of regulating and rectifying our clocks, but the great divisions of day and month and year are derived from the same source. By the constitution of our nature the elements of our existence are closely connected with the celestial times. Partly by his physicial organization, partly by the habit, — second nature, — of the race from the dawn of creation, man as he is, and the times and seasons of the heavenly bodies, are part and parcel of one system. The first great division of time, the *day-night* (nychthemerum), for which we have no precise synonyme in our language, with its primal alternation of waking and sleeping, of labor and rest, is a vital condition of the existence of such a creature as man. The revolution of the *year*, with its various incidents of summer and winter and seed-time and harvest, is not less involved in all our social, material, and moral progress. It is true that at the poles and on the equator, the effects of these revolutions are variously modified or wholly disappear; but as the necessary consequence, human life is extinguished at the poles, and on the equator attains only a languid or feverish development.* Those latitudes only, in which the great motions and cardinal positions of the earth exert a mean influence, exhibit man in the harmonious expansion of his powers. The lunar period, which lies at the foundation of the *month*, is less vitally connected with human existence and development; but is proved by the experience of every age and race to be eminently conducive to the progress of civilization and culture.

But indispensable as are these heavenly measures of time to our life and progress, and obvious as are the phenomena on which they rest, yet, owing to the circumstance, that, in the economy of nature, the day, the month, and the year are not exactly commensurable, some of the most difficult questions in practical astronomy are those, by which an accurate

* Guyot Earth and Man, p. 231, et seq.

division of time, applicable to the various uses of man, is derived from the observation of the heavenly bodies. I have no doubt, that, to the Supreme Intelligence which created and rules the universe, there is a harmony, hidden to us, in the numerical relation to each other of days, months, and years; but in our ignorance of that harmony, their practical adjustment to each other is a work of difficulty. The great embarrassment which attended the reformation of the calendar, after the error of the Julian period had, in the lapse of centuries, reached ten (or rather twelve) days, sufficiently illustrates this remark. It is most true that scientific difficulties did not form the chief obstacle. Having been proposed under the auspices of the Roman Pontiff, the protestant world, for a century and more, rejected the new style. It was in various places the subject of controversy, collision, and bloodshed.* It was not adopted in England till nearly two centuries after its introduction at Rome; and in the country of the Struves and the Pulkova equatorial, they persist at the present day, for civil purposes, in adding eleven minutes and twelve seconds to the length of the tropical year.

Connected with the use of astronomy in all determinations of time, is its application to the purposes of history and chronology. The want of reliable historical eras has involved many portions of ancient history, especially oriental history, in the greatest confusion. Almost the only events in very remote times, of which the date can be ascertained with precision, are those, which can be referred to eclipses. Thus the battle between the Lydian and the Median armies narrated by Herodotus is, by the eclipse of the sun, supposed to have been predicted by Thales, ascertained to have happened on the 30th of September, 610, B. C. The delay of Nicias to embark from Sicily, a delay which proved "a sentence of death to the Athenian army," was caused by an eclipse of the moon on the 27th of August, 413, B. C., and the date of Alexander's passage of the Tigris, before the mighty battle of Arbela, is determined by a similar eclipse of the moon on the

* Stern's Himmelskunde, p. 72.

20th of September, 331, B. C.* These dates are ascertained by modern astronomy with as much precision as if they had happened yesterday; and without its aid, no event in profane oriental history, as ancient as the seventh century before our Saviour, could be fixed within a generation.

II. The second great practical use of an Astronomical Observatory is connected with the science of Geography. The first page of the history of our continent illustrates this connection. Profound meditation on the sphericity of the earth was one of the main reasons which led Columbus to undertake his momentous voyage; and his thorough acquaintance with the astronomical science of that day was, in his own judgment, what enabled him to overcome the almost innumerable obstacles which attended its prosecution.† In return, I find that Copernicus, in the very commencement of his immortal work,‡ appeals to the discovery of America as completing the demonstration of the sphericity of the earth. Much of our knowledge of the figure, size, density, and position of the earth as a member of the solar system is derived from this science, and it furnishes us the means of performing the most important operations of practical geography. Latitude and longitude, which lie at the basis of all descriptive geography, are determined by observation. No map deserves the name, on which the position of important points has not been astronomically determined. Some even of our most important political and administrative arrangements depend upon the coöperation of this science. Among these I may mention the land-system of the United States, and the determination of the boundaries of the country.

I believe that till it was done by the federal government, a uniform system of mathematical survey had never in any country been applied to an extensive territory. Large grants and sales of public land took place before the Revolution and in the interval between the peace and the adoption of the constitution; but the limits of these grants and sales were

* Herodotus, I. 74; Grote, III. 313; VII. 432; XII. 205.

† Humboldt, Histoire de la Géographie, etc. Tom. I. p. 17.

‡ Copernicus, de Revolutionibus orbium cœlestium, fol. 2.

ascertained by sensible objects, by trees, streams, rocks, hills, and by reference to adjacent portions of territory, previously surveyed. The uncertainty of boundaries thus defined was a never-failing source of litigation. Large tracts of land in the Western country granted by Virginia, under this old system of special and local survey, were covered with conflicting claims, and the controversies to which they gave rise formed no small part of the business of the Federal Courts after their organization. But the adoption of the present land system brought order out of chaos. The entire public domain is now scientifically surveyed before it is offered for sale; it is laid off into ranges, townships, sections, and smaller divisions with unerring accuracy, resting on the foundation of base and meridian lines; — and I have been informed that under this system, scarce a case of contested location and boundary has ever presented itself in court. The general land-office contains maps and plans, in which every quarter-section of the public land is laid down with mathematical precision. The superficies of half a continent is thus transferred in miniature to the bureaus at Washington; — while the local land-offices contain transcripts of these plans, copies of which are furnished to the individual purchaser. When we consider the tide of population annually flowing into the public domain, and the immense importance of its efficient and economical administration, the utility of this application of astronomy will be duly estimated.*

I will here venture to repeat an anecdote which I heard lately from a son of the late Hon. Timothy Pickering. Mr. Octavius Pickering, on behalf of his father, had applied to Mr. David Putnam of Marietta, to act as his legal adviser, with respect to certain land claims in the Virginia military district, in the State of Ohio. Mr. Putnam declined the agency. He had had much to do with business of that kind, and found it beset with endless litigation. "I have never," he adds, "succeeded but in a single case, and that was a location and survey made by General Washington before the Revolution, and

* See an article on the Public Lands by the author of this address, American Almanac for 1832, p. 145.

I am not acquainted with any surveys, except those made by him, but what have been litigated."

At this moment, a most important survey of the coast of the United States is in progress; an operation of the utmost consequence, in reference to the geography, commerce, navigation, and hydrography of the country. The entire work, I need scarce say, is one of practical astronomy. The scientific establishment which we this day inaugurate is looked to for important coöperation in this great undertaking, and will no doubt contribute efficiently to its prosecution.

Astronomical observation furnishes by far the best means of defining the boundaries of States, when the lines are of great length and run through unsettled countries. Natural indications like rivers and mountains, however distinct in appearance, are in practice subject to unavoidable error. By the treaty of 1783, a boundary was established between the United States and Great Britain, depending partly on the course of rivers and upon the highlands dividing the waters which flow into the Atlantic Ocean from those which flow into the St. Lawrence. It took twenty years to find out which river was the true St. Croix, that being the starting point. England then having made the extraordinary discovery that the Bay of Fundy is not a part of the Atlantic Ocean, forty years more were passed in the unsuccessful attempt to re-create the Highlands which this strange doctrine had annihilated; and just as the two countries were on the verge of a war, the controversy was settled by compromise. Had the boundary been accurately described by lines of latitude and longitude, no dispute could have arisen. No dispute arose as to the boundary between the United States and Spain, and her successor, Mexico, where it runs through untrodden deserts, and over pathless mountains, along the forty-second degree of latitude. The identity of rivers may be disputed as in the case of the St. Croix; the course of mountain chains is too broad for a dividing line; the division of streams, as experience has shown, is uncertain, but a degree of latitude is written on the heavenly sphere; and nothing but an observation is required to read the record.

But scientific elements, like sharp instruments, must be handled with care. A part of our boundary between the British Provinces ran upon the forty-fifth degree of latitude; and about forty years ago, an expensive fortress was commenced by the government of the United States at Rouse's Point on Lake Champlain, on a spot intended to be just within our limits. When the line came to be more carefully surveyed, the fortress turned out to be on the wrong side; we had been building a fortification for our neighbor. But in the general compromises of the treaty of Washington by the Webster and Ashburton Treaty of the 9th of August, 1842, the fortress was left within our limits.*

Errors still more serious had nearly resulted a few years since in a war with Mexico. By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, of the 2d of February, 1848, the boundary line between the United States and that country was in part described by reference to the town of El Paso, as laid down on a specified map of the United States, of which a copy was appended to the treaty. This boundary was to be surveyed and run by a joint commission of men of science. It soon appeared that errors of two or three degrees existed in the projection of the map. Its lines of latitude and longitude did not conform to the topography of the region; so that it was impossible to execute the text of the treaty. The famous Mesilla Valley was a part of the debatable ground, and the sum of ten millions of dollars paid to the Mexican government, for that and for an additional strip of territory on the south-west, was the smart-money which expiated the inaccuracy of the map; the necessary result perhaps of the want of good materials for its construction. Ten millions of dollars would have gone a good way toward the expense of a National Observatory and of a map of the continent, constructed with entire accuracy.

It became my official duty, in London, a few years ago, to apply to the British government for an authentic statement of their claim to jurisdiction over New Zealand. The official

* Webster's Works, Vol. I. pp. 110, 115.

Gazette for the 2d of October, 1840, was sent me from the Foreign office, as affording the desired information. This number of the Gazette contained the proclamations issued by the lieutenant-governor of New-Zealand, "in pursuance of the instructions he had received from the Marquess of Normanby, one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State," asserting the jurisdiction of his government over the islands of New Zealand, and declaring them to extend "from thirty-four degrees thirty minutes north, to forty-seven degrees ten minutes south latitude." It is scarcely necessary to say, that south latitude was intended in both instances. This error of sixty-nine degrees of latitude, which would have extended the claim of British jurisdiction over the whole breadth of the Pacific, had apparently escaped the notice of that government.

It would be easy to multiply illustrations of the great practical importance of accurate scientific designations drawn from astronomical observation, in various relations connected with boundaries, surveys, and other geographical purposes; but I must hasten to

III. A third important department, in which the services rendered by astronomy are equally conspicuous. I refer to commerce and navigation. It is chiefly owing to the results of astronomical observation, that modern commerce has attained such a vast expansion, compared with that of the ancient world. I have already reminded you that accurate astronomical notions contributed materially to the conception in the mind of Columbus of his immortal enterprise, and to the practical success with which it was conducted. It was mainly his skill in the use of astronomical instruments, imperfect as they were, which enabled him, in spite of the bewildering variations of the compass, to find his way across the ocean.

One of the first practical applications contemplated by Galileo of his discovery of the satellites of Jupiter was the use that might be made of them in ascertaining the longitude at sea.*

* See a noble letter of Grotius to Galileo on this subject; Grotii Epistolæ, No. 654.

With the progress of the true system of the universe towards general adoption, this problem was the object of universal attention. It was the avowed object of the foundation of the Observatory at Greenwich,* and no one subject has received more of the consideration of astronomers than those investigations of the lunar theory, on which the requisite tables of the navigator are founded. The pathways of the ocean are marked out in the sky above: the eternal lights of the heavens are the only Pharos whose beams never fail; which no tempest can shake from its foundation. Within my recollection, it was deemed a necessary qualification for the master and the mate of a merchant-ship, and even for a prime hand, to be able to "work a lunar," as it was called.† The improvements in the chronometer have in practice, to a great extent,

* Grant's History of Physical Astronomy, p. 460.

† The following amusing anecdote is found in Baron Zach's *Correspondence Astronomique*, Vol. IV. p. 62. It is a part of the Baron's account of his visit to *Cleopatra's Barge*, which entered the harbor of Genoa in 1817. The Baron was told by the proprietor and commander of the vessel, that his black cook could find the ship's longitude by observation. "'There he is,' said the young man, pointing to a negro at the stern of the vessel, in his white apron, with a fowl in one hand and a dressing-knife in the other. 'Come here, John,' cried the captain, 'this gentleman is surprised at your calculating the longitude; tell him about it.' *Zach.* What method do you employ in calculating the longitude by lunar distances? *The Cook.* 'It is indifferent to me. I make use of the method of Maskelyne, of Lyons, of Witchell, and of Bowditch; but I prefer Dunthorne, with which I am more familiar and which is shorter.' I could not express my surprise at language like this from a black cook, with a bleeding fowl in one hand and a larding-knife in the other."

Dr. Bowditch, in early life, was supercargo of a vessel trading to the East. His captain being asked, on one occasion, at Manilla, how he had contrived to find his way, in the face of a north-east monsoon, by mere dead reckoning, replied, "that he had a crew of twelve men, every one of whom could take and work a lunar observation as well, for all practical purposes, as Sir Isaac Newton himself, were he alive." During this conversation, Dr. Bowditch sat, "as modest as a maid, saying not a word, but holding his slate pencil in his mouth," while another person remarked that "there was more knowledge of navigation on board that ship, than there was in all the vessels that have floated in Manilla Bay."—Memoir of Dr. Bowditch, by Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, p. 29.

superseded this laborious operation; but Observation remains, and unquestionably will for ever remain, the only dependence for ascertaining the ship's time, and deducing the longitude from comparison of that time with the chronometer.

It may perhaps be thought that astronomical science is brought already to such a state of perfection that nothing more is to be desired, or at least that nothing more is attainable in reference to such practical applications as I have described. This, however, is an idea which generous minds will reject, in this as in every other department of human knowledge. In astronomy, as in every thing else, the discoveries already made, theoretical or practical, instead of exhausting the science, or putting a limit to its advancement, do but furnish the means and instruments of further progress. I have no doubt we live on the verge of discoveries and inventions in every department, as brilliant as any that have ever been made; that there are new truths, new facts, ready to start into recognition on every side; and it seems to me there never was an age since the dawn of time, when men ought to be less disposed to rest satisfied with the progress already made, than the age in which we live; for there never was an age more distinguished for ingenious research, for novel result, and bold generalization.

That no further improvement is desirable in the means and methods of ascertaining the ship's place at sea, no one, I think, will from experience be disposed to assert. The last time I crossed the Atlantic, I walked the quarter-deck with the officer in charge of the noble vessel, on one occasion, when we were driving along before a leading breeze and under a head of steam, beneath a starless sky at midnight, at the rate certainly of ten or eleven miles an hour. There is something sublime, but approaching the terrible, in such a scene; the rayless gloom, the midnight chill, the awful swell of the deep, the dismal moan of the wind through the rigging, the all but volcanic fires within the hold of the ship; — I scarce know an occasion in ordinary life on which a reflecting mind feels more keenly its hopeless dependence on irrational forces beyond its own control. I asked my companion how nearly he could

determine his ship's place at sea under favorable circumstances. Theoretically, he answered, I think, within a mile; practically and usually within three or four. My next question was, How near do you think we may be to Cape Race?—that dangerous headland which pushes its iron-bound, unlighted bastions from the shore of Newfoundland far into the Atlantic, first land-fall to the homewardbound American vessel.* We must, said he, by our last observations and reckoning, be within three or four miles of Cape Race. A comparison of these two remarks, under the circumstances in which we were placed at the moment, brought my mind to the conclusion, that it is greatly to be wished that the means should be discovered of finding the ship's place more accurately, or that navigators would give Cape Race a little wider berth. Still I do not remember that one of the steam-packets between England and America was ever lost upon that formidable point.

It appears to me by no means unlikely, that, with the improvement of instrumental power, and of the means of ascertaining the ship's time with exactness, as great an advance beyond the present state of art and science in finding a ship's place at sea may take place, as was effected by the invention of the reflecting quadrant, the calculation of lunar tables, and the improved construction of chronometers.

In the wonderful versatility of the human mind, the improvement, when it takes place, will very probably be made by paths where it is least expected. The great inducement of Mr. Babbage to attempt the construction of an engine, by which astronomical tables could be calculated, and even printed, by mechanical means and with entire accuracy, was the errors in the requisite tables. Nineteen such errors, in point of fact, were discovered in an edition of Taylor's logarithms printed in 1792; some of which might have led to the most dangerous results in calculating a ship's place. These nineteen errors (of which one only was an error of the press) were pointed out in the Nautical Almanac for 1832. In one

* Since the voyage in question was made (in 1845), a light-house has been built on Cape Race.

of these *errata* the seat of the error was stated to be in cosine of 14° 18′ 3″. Subsequent examination showed that there was an error of one second in this correction, and accordingly in the Nautical Almanac of the next year a new correction was necessary. But in making the new correction of one second, a new error was committed of ten degrees. Instead of cosine 14° 18′ 2″, the correction was printed cosine 4° 18′ 2″, making it still necessary, in some future edition of the Nautical Almanac, to insert an *erratum* in an *erratum* of the *errata* in Taylor's Logarithms.*

In the hope of obviating the possibility of such errors, Mr. Babbage projected his calculating, or, as he prefers to call it, his difference machine. Although this extraordinary undertaking has been arrested in consequence of the enormous expense attending its execution, enough has been achieved to show the mechanical possibility of constructing an engine of this kind, and even one of far higher powers, of which Mr. Babbage has matured the conception, devised the notation, and executed in part the drawings, — themselves an imperishable monument of the genius of the author.

I happened on one occasion to be in company with this highly distinguished man of science, whose social qualities are as pleasing as his constructive talent is marvellous, when another eminent *savant*, Count Strzelecki, just returned from his Oriental and Australian tour, observed that he found among the Chinese a great desire to know something more of Mr. Babbage's calculating machine, and especially whether like their own *swanpan* it could be made to go into the pocket. Mr. Babbage good-humoredly observed, that thus far he had been very much out of pocket with it.†

* Edinburgh Review, Vol. LIX. p. 282.

† Since this discourse was delivered, a calculating machine, invented and constructed by Messrs. George and Edward Schentz of Stockholm, by which the problem of a mechanical computation and printing of tables appears to be successfully solved, has been presented to the Dudley Observatory by John F. Rathbone, Esq. of Albany. For an account of this most astonishing engine, and a specimen of the work which it is capable of performing, see "Specimens of tables calculated, stereomoulded, and printed by Machinery." London, 1857, Preface, p. xv.

Whatever advances may be made in astronomical science, theoretical or applied, I am strongly inclined to think that they will be made in connection with an increased command of instrumental power. The natural order in which the human mind proceeds, in the acquisition of astronomical knowledge, is minute and accurate observation of the phenomena of the heavens, the skilful discussion and analysis of these observations, and sound philosophy in generalizing the results.

In pursuing this course, however, a difficulty presented itself, which for ages proved insuperable, and which to the same extent has existed in no other science, namely, that all the leading phenomena are in their appearance delusive. It is indeed true that in all sciences superficial observation can only lead, except by chance, to superficial knowledge; but I know of no branch in which, to the same degree as in astronomy, the great leading phenomena are the reverse of true, while they yet appeal so strongly to the senses, that sagacious philosophers in antiquity who could foretell eclipses, and who discovered the precession of the equinoxes, still believed that the earth was at rest in the centre of the universe, and that all the hosts of heaven performed a daily revolution about it as a centre.

It usually happens in scientific progress, that when a great fact is at length discovered, it approves itself at once to all competent judges. It furnishes a solution to so many problems, and harmonizes with so many other facts, that all the other *data*, as it were, crystallize at once about it. In modern times we have often witnessed such an impatience, so to say, of great truths to be discovered, that it has frequently happened that they have been found out simultaneously by more than one individual. A disputed question of priority is an event of very common occurrence. Not so with the true theory of the heavens. So complete is the deception practised on the senses, that it failed more than once to yield to the announcement of the truth; and it was only when the visual organs were armed with an almost preternatural instrumental power, that the great fact found admission to the general mind.

It is supposed that in the very infancy of science, Pythagoras or his disciples explained the apparent motion of the heavenly bodies about the earth, by the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis. But this theory, though bearing so deeply impressed upon it the great seal of truth, *simplicity*, was in such glaring contrast with the evidence of the senses, that it failed of acceptance in antiquity or the middle ages. It found no favor with minds like those of Aristotle, Archimedes, Hipparchus, Ptolemy, or any of the acute and learned Arabian or mediæval astronomers. All their ingenuity and all their mathematical skill were exhausted in the development of a wonderfully complicated and ingenious but erroneous theory. The great master truth, rejected for its simplicity, lay, disregarded, at their feet.

At the second dawn of science, the great fact again beamed into the mind of Copernicus. Now, at least, in that glorious age which witnessed the invention of printing, the great mechanical engine of intellectual progress, and the discovery of America, we may expect that this long hidden revelation, a second time proclaimed, will command the assent of mankind. But the sensible phenomena were still too strong for the theory; — the glorious delusion of the rising and the setting sun could not be overcome. Tycho de Brahe furnished his observatory with instruments superior in number and quality to all that had been collected before; but the great instrument of discovery, which, by augmenting the optic power of the eye, enables it to penetrate beyond the apparent phenomena and to discern the true constitution of the heavenly bodies, was wanting at Uranienburg. The observations of Tycho, as discussed by Keppler, conducted that most fervid, powerful, and sagacious mind to the discovery of some of the most important laws of the celestial motions; but it was not till Galileo, at Florence, had pointed his telescope to the sky, that the Copernican system could be said to be firmly established in the scientific world.*

* It is another interesting coincidence of events in the year 1609, that Keppler's works *de Motu Martis* and *Astronomia Nova*, in which his two first

On this great name, my friends, assembled as we are to dedicate a temple to instrumental astronomy, we may well pause for a moment.

There is much, in every way, in the city of Florence, to excite the curiosity, to kindle the imagination, and to gratify the taste. Sheltered on the north by the vine-clad hills of Fiesole, whose Cyclopean walls carry back the antiquary to ages before the Roman, before the Etruscan, power, the flowery city (Fiorenza) covers the sunny banks of the Arno with its stately palaces. Dark and frowning piles of mediæval structure, a majestic dome the prototype of St. Peter's, basilicas which enshrine the ashes of some of the mightiest of the dead, the stone where Dante stood to gaze on the *campanile*, the house of Michael Angelo still occupied by a descendant of his lineage and name, — his hammer, his chisel, his dividers, his manuscript poems, all as if he had left them but yesterday; — airy bridges, which seem not so much to rest on the earth as to hover over the waters they span; — the loveliest creations of ancient art, rescued from the grave of ages again to "enchant the world;" — the breathing marbles of Michael Angelo, the glowing canvas of Raphael and Titian; — museums filled with medals and coins of every age from Cyrus the younger, and gems and amulets and vases from the sepulchres of Egyptian Pharaohs coeval with Joseph, and Etruscan Lucumons that swayed Italy before the Romans; — libraries stored with the choicest texts of ancient literature; — gardens of rose and orange and pomegranate and myrtle; — the very air you breathe languid with music and perfume, — such is Florence. But among all its fascinations addressed to the sense, the memory, and the heart, there was none to which I more frequently gave a meditative hour during a year's residence, than to the spot where Galileo Galilei sleeps beneath the marble floor of Santa Croce; no building on which I gazed with greater reverence, than I did upon the modest mansion at Arcetri, villa at once and prison, in which that venerable sage, by

laws are propounded, appeared in this year. I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr. B. A. Gould.

command of the Inquisition, passed the sad closing years of his life; the beloved daughter on whom he had depended to smooth his passage to the grave laid there before him; the eyes with which he had discovered worlds before unknown, quenched in blindness:—

> Ahimè! quegli occhi si son fatti oscuri,
> Che vider più di tutti i tempi antichi.
> E luce fur dei secoli futuri.

That was the house "where," says Milton, (another of those of whom the world was not worthy,) "I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old,—a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking on astronomy, otherwise than as the Dominican and Franciscan licensers thought."* Great heavens! what a tribunal, what a culprit, what a crime. Let us thank God, my friends, that we live in the nineteenth century. Of all the wonders of ancient and modern art,—statues and paintings, and jewels and manuscripts, the admiration and the delight of ages,—there was nothing which I beheld with more affectionate awe, than that poor rough tube, a few feet in length, the work of his own hands, that very "optic glass" through which the "Tuscan Artist" viewed the moon,

> "At evening from the top of Fesolé
> Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
> Rivers, or mountains, in her spotty globe:"

that poor little spy-glass (for it is scarcely more) through which the human eye first distinctly beheld the surface of the moon,—first discovered the phases of Venus, the satellites of Jupiter, and the seeming handles of Saturn,—first penetrated the dusky depths of the heavens,—first pierced the clouds of visual error, which from the creation of the world involved the system of the universe.

There are occasions on life in which a great mind lives years of rapt enjoyment in a moment. I can fancy the emotions of

* Milton's Prose Works, Vol. I. p. 313.

Galileo, when first raising the newly constructed telescope to the heavens, he saw fulfilled the grand prophecy of Copernicus, and beheld the planet Venus crescent like the moon. It was such another moment as that when the immortal printers of Mentz and Strasburg received the first copy of the Bible into their hands, the work of their divine art;—like that when Columbus, through the gray dawn of the 12th of October, 1492, (Copernicus, at the age of eighteen, was then a student at Cracow,*) beheld the shores of San Salvador;—like that when the law of gravitation first revealed itself to the intellect of Newton; like that when Franklin saw by the stiffening fibres of the hempen cord of his kite, that he held the lightning in his grasp;—like that when Leverrier received back from Berlin the tidings that the planet predicted by him was found.

Yes, noble Galileo, thou art right, *E pur si muove.* "It does move." Bigots may make thee recant it; but it moves nevertheless. Yes, the earth moves, and the planets move, and the mighty waters move, and the great sweeping tides of air move, and the empires of men move, and the world of thought moves, ever onward and upward to higher facts and bolder theories. The Inquisition may seal thy lips, but they can no more stop the progress of the great truth propounded by Copernicus and demonstrated by thee, than they can stop the revolving earth!

Close now, venerable sage, that sightless, tearful eye; it has seen what man never before saw;—it has seen enough. Hang up that poor little spy-glass; it has done its work. Not Herschel nor Rosse has comparatively done more. Franciscans and Dominicans deride thy discoveries now, but the time will come when from two hundred observatories in Europe and America the glorious artillery of science shall nightly assault the skies, but they shall gain no conquests in those glittering fields before which thine shall be forgotten. Rest in peace, great Columbus of the heavens, like him scorned, persecuted, broken-hearted; in other ages, in distant

* Kopernik et ses Travaux, par Jean Czynski, p. 29.

hemispheres, when the votaries of science, with solemn acts of consecration, shall dedicate their stately edifices to the cause of knowledge and truth, thy name shall be mentioned with honor!

It is not my intention, in dwelling with such emphasis upon the invention of the telescope, to ascribe undue importance, in promoting the advancement of science, to the increase of instrumental power. Too much, indeed, cannot be said of the service rendered by its first application in confirming and bringing into general repute the Copernican system; but for a considerable time, little more was effected by the wondrous instrument, than the gratification of curiosity and taste by the inspection of the planetary phases, and the addition of the rings and satellites of Saturn to the solar family. Newton, prematurely despairing of any further improvement in the refracting telescope, applied the principle of reflection, and the nicer observations now made, no doubt hastened the maturity of his great discovery of the law of gravitation; but that discovery was the work of his transcendent genius and consummate skill.

With Bradley in 1741, a new period commenced in instrumental astronomy, not so much of discovery as of measurement.* The superior accuracy and minuteness, with which the motions and distances of the heavenly bodies were now observed, resulted in the accumulation of a mass of new materials both for tabular comparison and theoretical speculation. These materials formed the enlarged basis of astronomical science between Newton and Sir William Herschel. His gigantic reflectors introduced the astronomer to regions of space before unvisited, extended beyond all previous conception the range of the observed phenomena, and with it proportionably enlarged the range of constructive theory. The discovery of a new primary planet and its attendant sat-

* Dr. Bowditch, in his admirable article in the North American Review, Vol. XX. p. 310. The value of Bradley's observations may be estimated from the labor bestowed upon their reduction by Bessel as late as 1818, in his "fundamenta astronomiæ pro anno MDCCLV, deducta ex observationibus *viri incomparabilis* Jämes Bradley."

ellites was but the first step of his progress into the labyrinth of the heavens. Contemporaneously with his observations, the French astronomers, and especially La Place, with a geometrical skill scarcely if at all inferior to that of its great author, resumed the whole system of Newton, and brought every phenomenon observed since his time within its laws. Difficulties of fact, with which he struggled in vain, gave way to more accurate observations, and problems that defied the power of his analysis yielded to the modern improvements of the calculus.

But there is no *ultima Thule* in the progress of science. With the recent augmentations of telescopic power, the details of the nebular theory, proposed by Sir W. Herschel with such courage and ingenuity, have been drawn in question. Many — most — of those milky patches in which he beheld what he regarded as cosmical matter, as yet in an unformed state, — the rudimental material of worlds not yet condensed, — have been resolved into stars as bright and distinct as any in the firmament. I well recall the glow of satisfaction, with which on the 22d of September, 1847, being then connected with the University at Cambridge, I received a letter from the venerable director of the observatory there, beginning with these memorable words: "You will rejoice with me that the great nebula in Orion has yielded to the powers of our incomparable telescope! . . . It should be borne in mind, that this nebula, and that of Andromeda [which has been also resolved at Cambridge], are the last strong-holds of the nebular theory." *

But if some of the adventurous speculations built by Sir William Herschel on the bewildering revelations of his telescope have been since questioned, the vast progress which has been made in sidereal astronomy, (to which, as I understand, the Dudley Observatory will be particularly devoted,) the discovery of the parallax of the fixed stars, the investigation of the interior relations of binary and triple systems of stars, the theories for the explanation of the extraordinary, not to say

* Annals of the Observatory of Harvard College, p. cxxi.

fantastic, shapes discerned in some of the nebulous systems, — whirls and spirals radiating through spaces as vast as the orbit of Neptune,* — the glimpses at systems beyond that to which our sun belongs, — these are all splendid results, which may fairly be attributed to the school of Herschel, and will forever insure no secondary place to that name in the annals of science.†

In the remarks which I have hitherto made, I have had mainly in view the direct connection of astronomical science with the uses of life and the service of man. But a generous philosophy contemplates the subject in higher relations. It is a remark, as old at least as Plato, and is repeated from him more than once by Cicero, that all the liberal arts have a common bond and relationship.‡ The different sciences contemplate as their immediate object the different departments of animate and inanimate nature; but this great system itself is but one. Its various parts are so interwoven with each other, that the most extraordinary relations and unexpected analogies are constantly presenting themselves; and arts and sciences seemingly the least connected render to each other the most effective assistance.

The history of electricity, galvanism, and magnetism, furnishes the most striking illustration of this remark. Commencing with the meteorological phenomena of our own atmosphere, and terminating with the observation of the remotest heavens, it may well be adduced on an occasion like the present. Franklin demonstrated the identity of lightning and the electric fluid. This discovery gave a great impulse to electrical research, with little else in view but the means of protection from the thundercloud. A purely accidental circumstance led the physician Galvani at Bologna to trace the

* See the remarkable memoir of Professor Alexander, "on the origin of the forms and the present condition of some of the clusters of stars, and several of the Nebulæ." — Gould's Astronomical Journal, Vol. III. p. 95.

† For an analysis of the progressive views of Sir W. Herschel on the Sidereal system, see *Etudes d' Astronomie Stellaire*, par F. G. W. Struve, pp. 23–44.

‡ Archias, § 1; de Oratore, Lib. III. § 21.

mysterious element, under conditions entirely novel, both of development and application. In this new form it became, in the hands of Davy, the instrument of the most extraordinary chemical operations; and earths and alkalis, touched by the creative wire, started up into metals, that float on water and kindle in the air. At a later period, the closest affinities are observed between electricity and magnetism, on the one hand; while on the other, the relations of polarity are detected between acids and alkalis. Plating and gilding henceforth become electrical processes. In the last applications of the same subtle medium, it has become the messenger of intelligence across the land and beneath the sea; and is now employed by the astronomer to ascertain the difference of longitudes, to transfer the beats of the clock from one station to another, and to record the moment of his observations with automatic accuracy. How large a share has been borne by America in these magnificent discoveries and applications, among the most brilliant achievements of modern science, will sufficiently appear from the repetition of the names of Franklin, Henry, Morse, Walker, Mitchel, Locke, and Bond.

It has sometimes happened, whether from the harmonious relations to each other of the different departments of science, or from rare felicity of individual genius, that the most extraordinary intellectual versatility has been manifested by the same person. Although Newton's transcendent talent did not blaze out in childhood, yet as a boy he discovered great aptitude for mechanical contrivance. His water-clock, self-moving vehicle, and mill were the wonder of the village; the latter propelled by a living mouse. Sir David Brewster represents the accounts as differing, whether the mouse was made to advance "by a string attached to its tail," or by "its unavailing attempts to reach a portion of corn placed above the wheel." It seems more reasonable to conclude that the youthful discoverer of the law of gravitation intended, by the combination of these opposite attractions, to produce a balanced movement. It is consoling to the average mediocrity of the race to perceive in these sportive essays, that the mind of Newton passed through the stage of boyhood. But emerg-

ing from boyhood, what a bound it made as from earth to heaven! Soon after commencing Bachelor of arts, at the age of twenty-four, he untwisted the golden and silver threads of the solar spectrum; simultaneously, or soon after, conceived the method of fluxions; and arrived at the elemental idea of universal gravity, before he had passed to his Master's degree.* Master of arts, indeed! That degree, if no other, was well bestowed. Universities are unjustly accused of fixing science in stereotype. That diploma is enough of itself to redeem the honors of academical parchment from centuries of learned dulness and scholastic dogmatism.

But the great object of all knowledge is to enlarge and purify the soul, to fill the mind with noble contemplations, and to furnish a refined pleasure. Considering this as the ultimate end of science, no branch of it can surely claim precedence of astronomy. No other science furnishes such a palpable embodiment of the abstractions which lie at the foundation of our intellectual system; the great ideas of time, and space, and extension, and magnitude, and number, and motion, and power. How grand the conception of the ages on ages required for several of the secular equations of the solar system; of distances, from which the light of a fixed star would not reach us in twenty millions of years;† of magnitudes, compared with which the earth is but a football; of starry hosts, suns like our own, numberless as the sands on the shore; of worlds and systems shooting through the infinite spaces, with a velocity compared with which the cannon-ball is a way-worn, heavy-paced traveller!

Much however, as we are indebted to our observatories for elevating our conceptions of the heavenly bodies, they present, even to the unaided sight, scenes of glory which words are too feeble to describe. I had occasion, a few weeks since, to take the early train from Providence to Boston; and for this purpose rose at two o'clock in the morning. Every thing around was wrapt in darkness and hushed in silence, broken only by

* Sir David Brewster's Life of Newton, chapter III.

† Nichol's Architecture of the Heavens, p. 160.

what seemed at that hour the unearthly clank and rush of the train. It was a mild, serene, midsummer's night, — the sky was without a cloud, — the winds were whist. The moon, then in the last quarter, had just risen, and the stars shone with a spectral lustre but little affected by her presence. Jupiter, two hours high, was the herald of the day; the Pleiades, just above the horizon, shed their sweet influence in the east; Lyra sparkled near the zenith; Andromeda veiled her newly-discovered glories from the naked eye in the south; the steady pointers, far beneath the pole, looked meekly up from the depths of the north to their sovereign.

Such was the glorious spectacle as I entered the train. As we proceeded, the timid approach of twilight became more perceptible; the intense blue of the sky began to soften; the smaller stars, like little children, went first to rest; the sister-beams of the Pleiades soon melted together; but the bright constellations of the west and north remained unchanged. Steadily the wondrous transfiguration went on. Hands of angels, hidden from mortal eyes, shifted the scenery of the heavens; the glories of night dissolved into the glories of the dawn. The blue sky now turned more softly gray; the great watch-stars shut up their holy eyes; the east began to kindle. Faint streaks of purple soon blushed along the sky; the whole celestial concave was filled with the inflowing tides of the morning light, which came pouring down from above in one great ocean of radiance; till at length, as we reached the Blue Hills, a flash of purple fire blazed out from above the horizon, and turned the dewy tear-drops of flower and leaf into rubies and diamonds. In a few seconds, the everlasting gates of the morning were thrown wide open, and the lord of day, arrayed in glories too severe for the gaze of man, began his state.

I do not wonder at the superstition of the ancient Magians, who in the morning of the world went up to the hill-tops of Central Asia, and, ignorant of the true God, adored the most glorious work of his hand. But I am filled with amazement, when I am told, that, in this enlightened age and in the heart of the Christian world, there are persons who can witness this

daily manifestation of the power and wisdom of the Creator, and yet say in their hearts, "there is no God."

Numerous as are the heavenly bodies visible to the naked eye, and glorious as are their manifestations, it is probable that in our own system there are great numbers as yet undiscovered. Just two hundred years ago this year, Huygens announced the discovery of one satellite of Saturn, and expressed the opinion that the six planets and six satellites then known, and making up the perfect number of *twelve*, composed the whole of our planetary system.* In 1729, an astronomical writer came to the conclusion that there might be other bodies in our system, but that the limit of telescopic power had been reached, and no further discoveries were likely to be made.† The orbit of one comet only had been definitively calculated. Since that time the power of the telescope has been indefinitely increased; — two primary planets of the first class, ten satellites,‡ and forty-three small planets (Aug. 1856), revolving between Mars and Jupiter, have been discovered; the orbits of six or seven hundred comets, some of brief period, have been ascertained; — and it has been computed that hundreds of thousands of these mysterious bodies wander through our system. There is no reason to think that all the primary planets which revolve about the sun have been discovered. An indefinite increase in the number of asteroids may be anticipated; while outside of Neptune, between our sun and the nearest fixed star, supposing the attraction of the sun to prevail through half the distance, there is room for ten more primary planets, succeeding each other at distances increasing in a geometrical ratio. The first of these will unquestionably be discovered as soon as the perturbations of Neptune shall have been accurately observed; — and with maps of the heavens, on which the smallest telescopic stars

* Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Series, Vol. III. p. 282.

† Admiral Smyth's Celestial Cycle, Vol. I. p. 198.

‡ This computation of the number of satellites discovered since 1729 assumes six as the number of those of Uranus. See J. R. Hind's Solar System, p. 175.

are laid down, any one of them may be discovered much sooner.*

But it is when we turn our observation and our thoughts from our own system to the systems which lie beyond it in the heavenly spaces, that we approach a more adequate conception of the vastness of Creation. All analogy teaches us that the sun which gives light to us is but one of those countless stellar fires which deck the firmament, and that every glittering star in that shining host is the centre of a system, as vast and as full of subordinate luminaries as our own. Of these suns, — centres of planetary systems, — thousands are visible to the naked eye, millions are discovered by the telescope. Sir John Herschel, in the account of his operations at the Cape of Good Hope,† calculates that about five and a half millions of stars are visible enough to be *distinctly counted* in a twenty foot reflector in both hemispheres. He adds that "the actual number is much greater, there can be little doubt." His illustrious father estimated, on one occasion, that 125,000 stars passed through the field of his forty foot reflector in a quarter of an hour. This would give 12,000,000 for the entire circuit of the heavens, in a single telescopic zone; and this estimate was made under the assumption that the nebulæ were masses of luminous matter not yet condensed into suns.

These stupendous calculations, however, form but the first column of the inventory of the universe. Faint white specks are visible even to the naked eye of a practised observer in different parts of the heavens. Under high magnifying powers, several thousands of such spots are visible, — no longer, however, faint white specks, but many of them resolved by powerful telescopes into vast aggregations of stars, each of which may with propriety be compared with the milky way of our system. Many of these nebulæ, however, resisted the power of Sir Wm. Herschel's great reflector, and were accordingly still regarded by him as masses of unformed, luminous

* Leverrier, *Compte Rendu*, 5th of Oct. 1846, p. 659. Proceedings of American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. I. p. 178.

† Results of Astronomical Observations made during the years 1834–8, at the Cape of Good Hope, p. 381.

matter. This, till a few years since, was perhaps the prevailing opinion, — and the nebular theory filled a large space in modern astronomical science. But with the increase of instrumental power, especially under the mighty grasp of Lord Rosse's gigantic reflector and the great refractors at Pulkova and Cambridge, the most irresolvable of these nebulæ have given way; and the better opinion now is, that every one of them is a galaxy, like our own milky way, composed of millions of suns. In other words, we are brought to the bewildering conclusion, that thousands of these misty specks, the greater part of them too faint to be seen by the naked eye, are, not each a universe like our solar system, but each a "swarm" of universes of unappreciable magnitude.* The mind sinks overpowered by the contemplation. We repeat the words, but they no longer convey distinct ideas to the understanding.

But these conclusions, however vast their comprehension, carry us but another step forward in the realms of sidereal astronomy. A proper motion in space of our sun and of the fixed stars, as we call them, has long been believed to exist. Their vast distances only prevent its being more apparent. The great improvement which has taken place in instruments of measurement within the last generation has not only established the existence of this motion, but has pointed to the region in the starry vault, around which our whole solar and stellar system, with its myriad of attendant planetary worlds, appears to be performing a mighty revolution. If, then, we assume that outside of the system to which we belong, and in which our sun is but a star like Aldebaran or Sirius, the different nebulæ of which we have spoken, thousands of which spot the heavens, constitute each a distinct family of universes, we must, following the guide of analogy, attribute to each of them also, beyond all the revolutions of their individual attendant planetary systems, a great revolution, comprehending the whole; while the same course of analogical reasoning would lead us still further onward, and in the last analysis, require us to assume a transcendental connection between all these mighty systems, — a universe of universes, circling

* Humboldt's Cosmos, Vol. III. p. 44, Otté's Translation.

round in the infinity of space, and preserving its equilibrium by the same laws of mutual attraction which bind the lower worlds together.*

It may be thought, that conceptions like these are calculated rather to depress than to elevate us in the scale of being; that, banished as he is by these contemplations to a corner of creation, and there reduced to an atom, man sinks to nothingness in this infinity of worlds. But a second thought corrects the impression. These vast contemplations are well calculated to inspire awe, but not abasement. Mind and matter are incommensurable. An immortal soul, even while clothed in "this muddy vesture of decay," is, in the eye of God and reason, a purer essence than the brightest sun that lights the depths of heaven. The organized human eye, instinct with life and spirit, which, gazing through the telescope, travels up to the cloudy speck in the handle of Orion's sword, and bids it blaze forth into a galaxy as vast as ours, stands higher in the order of being than all that host of luminaries. The intellect of Newton, which discovered the law that holds the revolving worlds together, is a nobler work of God than a universe of universes of unthinking matter.

If, still treading the loftiest paths of analogy, we adopt the supposition, — to me, I own, the grateful supposition, — that the countless planetary worlds which attend these countless suns are the abodes of rational beings like man, instead of bringing back from this exalted conception a feeling of insignificance, as if the individuals of our race were but poor atoms in the infinity of being, I regard it, on the contrary, as a glory of our human nature, that it belongs to a family which no man can number, of rational natures like itself. In the order of being they may stand beneath us, or they may stand above us; *he* may well be content with his place who is made "a little lower than the angels." †

* For popular views of the present state of science in the department of sidereal astronomy, see Sir John Herschel's Outlines, Part III.; Himmelskunde volksfässlich bearbeitet von M. A. Stern, pp. 258–319; and Etudes d' astronomie stellaire, par F. G. W. Struve.

† For some interesting views of the controversy which had its origin in

Finally, my friends, I believe there is no contemplation better adapted to awaken devout ideas than that of the heavenly bodies; no branch of natural science which bears clearer testimony to the power and wisdom of God than that to which you this day consecrate a temple. The heart of the ancient world, with all the prevailing ignorance of the true nature and motions of the heavenly orbs, was religiously impressed by their survey. There is a passage in one of those admirable philosophical treatises of Cicero, composed in the decline of life, as a solace under domestic bereavement and patriotic concern at the impending convulsions of the State, in which, quoting from some lost work of Aristotle, he treats the topic in a manner which almost puts to shame the teachings of Christian wisdom:—

"Praeclare ergo Aristoteles, 'si essent,' inquit, qui sub terra semper habitavissent, bonis et illustribus domiciliis quæ essent ornata signis atque picturis, instructaque rebus iis omnibus, quibus abundant ii qui beati putantur, nec tamen exissent unquam supra terram; accepissent autem fama et auditione, esse quoddam numen et vim Deorum; deinde aliquo tempore, patefactis terræ faucibus, ex illis abditis sedibus evadere in hæc loca quæ nos incolimus, atque exire potuissent; cum repente, terram, et maria, cœlumque vidissent; nubium magnitudinem, ventorumque vim cognovissent, aspexissentque solem, ejusque tum magnitudinem pulchritudinemque, tum etiam efficientiam cognovissent, quod is diem efficeret, toto cœlo luce diffusa; cum autem terras nox opacasset, tum cœlum totum cernerent astris distinctum et ornatum, lunæque luminum varietatem tum crescentis tum senescentis, eorumque omnium ortus et occasus, atque in æternitate ratos immutabilesque cursus; hæc cum viderent, profecto et esse Deos, et hæc tanta opera Deorum esse arbitrarentur." *

"Nobly does Aristotle observe, that, if there were beings who had always lived under ground, in convenient, nay, mag-

the ingenious Essay "of the Plurality of Worlds," see Professor Baden Powell's "Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy, the Unity of Worlds, and the Philosophy of Creation."

* Cicero de Natura Deorum, Lib. II. § 30.

nificent dwellings, adorned with statues and pictures, and every thing which belongs to prosperous life, but who had never come above ground, — who had heard, however, by fame and report, of the being and power of the gods, — if at a certain time, the portals of the earth being thrown open, they had been able to emerge from those hidden abodes to the regions inhabited by us; when suddenly they had seen the earth, the seas, and the sky; had perceived the vastness of the clouds and the force of the winds; had contemplated the sun, his magnitude and his beauty, and still more his effectual power, that it is he who makes the day by the diffusion of his light through the whole sky; and when night had darkened the earth, should then behold the whole heavens studded and adorned with stars, and the various lights of the waxing and waning moon, the risings and the settings of all those heavenly bodies, and their courses fixed and immutable in all eternity; when, I say, they should see these things, truly they would believe that there are gods, and that these so great things are their works."

There is much by day to engage the attention of the observatory; the sun, his apparent motions, his dimensions, the spots on his disc, (to us the faint indications of movements of unimagined grandeur in his luminous atmosphere,) a solar eclipse, a transit of the inferior planets, the mysteries of the spectrum; all phenomena of vast importance and interest. But night is the astronomer's accepted time; he goes to his delightful labors when the busy world goes to its rest. A dark pall spreads over the resorts of active life; terrestrial objects, hill and valley, and rock and stream, and the abodes of men disappear; but the curtain is drawn up which concealed the heavenly hosts. There they shine and there they move, as they moved and shone to the eyes of Newton and Galileo, of Keppler and Copernicus, of Ptolemy and Hipparchus; yea, as they moved and shone when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. All has changed on earth; but the glorious heavens remain unchanged. The plough passes over the site of mighty cities, the homes of powerful nations are desolate, the languages

they spoke are forgotten; but the stars that shone for them are shining for us; the same eclipses run their steady cycle; the same equinoxes call out the flowers of spring and send the husbandman to the harvest; the sun pauses at either tropic as he did when his course began; and sun and moon, and planet and satellite, and star and constellation and galaxy, still bear witness to the power, the wisdom, and the love of Him who placed them in the heavens, and upholds them there.

MR. GEORGE PEABODY.*

MR. PRESIDENT:—

I SUPPOSE you have called upon me to respond to this interesting toast,† chiefly because, a few years ago, I filled a place abroad, which made me in some degree the associate of your distinguished guest, in the kindly office of promoting good-will between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman race, (for I do not think it matters much by which name you call it,) "the fair mother and the fairer daughter," to which the toast alludes. At all events, I had much opportunity, during my residence in England, to witness the honorable position of Mr. Peabody in the commercial and social circles of London; his efforts to make the citizens of the two countries favorably known to each other; and generally that course of life and conduct, which has contributed to procure him the well-deserved honors of this day, and which shows that he fully enters into the spirit of the sentiment just propounded from the chair.

To the prayer of that sentiment, Sir, I fully respond, desiring nothing more ardently in the foreign relations of the country, than that these two great nations may be rivals only in their efforts to promote the welfare and improvement of mankind. They have already done, and they are

* Speech at the dinner given in honor of George Peabody, Esq., by the citizens of the old town of Danvers, on the 9th of October, 1856.

† The following is the toast, to which Mr. Everett was called upon to reply:—"England and America, *Pulchra mater*, *pulchrior filia*, long may they flourish in the bonds of peace, rivals only in their efforts to civilize and christianize the world."

now doing much, at home and abroad, to promote that end by the arts of peace. Whenever they coöperate they can sweep every thing before them; — when they are at variance, and pull opposite ways, it is the annihilation of much of the moral power of both. Whenever England and America combine their influence in promoting a worthy object, it moves forward like a vessel propelled by the united force of wind and steam; but when they are in conflict with each other, it is like the struggle of the toiling engine against the opposing tempest. It is well if the laboring vessel holds her own; there is danger if the steam prevails that she may be crowded under the mountain waves, or, if the storm gains the mastery, that she may drift upon the rocks.

It is very obvious to remark, on this occasion, and on this subject, while you are offering a tribute of respect to a distinguished man of business, that these two great nations, which are doing so much for the advancement of civilization, are the two leading commercial nations of the world; and that they have carried navigation and commerce to a height unknown before. And this consideration, Sir, will serve to justify you and your fellow-citizens, if they need justification, for the honors you are bestowing upon the guest of the day, as it will the other communities in different parts of the country, which have been desirous of joining in similar public demonstrations of respect. Without wishing to disparage the services which command your respect and gratitude, in the walks of political, military, or literary life, it is natural, in a country like the United States, where commerce is so important an interest, that you should be prompt to recognize distinguished merit in the commercial career; a career, of which, when pursued with diligence, sagacity, enterprise, integrity, and honor, I deem it not too much to say, that it stands behind no other in its titles to respect and consideration; as I deem it not too much to say of commerce in its largest comprehension, that it has done as much in all time, and is now doing as much, to promote the general cause of civilization, as any of the other great pursuits of life.

Trace its history, for a moment, from the earliest period.

In the infancy of the world, its caravans, like gigantic silk-worms, went creeping, with their innumerable legs, through the arid wastes of Asia and Africa, and bound the human family together in those vast regions as they bind it together now. Its colonial establishments scattered the Grecian culture all round the shores of the Mediterranean, and carried the adventurers of Tyre and Carthage to the north of Europe and the south of Africa. The walled cities of the middle ages prevented the arts and refinements of life from being trampled out of existence under the iron heel of the feudal powers. The Hanse Towns were the bulwark of liberty and property in the north and west of Europe for ages. The germ of the representative system sprang from the municipal franchises of the boroughs. At the revival of letters, the merchant princes of Florence received the fugitive arts of Greece into their stately palaces. The spirit of commercial adventure produced that movement in the fifteenth century which led Columbus to America, and Vasco di Gama around the Cape of Good Hope. The deep foundations of the modern system of international law were laid in the interests and rights of commerce, and the necessity of protecting them. Commerce sprinkled the treasures of the newly-found Indies throughout the western nations; it nerved the arm of civil and religious liberty in the Protestant world; it gradually extended the colonial system of Europe to the ends of the earth, and with it the elements of future independent, civilized, republican governments.

But why should we dwell on the past? What is it that gives vigor to the civilization of the present day but the world-wide extension of commercial intercourse, by which all the products of the earth and of the ocean — of the soil, the mine, the loom, and the forest — of bounteous nature, creative art, and untiring industry, are brought by the agencies of commerce into the universal market of demand and supply. No matter in what region, the desirable product is bestowed on man by a liberal Providence, or fabricated by human skill. It may clothe the hills of China with its fragrant foliage; it may glitter in the golden sands of Califor-

nia; it may wallow in the depths of Arctic seas; it may ripen and whiten on the fertile plains of the sunny South; it may spring forth from the flying shuttles of Manchester in England or Manchester in America, — the great world-magnet of commerce attracts it all alike, and gathers it all up for the service of man. I do not speak of English commerce or American commerce; such distinctions enfeeble our conceptions. I speak of trade in the aggregate — the great ebbing and flowing tides of the commercial world — the great gulf-streams of traffic which flow round from hemisphere to hemisphere, — the mighty trade-winds of commerce which sweep from the old world to the new, — that vast, aggregate system which embraces the whole family of man, and brings the overflowing treasures of nature and art into kindly relation with human want, convenience, and taste.

In carrying on this system, think for a moment of the stupendous agencies that are put in motion. Think for a moment of all the ships that navigate the sea. An old Latin poet, who knew no waters beyond those of the Mediterranean and Levant, says that the man must have had a triple casing of oak and brass about his bosom, who first trusted his frail bark on the raging sea. How many thousands of vessels, laden by commerce, are at this moment navigating, not the narrow seas, frequented by the ancients, but these world encompassing oceans! Think next of the mountains of brick, and stone, and iron, built up into the great commercial cities of the world; and of all the mighty works of ancient and modern contrivance and structure, — the moles, the lighthouses, the bridges, the canals, the roads, the railways, the depth of mines, the titanic force of enginery, the delving ploughs, the scythes, the reapers, the looms, the electric telegraphs, the vehicles of all descriptions, which, directly or indirectly, are employed or put in motion by commerce; and last, and most important, the millions of human beings that conduct, and regulate, and combine these inanimate, organic, and mechanical forces.

And now, Sir, is it any thing less than a liberal profession, which carries a quick intelligence, a prophetic forecast, an

industry that never tires, and, more than all, and above all, a stainless probity beyond reproach and beyond suspicion, into this vast and complicated system, and by the blessing of Providence, works out a prosperous result? Such is the vocation of the merchant — the man of business — pursued in many departments of foreign and domestic trade — of finance, of exchange — but all comprehended under the general name of commerce; all concerned in weaving the mighty network of mutually beneficial exchanges which inwraps the world.*

I know there is a shade to this bright picture; where, among the works or the fortunes of men, shall we find one that is all sunlight? Napoleon the First thought he had said enough to disparage England when he had pronounced her a nation of shopkeepers; and we Americans are said by some of our own writers to be slaves of the almighty dollar. But these are sallies of national hostility, or the rebukes which a stern moral sense rightly administers to the besetting sins of individuals or communities. Every pursuit in life, however, has its bright and its dark phase; every pursuit may be followed in a generous spirit for honorable ends, or in a mean, selfish, corrupt spirit, beginning and ending in personal gratification. But this is no more the case with the commercial than any other career. What more different than the profession of the law, as pursued by the upright counsellor, who spreads the shield of eternal justice over your life and fortune, and the wicked pettifogger who drags you through the thorns and brambles of vexatious litigation? What more different than the beloved physician, the sound of whose soft footstep, as he ascends your staircase, carries hope and comfort to the couch of weariness and suffering, and the solemn, palavering, impudent quack, who fattens on the fears and frailties of his victims? What more different than the pulpit which reproves, rebukes, and exhorts in the spirit and with the authority of the gospel, and the pulpit which inflames and maddens, perplexes or puts to sleep? What more different than the

* See on this general subject, J. S. Mill's Principles of Political Economy, Vol. II. p. 122. Boston Edition.

press, which, like the morning sun sheds light and truth through the land, and the press which daily distils the concentrated venom of personal malice and party detraction from its dripping wings? I believe that the commercial profession is as capable of being pursued with intelligence, honor, and public spirit, as any other; and, when so pursued, is as compatible with purity, and elevation of character as any other; as well entitled to the honors which a community bestows on those who adorn and serve it; the honors which you this day delight to pay to our friend and guest.

I was not the witness of the commencement of his career abroad; but we all know that it soon fell upon that disastrous period when all American credit stood low, — when the default of some of the States, the temporary inability of others to meet their obligations, and the failure of several of our moneyed institutions, threw doubt and distrust on all American securities. That great sympathetic nerve (as the anatomists call it) of the commercial world — credit — as far as the United States were concerned, was for a time paralyzed. At that moment, and it was a trying one, our friend not only stood firm himself, but he was the cause of firmness in others. There were not at the time, probably, a half a dozen other men in Europe, who, upon the subject of American securities, would have been listened to for a moment, in the parlor of the Bank of England. But his judgment commanded respect, and his integrity won back the reliance which men had been accustomed to place on American securities. The reproach in which they were all indiscriminately involved was gradually wiped away, from those of a substantial character; and if on this solid basis of unsuspected good faith he reared his own prosperity, let it be remembered, that, at the same time, he retrieved the credit of the State of which he was the agent; performing the miracle, if I may so venture to express myself, by which the word of an honest man turns paper into gold.

A course like this, however commendable, might proceed from calculation. If it led to prosperity and opulence it

might be pursued from motives exclusively selfish. But Mr. Peabody took a different view of the matter, and immediately began to act upon an old-fashioned New England maxim, which I dare say he learned in childhood and carried with him from Danvers, — that influence and property have their duties as well as their privileges. He set himself to work to promote the convenience and enhance the enjoyments of his travelling fellow-countrymen — a numerous and important class. The traveller — often the friendless traveller — stands greatly in need of good offices in a foreign land. Several of you, my friends, know this, I am sure, by experience; some of you can say how perseveringly, how liberally, these good offices were extended by our friend, through a long course of years, to his travelling countrymen. How many days, otherwise weary, have been winged with cheerful enjoyments through his agency; how many otherwise dull hours in health and in sickness enlivened by his attentions!

It occurred to our friend especially to do that on a large scale, which had hitherto been done to a very limited extent by our diplomatic representatives abroad. The small salaries and still smaller private fortunes (with a single exception) of our ministers at St. James, had prevented them from extending the rites of hospitality as liberally as they could have wished to their fellow-citizens abroad. Our friend happily, with ample means, determined to supply the defect; and brought together at the social board, from year to year, at a succession of entertainments equally magnificent and tasteful, hundreds of his own countrymen and of his English friends. How much was done in this way to promote kind feeling and mutual good-will, to soften prejudice, to establish a good understanding, in a word, to nurture that generous rivalry inculcated in the sentiment to which you have bid me respond, I need not say. I have been particularly requested by my friend, Sir Henry Holland, a gentleman of the highest social and professional standing, to state, while expressing his deep regret that he cannot, in conformity with your kind invitation, participate in this day's festivities, that he has attended

several of Mr. Peabody's international entertainments in London, and felt them to be of the happiest tendency in promoting kind feeling between the two countries.

We are bound as Americans, on this occasion particularly, to remember the very important services rendered by your guest to his countrymen who went to England in 1851, with specimens of the products and arts of this country to be exhibited at the Crystal Palace. In most, perhaps in all other countries, this exhibition had been made an affair of the government. Commissioners were appointed by authority to protect the interests of the exhibitors, and, what was more important, appropriations of money were made to defray their expenses. No appropriations were made by Congress. Our exhibitors arrived friendless, some of them penniless, in the great commercial Babel of the modern world. They found the portion of the Crystal Palace assigned to our country unprepared for the specimens of art and industry which they had brought with them; naked and unadorned, by the side of the neighboring arcades and galleries, fitted up with elegance and splendor by the richest governments in Europe. The English press began to launch its too ready sarcasms at the sorry appearance which Brother Jonathan seemed likely to make, and all the exhibitors from this country, and all who felt an interest in their success, were disheartened. At this critical moment Mr. Peabody stepped forward; he did what Congress should have done. By liberal advances on his part, the American department was fitted up; and day after day, as some new product of American ingenuity and taste was added to the list, — McCormicks' reaper, Colt's revolver, Powers's Greek Slave, Hobbs's unpickable lock, Hoe's wonderful printing-presses, and Bond's more wonderful spring governor, it began to be suspected that Brother Jonathan was not quite so much of a simpleton as had been thought. He had contributed his full share, if not to the splendor, at least to the utilities, of the exhibition. In fact, the leading journal at London, with a magnanimity which did it honor, admitted that England had derived more

real benefit from the contributions of the United States, than from those of any other country.

But our friend, on that occasion, much as he had done in the way mentioned to promote the interests and success of the American exhibitors, and to enable them to sustain that generous rivalry to which the toast alludes, thought he had not yet done enough for their gratification. Accordingly, in a most generous international banquet, he brought together on the one hand the most prominent of his countrymen, drawn by the occasion to London, and on the other hand, the chairman of the Royal Commission, with other persons of consideration in England, and his British friends generally; and in a loving cup, made of old Danvers oak, pledged them, on both sides to warmer feelings of mutual good-will than they had before entertained.

In these ways, Mr. President, our friend has certainly done his share to carry into effect the principle of the toast, to which you call upon me to reply. But it is not wholly nor chiefly these kindly offices and comprehensive courtesies; not the success with which he has pursued the paths of business life, nor the moral courage with which, at an alarming crisis, and at the peril of his own fortunes, he sustained the credit of the State he represented — it is not these services that have called forth this demonstration of respect. Your quiet village, my friends, has not gone forth in eager throngs to meet the successful financier; the youthful voices, to which we listened with such pleasure in the morning, have not been attuned to sing the praises of the prosperous banker. No, it is the fellow-citizen who, from the arcades of the London exchange, laid up treasure in the hearts of his countrymen; the true patriot who, amidst the splendors of the old world's capital, said in his heart — If I forget thee, oh Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning; if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; — it is the dutiful and grateful child and benefactor of old Danvers, whom you welcome back to his home.

Yes, sir; and the property you have invested in yonder simple edifice, and in providing the means of innocent occu-

pation for hours of leisure, — of instructing the minds and forming the intellectual character, not merely of the generation now rising, but of that which shall take their places, when the heads of those dear children, who so lately passed in happy review before you, shall be as gray as mine, and of other generations still more distant, who shall plant kind flowers on our graves, — it is the property you have laid up in this investment, which will embalm your name in the blessings of posterity, when granite and marble shall crumble to dust. Moth and rust shall not corrupt it; they might as easily corrupt the pure white portals of the heavenly city, where "every several gate is of one pearl." Thieves shall not break through and steal it; they might as easily break through the vaulted sky, and steal the brightest star in the firmament.

The great sententious poet has eulogized the "Man of Ross" — the man of practical, unostentatious benevolence — above all the heroes and statesmen of the Augustan Age of England. He asks —

> "Who hung with woods the mountain's sultry brow?
> From the dry rock, who bade the waters flow?
> Not to the skies in useless columns tost,
> Or in proud falls magnificently lost,
> But clear and artless, pouring through the plain
> Health to the sick, and solace to the swain."

But your Man of Ross, my friends, has taught a nobler stream to flow through his native village — the bubbling, sparkling, mind-refreshing, soul-cheering stream, which renews while it satisfies the generous thirst for knowledge, — that strong, unquenchable thirst "that from the soul doth rise," — which gains new eagerness from the draught that allays it, forever returning though forever slaked, to the cool, deep fountains of eternal truth.

You well recollect, my Danvers friends, the 16th of June, 1852, when you assembled to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the separation of Danvers from the parent stock. Your pleasant village arrayed herself that day in her holiday robes. Her resident citizens with one accord took part in the

festivities. Many of her children, dispersed through the Union, returned that day to the homestead. One long absent was wanting, whom you would gladly have seen among you. But you had not forgotten him, nor he you. He was beyond the sea, absent in body, but present in spirit and in kindly remembrance. In reply to your invitation, he returned, as the custom is, a letter of acknowledgment, inclosing a sealed paper, with an indorsement setting forth that it contained Mr. Peabody's sentiment, and was not to be opened till the toasts were proposed at the public dinner. The time arrived, — the paper was opened, — and it contained the following sound and significant sentiment: "Education, — a debt due from the present to future generations."

Now we all know that, on an occasion of this kind, a loose slip of paper such as a sentiment is apt to be written on, is in danger of being lost; a puff of air is enough to blow it away. Accordingly, just by way of paper-weight, and to keep the toast safe on the table, and also to illustrate his view of this new way of paying old debts, Mr. Peabody laid down twenty thousand dollars on the top of his sentiment; and, for the sake of still greater security, has since added about as much more. Hence, no doubt, it has come to pass, that this excellent sentiment has sunk deep into the minds of our Danvers friends, and has, I suspect, mainly contributed to the honors and pleasures of this day.

But I have occupied, Mr. President, much more than my share of your time; and, on taking my seat, I will only congratulate you on this joyous occasion, as I congratulate our friend and guest, at having had it in his power to surround himself with so many smiling faces and warm hearts.

OBITUARY NOTICE OF MR. DOWSE.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Mr. Dowse lived but a few months after the transfer of his library to the Massachusetts Historical Society, which forms the subject of the remarks on page 417 of this volume. He died at his residence in Cambridgeport, on Tuesday the 4th of November, 1856, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. An appropriate communication of this event was made to the Historical Society by its President, (Hon. R. C. Winthrop,) at the next monthly meeting on the 13th of November, after which Mr. Everett spoke as follows:—

The event to which you have alluded, Mr. President, in such feeling and appropriate terms, calls upon the Historical Society to perform the last duty of respect and gratitude to our most distinguished benefactor, as you have justly called him. Since we last met in this place, he has paid the great debt of nature, and it now devolves upon us to pay the last debt to his memory, by placing upon our records a final and emphatic expression of the deep sense we entertain of the excellent qualities of his character, the liberality and refinement of his pursuits, and especially of the munificence and public spirit evinced in the disposal of his library. You have already, Mr. President, said all that the occasion requires; and I am not without fear that I may seem to overstep the limits of propriety, in doing more than lay upon your table the resolutions which I hold in my hand. I have so recently

* Remarks made at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society on the 13th of November, 1856, being the next monthly meeting after the death of Thomas Dowse, Esq.

spoken to you on the subject of Mr. Dowse, that I may seem to monopolize that pleasing office, to which so many gentlemen present are fully competent to do justice. But it is many years, — an entire generation, — since my acquaintance and my friendly relations with him began. I saw the progress of his library, not certainly from its commencement, for that took place more than sixty years ago (he told me himself that he devoted his first earnings to the purchase of books), but from a time when it had not reached half its present size. In earlier life, I passed many happy, perhaps I may venture to say profitable, hours in it, consulting choice volumes not elsewhere accessible to me at that time, and I cannot repress the desire, — before this occasion is swept down the current of human affairs, — to dwell a moment on the recollection.

I will not, however, take up again the train of remark which occupied our thoughts when the Society was called together on the fifth of August. I shall ever look back to that meeting, at which Mr. Dowse's intention to bestow his library upon the Historical Society was announced to us, as one of the interesting occasions of my life. This collection had, for at least sixty years, been in progress of formation, — for half that period its value had been known to the public. Mr. Dowse's personal career and history awakened interest, — the manner in which he acquired his beautiful gallery of water-color paintings, — his persistence in increasing his library, — the uncommonly select character of his books, — these were circumstances, which, at least for a quarter of a century, had given his collection a certain celebrity. It was an object of curiosity, — it was justly deemed a privilege to have access to it, — strangers were taken to see it; and the inquiry, "what will Mr. Dowse, being childless, do with his library," had, I imagine, passed through the mind of most persons who knew its value. But, amidst all the conjectures as to the mode in which it would be disposed of, I presume that it never occurred to any one that he would dispossess himself of it while he lived. If ever there was a "ruling passion," it actuated him in reference to his books, — it led him, impelled him, to devote his spare time, his thoughts, his means, to the

formation of his library, — and, in obedience to that law of our nature by which, according to poets and moralists,

"We feel the ruling passion strong in death,"

no one, I presume, ever thought for a moment that Mr. Dowse, while he lived, would divest himself of his property in it; no one doubted that he would cling to that, with a pardonable intellectual avarice, with his dying grasp, and that when he was gone, it would perhaps be told of him that he had exclaimed, in his last moments,

"'Not that, I cannot part with that,' — and died."

But Mr. Dowse felt and acted otherwise. Endowed, in many respects, with superior energy of character and firmness of purpose, we beheld him, in the course of the last summer, his bodily strength indeed failing, but in the full enjoyment of his mental powers, calmly divesting himself of the ownership of this much loved library, — the great work of his life, the scene and the source of all his enjoyments, — and placing it, without reserve, under the control of others. He had reason, no doubt, sir, as you have intimated, to feel confident, that, while he lived, the delicacy and gratitude of the Society would leave it in his undisturbed possession; but he made no stipulation to that effect, — he gave it in absolute and immediate ownership to the Society.

But I believe, sir, our friend and benefactor reaped, even during the short remainder of his life, the reward of this noble effort. I had the privilege of an interview with him a few days after the donation was consummated, and my own observation confirmed the testimony of our much valued associate, Mr. Livermore, who saw him daily, and your own impression, that he seemed to find relief — to derive strength — from the completion of this arrangement; and that, in a state of health in which continued existence hangs upon a thread, it had very possibly added some weeks of tranquil satisfaction to his life. I have not seen him for years in a happier frame of mind than he appeared to me that day.

I availed myself of the favorable moment respectfully to urge upon him a compliance with the request of the Society to which you, sir, have alluded, expressed in one of the resolutions of the 5th of August, that he would sit for his portrait. I recommended to him strongly the highly promising young artist, Mr. Wight, for whom I had had the pleasure, a few years ago, of procuring an opportunity to paint the portrait of the illustrious Humboldt. Mr. Dowse consented, with the hesitation inspired by his characteristic diffidence and humility; and the result does the highest credit to Mr. Wight's artistic skill and taste. He has produced an admirable portrait of our friend and benefactor; and it is certainly a pleasing coincidence, that there is a resemblance approaching to family likeness between this portrait and that of the Baron Humboldt.

And so, Mr. President, his work on earth being accomplished, calmly and without hurry or perturbation, even at the last, — that industrious and thoughtful existence, divided equally between active labor and liberal intellectual culture, — lonely as the world accounts solitude, but passed in the glorious company of the great and wise of all ages and countries, who live an earthly immortality in their writings, — a stranger at all times to the harassing agitations of public life, — undisturbed by the political earthquake which that day* shook the country, our friend and benefactor, on the 4th instant, passed gently away. As I saw him two days afterwards, lying just within the threshold which I had never passed before but to meet his cordial welcome, — as I gazed upon the lifeless but placid features, white as the camellias with which surviving affection had decked his coffin, — as I accompanied him to his last abode on earth, — the "new sepulchre" (if without irreverence I may use the words), which he had prepared for himself, "wherein was never man yet laid;" — as I saw him borne into that quiet dwelling, where the weary are at rest, within the shadow of the monument to Franklin to which you have

* The 4th of November, 1856, was the day of the choice of Presidential electors throughout the United States.

alluded, lately erected at his sole expense and care, on the higher ground which overlooks his own tomb, that even in death he might sleep at his great master's feet; as, in company with you all, gathered bareheaded round his grave at Mount Auburn, at that bright autumnal noon, while the falling leaves and naked branches and sighing winds of November announced the dying year, I listened to the sublime utterances of the funeral service breathed over his dust, — I felt that such a closing scene of such a life came as near as human frailty permits to fill the measure of a hopeful euthanasy.

I ask leave, sir, to offer the following resolutions: —

"WHEREAS, it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from this life, in a serene old age, Mr. Thomas Dowse, of Cambridge, the largest benefactor of the Massachusetts Historical Society:

"*Resolved*, That the members of the Society, filled with gratitude at the recollection of his late munificent donation, desire to renew on this occasion the expression of their deep sense of obligation for that most important addition to their library, and their thankfulness for so distinguished a proof of the confidence of Mr. Dowse in the character and stability of the Society.

"*Resolved*, That the members of the Historical Society contemplate with peculiar satisfaction the example set by their late honored and lamented benefactor, of a long life devoted with singular steadiness to a course of intelligent, liberal, and successful self-culture, in the hours of leisure and repose from the labors of an active occupation, and closed by a noble act of public spirit and thoughtful care to render his precious literary accumulations available for the benefit of the community.

"*Resolved*, That a committee of —— be appointed by the chair to prepare for the records of the Society such a commemorative notice of Mr. Dowse as shall do justice to the feelings of gratitude and respect which the members of the Society unanimously cherish for his memory."

These resolutions, having been seconded, were unanimously passed; the blank in the last resolution was filled with "one," and Mr. Everett was appointed by the chair to prepare a memoir of Mr. Dowse, in conformity with the resolution.

MEMORIAL OF THE FRANKLIN FAMILY.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

At the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society on the 9th of April, 1857, the Dowse Library, arranged and fitted up with extreme elegance and perfect good taste, at the expense of the executors of Mr. Dowse's will, (Messrs. George Livermore and Eben Dale,) in the inner room of the Society, was opened for the first time to its members. In addition to the sum of three thousand dollars, liberally given by the executors for this purpose, they announced at this meeting their determination, "in accordance with the trust imposed upon them by the will of Mr. Dowse, to appropriate the sum of *ten thousand dollars*, as 'the Dowse Fund of the Massachusetts Historical Society,' the principal to be forever kept intact, and the income to be used for the purposes above named. This sum is independent of the amount previously paid for the expenses of removing the Library, and preparing the room to receive it." After the adoption, on motion of Hon. Emory Washburn, of a vote of thanks to the executors for the munificence with which they had carried out the intentions of Mr. Dowse in bestowing his library upon the Society, Mr. Everett presented to the Society the original manuscript tithes' book of the parish of Ecton, in Northamptonshire, which he had received from Mr. Thomas Carlyle, containing memorandums relating to the Franklin family in England, previous to their removal to America. He spoke in substance as follows: —

I FELT strongly impelled, Mr. President, to say a few words, by way of seconding the resolutions so appropriately moved and so handsomely supported by Governor Washburn; but the terms in which our respected associate, Mr. Livermore, has expressed himself in the personal allusion to myself, in

* Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, on the 9th of April, 1857, being the first meeting held after the transfer of the Dowse Library to the Society's rooms.

that most welcome communication which you have just read, has put it out of my power, without indelicacy, to say a word on the subject. I may add, too, sir, that the manner in which you have, on this most interesting occasion, spoken for us all, leaves not another word to be desired or supplied by myself or any other individual. I rise only, therefore, at this somewhat late hour of the morning, to offer to the acceptance of the Society, through you, what I am confident you will regard as an interesting relic, viz.: the original manuscript record book of the small tithes of the parish of Ecton, Northamptonshire, England, from 1640 to about 1700; the parish, I need not tell you, where the family of Benjamin Franklin had been established for several generations previous to the emigration of his father to Boston in 1682. This venerable relic had, it seems, been found in Northamptonshire by Mr. Wake, an English gentleman, who presented it to Mr. Thomas Carlyle. Mr. Carlyle, justly presuming that it would be of greater interest in this country than it could have been in England, sent it to me, leaving the disposal of it to my discretion. I immediately determined, after having it suitably bound, to present it to the Historical Society, deeming this body, as the oldest historical society in the United States, and established, too, in the city where Franklin was born, to be the proper place of deposit for a document of some interest in reference to his family. Mr. Carlyle sent me the manuscript, by the hands of his friend, the eminent artist, Mr. Samuel Lawrence, with a letter bearing date 2d Dec., 1853, which, owing to accidental circumstances, did not reach me till November of the following year. I have, with Mr. Carlyle's permission, had the portion of this interesting and characteristic letter, which relates to the manuscript, copied into one of the blank pages, in the following terms:—

"Mr. Lawrence carries for me a little packet to your address: A strange old brown MS., which never thought of travelling out of its native parish, but which now, so curious are the vicissitude and growths of things, finds its real home on your side of the Atlantic, and in your hands first of all. The poor MS. is an old *tithes-book* of the parish of Ecton, in Northamptonshire,

from about 1640 to almost 1700, and contains, I perceive, various scattered faint indications of the civil war time, which are not without interest; but the thing which should raise it above all tithes-books yet heard of is, that it contains actual notices, in that fashion, of the ancestors of Benjamin Franklin — blacksmiths in that parish! Here they are — their forge hammers yet going — renting so many "yard-lands" of Northamptonshire church-soil — keeping so many sheep, etc. etc. — little conscious that one of the demigods was about to proceed out of them. I flatter myself these old plaster-cast representations of the very form and pressure of the primeval (or at least *prior*-eval) Franklins will be interesting in America; there is the very *stamp* (as it were) of the black knuckles, of their hob-nailed shoes, strongly preserved to us, *in hardened clay*, and now indestructible, if we take any care of it!

"In the interior of the parcel are the necessary further indications of its history. I am very happy now to give up this MS. to your piety — such being the best dictate of my own piety upon the subject. To your wise keeping and wise disposal I now surrender it; and it is you that have it on your conscience hereafter, not I."

I lost no time in thanking Mr. Carlyle for sending me this interesting document. I informed him of the use that I proposed to make of it, and that an opportunity would probably occur of bringing it to the public notice, on occasion of the inauguration of the Statue of Franklin, which was already in anticipation. I placed it in your hands, Mr. President, at the proper time for that purpose, rejoicing to have it in my power to contribute in this way, however slightly, to the materials of the admirable address delivered by you on that occasion. In reply to my letter of acknowledgment, in which I had asked Mr. Carlyle's permission to publish his part of the correspondence between us, he addressed a second letter to me dated 22d December, 1854, of which I have caused the following extract to be copied also into one of the blank leaves: —

"All is right with this matter of the old tithes-book; and I am heartily pleased to find that it so pleases you, and is to have such honors as you indicate. A poor half-foolish and yet partly very serious and worthy old object has been rescued from its vague wanderings over cosmos and chaos, and at length helped into its right place in the creation; for which small mercy let us be thankful, and wish only that, in bigger cases, (of which in nature there are so many, and of such a tragical sort,) the same perfect service could always be done! Alas! alas!

"To-day I am in considerable haste; but would not lose a post in answering you about the letter you speak of. I quite forget what was in the letter in question; but do not doubt it would be some transcript of my then feelings about the matter on hand,—part of the truth, therefore, and I hope not of the untruth, in regard to it;—and I will very willingly commit it altogether to your friendly discretion, to make whatever use of it you find to be reasonable and feasible, and so will say, long life to Franklin's memory! and add our little shout to that of the Bostoners in inaugurating their monument for him."

I will not take up your time, Mr. President, at this advanced hour, by a more detailed description of this ancient and interesting document. Mr. Wake has facilitated the use of it, by marking with a pencil the passages where the name of Franklin occurs. I feel gratified that it has fallen to my lot, on this occasion, when we are taking formal possession of Mr. Dowse's magnificent library, to have it in my power to make the first offering to the Society, after that happy event; and that this offering should be an original manuscript volume, possessing some antiquarian interest in connection with the family of the great man, whose merit was so fully appreciated by Mr. Dowse, and to whose memory, among the last acts of his life, he erected a monument in granite near his own last resting-place at Mount Auburn.

ACADEMICAL EDUCATION.*

I APPEAR before you, fellow-citizens of St. Louis, at the earnest request of the Trustees of Washington University of the State of Missouri. The respect justly due to an invitation from such a source, and a lively interest, ever cherished, in the cause of education, united with a strong desire to see this mighty West, and to salute the Father of her Waters, from one of the great centres of her rapid growth and power, have induced me, at considerable sacrifice of personal convenience, to undertake my present visit to your hospitable city. It has already been a source to me of the highest gratification. I feel as if my conceptions of our common country had, in a brief space of time, been mightily enlarged. It is, of course, impossible to form an adequate idea of an extensive region so distinctly in any other way as by traversing it, and inspecting it in person. We may read the most minute descriptions; we may add up columns of statistical

* An Address delivered at St. Louis, 22d of April, 1857, at the inauguration of Washington University of the State of Missouri. The original edition contained the following dedication: —

"To the Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot, President, and to Messrs. James H. Lucas, John How, Wayman Crow, John M. Krum, Samuel Treat, John O'Fallon, James Smith, Seth A. Ranlett, Charles A. Pope, John Cavender, N. J. Eaton, Phocion R. McCreery, George Partridge, Hudson E. Bridge, Samuel Russell, Thomas T. Gantt, Directors of Washington University, of the State of Missouri, this Discourse, pronounced at their invitation and in their presence, is, with the best wishes that the institution may prove a rich blessing to the noble valley in which it is established, respectfully dedicated by Edward Everett. Medford, Mass., 24th July, 1857."

figures; we may get the boundaries and the list of counties by heart in manuals of geography; we may have at our fingers' ends tables of population, of the productions of the mine, the forest, and the field, of the number of natives and the number of foreigners, and of the children between four and sixteen; but all this minute knowledge, though useful in its place, does not give a vivid idea of an immensely extensive and rapidly growing country. It is only when, on board one of these floating palaces, we have stretched along the sea-shore, or traversed the sound, the river, the lake; — or, mounted on the fiery wheels of steam, have rushed through winding valley and mountain gorge; crossing ridge after ridge, and stream after stream; counting our progress by degrees of latitude and longitude; passing from tier to tier of prosperous States; from rivers that roll into the Atlantic amidst the icebergs of Labrador to those which pour their steaming floods into the Gulf of Mexico; — it is only after this actual traverse and survey of the mighty region, — its cities, its towns, its hamlets; its boundless extent, its infinite variety of field and mountain and flood; its wide range of climate and of production, — natural and artificial, the work of Providence and man; — the whole joyous and all but bewildering scene animated with its swarming millions, that we can fully understand the natural features, the vast improvements, the rapid progress, the impending future, of the Union.

I experience a difficulty, my friends, in attempting to do justice to my feelings, as I find myself in the centre of that ancient province of Louisiana, the proudest memorial of the name of Louis XIV.; on the banks of the river which bore for a short time the name of his illustrious minister, Colbert; but a few miles below its confluence with the still mightier Missouri, which forms, with its tributaries, one of the most extensive natural systems of internal communication in the world; and within the precincts of the prosperous city, to which the enterprising adventurers of the last century gave the name of the military saint of France. It is on these vast and expressive natural pages, as well as in the learned tomes

of our libraries, that the most instructive lessons of history are recorded. Louis the XIV., the most ambitious, the most magnificent, for a time the most prosperous, the most liberal, the most arrogant, and at length the most unfortunate of princes that have died on the throne, had two ministers — Colbert and Louvois — the good and evil spirits of his reign, — angels of light and darkness to him and his royal fortunes. The one stimulated his unchastened ambition with perpetual schemes of conquest; the other brought order out of the chaos of his finances, and established the industrial arts in his wasted kingdom. The one raised armies, built fortresses, and fanned the flames of his wrath against his feeble neighbors; the other sought to persuade him to found a solid glory on the welfare and affection of his subjects. Louvois poured his relentless hosts upon the Netherlands and wrapped the Palatinate in flames, where the memory of Louis, after five generations, is still execrated. Colbert, not content with all his efforts to improve the internal condition of France, sent forth the devoted pioneers of the Christian faith and culture to the New World, and stamped his master's name on the then imperial wilderness. As early as 1673, Father Marquette descended the Mississippi from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas; and ten years later, — just a century and three quarters ago the present year, — the heroic and indomitable LaSalle, in a frail bark of his own construction, accompanied with a few gallant spirits attempered like his own, not forgetting the singular attendance of "twenty Indians from New England," starting from Chicago, crossed the State of Illinois, passed the mouth of the Missouri and the Ohio, and, — first of civilized men, as far as our accounts can be relied on, — descended the noble stream to its mouth. There, on the 9th of April, 1682, he took formal possession, in the name of his sovereign, of the entire region drained by the mighty river which he had traced from its upper waters; and confirmed to it, if he did not first bestow upon it, the name of Louisiana. The Mississippi, as I have already observed, had borne for a short time the name of Colbert; but a wiser instinct soon restored to it the native appellation,

and by that venerable name it will roll to the ocean, till the language we speak shall cease from the tongues of men.

That year, 1682, may well be marked in the annals of America; great starting-points in our history cluster round the date. In that year, William Penn landed on the banks of the Delaware. In that year, Josiah Franklin, a poor nonconformist English dyer, emigrated to Boston, and in one century afterwards, the youngest of his ten sons, Benjamin, signed at Versailles the provisional treaty which established the independence of the United States. The struggle between liberty and prerogative, which ended in the American Revolution, commenced in that year in New England;* and in that year LaSalle traversed the interior of the continent, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. As I go back in imagination from the prosperous days in which we live to the date of these early adventures; as I trace in retrospection the history of the country from its one and thirty States; its twenty-eight millions of population; its thousand prosperous cities; its towns and villages innumerable, bound together in a great political confederacy, which belts the continent; its commercial tonnage, already the largest which the ocean bears on its bosom; its network of railways and canals, not inferior to that of the most powerful States in Europe; the innumerable steamers that crowd its interior waters; the immense contributions which it pours into the general markets of the world; its churches, colleges, and schools, and all the countless institutions in which Christian charity gathers the orphan families of want to her maternal arms; in a word, this world of physical, intellectual, and moral resource, development, and action; — when from this magnificent contemplation I retrace the line of history through the vicissitudes of policy and war, from the Union to the Confederation, from the Confederation to the Revolution, from the Revolution to the yet acquiescent state of provincial allegiance, and backward to the feeble youth and dependent infancy of the colonies; when I see how steadily,

* Minot's History of Massachusetts, Vol. I. p. 51.

as I pass onward from generation to generation, this exuberant contemporary greatness converges and shrinks up into a narrow strip of provinces along the coast, a few small ill-built towns on the seaside and the great rivers, some hundreds of straggling cabins on the western slope of the Alleghanies, — not one subject to English jurisdiction west of the Ohio and Mississippi a hundred years ago, — a half a dozen block-houses and missionary stations belonging to France, in the seventeenth century, beyond those frontier streams, — a border ringing with the warwhoop and gleaming with the scalping-knife, — great solitary rivers, as yet without a name or a burden, hurrying with idle lapse to the sea; and at last the awful silence of the eternal forest; — I feel as if I were following the Father of Waters from its mouth back to its source; tracing it from its emporiums of the world's commerce on the seaboard, between populous states, and beneath the walls of towering cities, leaving successively its grand tributaries right and left; upward and backward from the alluvial delta to the pleasant vicissitude of hill and valley; ranging with its parallel winrows of driftwood in great bends through broad zones of latitude and longitude; now tumbling for miles over broken ledges, and anon bursting through basaltic gateways, or sweeping across rolling prairies; from climate to climate; from the burning tropic back to the arctic glacier; from the land where the sultry breeze is scented with the orange and the myrtle, up to the region where the hemlock and the pine defy the northern blast; turning the flank of mountain ridges and making deep cuts through central plateaus, — narrower, shallower, purer as you ascend, — a gentle current, a rippling stream, a purling brook, a silver thread; —till at last all that is left of the mighty river, whose stupendous floods at its mouth wage equal war with the stormy ocean gulfs, lies sparkling in a cool moss-covered spring, fed by the trickling dews of the morning, enamelled with Alpine flowers, in the bosom of the lonely hills.

These reflections, my friends, are not only preliminary to the remarks which you expect from me on this occasion, but are intended by me to strike the key-note of my address.

We are assembled here, at one of the *foci* of this great western world, to inaugurate an institution for the highest departments of education; and you have invited me, a citizen from one of the extreme corners of the continent, to join you on this interesting occasion. Born and bred within the sound of the eternal roar of the Atlantic, upon the very spot where the foundations of my native State were laid two centuries and a quarter ago, — a region already presenting many of the characters of an ancient settlement, — a territory stripped of the native forest, a dense population, institutions venerable for their age, and the traditions of the olden times, — you have invited me to meet you on the banks of this mighty inland river, whose very existence was but vaguely conjectured, whose extent and course were wholly unknown, when the settlements of New England commenced; and where the teeming life and vigorous progress of which so many manifestations surround us, are the growth of two generations, I had almost said of one; and my errand is to unite the expression of my good wishes and cordial sympathies with yours, on the steps you are taking to found a seat of liberal and practical education, adapted to the progressive character of the age, and the peculiar wants of the West. In approaching the subject, my thoughts involuntarily revert to the period to which I have alluded; and I feel more deeply than ever before, that there is nothing in human history which can compare in interest with the condition of the American continent on the eve of its discovery and colonization, and its transition into the sphere of civilized and Christian culture, looking back from our present point of view upon the various stages of this transition, as one great operation in the order of Providence.

Consider it a moment; there it lay upon the surface of the globe, a hemisphere unknown to the rest of the world, in all its vast extent, with all its boundless undeveloped resources, not seen as yet by the eye of civilized man, unpossessed but by the simple children of the forest. There stretched the iron chain of its mountain barriers, not yet the boundary of political communities; there rolled its mighty rivers unprofitably

to the sea; there spread out the measureless but as yet wasteful fertility of its uncultivated fields; there towered the gloomy majesty of its unsubdued primeval forests; there glittered in the secret caves of the earth the priceless treasures of its unsunned gold; and, more than all that pertains to material wealth, there existed the undeveloped capacity of a hundred embryo States; of an imperial confederacy of republics, the future abode of intelligent millions, unrevealed as yet to the "earnest" but unconscious "expectation" of the elder families of man, darkly hidden by the impenetrable veil of waters. There is to my mind an overwhelming sadness in this long insulation of America from the brotherhood of humanity, not inappropriately reflected in the melancholy expression of the native races. The boldest keels of Phenicia and Carthage had not approached its shores. From the footsteps of the ancient nations along the highways of time and fortune, — the embattled millions of the old Asiatic despotisms, the iron phalanx of Macedonia, — the living crushing machinery of the Roman legion, which ground the world to powder, — the heavy tramp of barbarous nations from "the populous north;" not the faintest echo had aroused the slumbering west in the cradle of her existence. Not a thrill of sympathy had shot across the Atlantic from the heroic adventure, the intellectual and artistic vitality, the convulsive struggles for freedom, the calamitous downfalls of empire, and the strange new regenerations which fill the pages of ancient and mediæval history. Alike when the Oriental myriads, Assyrian, Chaldean, Median, Persian, Bactrian, from the snows of Syria to the Gulf of Ormus, from the Halys to the Indus, poured like a deluge upon Greece, and beat themselves to idle foam on the sea-girt rock of Salamis and the lowly plain of Marathon; when all the kingdoms of the earth went down with her own liberties, in Rome's imperial Maelstrom of blood and fire; and when the banded powers of the west, beneath the ensign of the cross, — as the pendulum of conquest swung backward, — marched in scarcely intermitted procession for three centuries to the subjugation of Palestine, — the American continent lay undiscovered, lonely, and

waste. That mighty action and reaction upon each other of Europe and America, — the grand systole and diastole of the heart of the nations, — and which now constitutes so much of the organized life of both, had not yet begun to pulsate. The unconscious child and heir of the ages lay, wrapped in the mantle of futurity, upon the broad and nurturing bosom of Divine Providence, and slumbered serenely, like the infant of Danae, through the storms of fifty centuries.

But we should omit a most important link in the chain of reflection, by which I desire to illustrate the agency of educated mind in effecting the civilization of this continent, if we forbore to state that it was not wholly destitute of occupants of the same blood as those, who from the creation of the world have performed the great drama of Asiatic and European life. These vast plains, though uncultivated, these forests which never rang to the music of the settler's axe, these lovely valleys which as yet wasted their sweetness on the desert air, were not wholly untenanted. They were the abodes of numerous tribes of our fellow men, nowhere consolidated into powerful empires, at least not in this part of the country, though possessing in the aggregate formidable powers both of aggressive and defensive action; a most interesting branch of the human family, whose condition, as far back as we can trace it, presents some of the most difficult problems in the history of our race. Gathered by the elementary instincts of our nature into rude social and political relations; not destitute of a certain imperfect mental culture, which found expression in the pictured rhetoric, the wailing poesy, and the wild mythology of these blighted races; speaking languages of a highly artificial and complicated structure, but wholly ignorant of that divine art, by which the creations of thought are embodied in visible signs and transmitted to other times; from ages immemorial the vagrant lords of the soil, and for an unknown lapse of time undisturbed in its possession by violence from abroad; a wandering but not a nomadic race; owning no flocks nor herds but those which, with each returning spring, the Great

Shepherd leads forth, in multitudes which darken the prairies, from New Mexico to Hudson's Bay; destitute of all the institutions and fixtures of a stable society; divided into rival communities, but instead of rising to higher stages of progress, in the lapse of time, by the emulations of peace or the collisions of war, rendered apparently from age to age more and more barbarous and degenerate, in the effect of their hereditary and internecine tribal hostilities;—producing chieftains of no ordinary capacity, such as King Philip of Mount Hope in the seventeeth century, Pontiac in the eighteenth, and Tecumseh in our day, all of whom conceived large designs but formed no systematic polity; acquiring no arts but those necessary for the chase and their stealthy murderous tactics; their senses trained, in the pursuit of their game or the enemy, to a preternatural quickness, which, however, admitted no intellectual or artistic application to the higher ends of life; they plainly showed, in the whole tenor of their history, that, whatever may have been the mysterious design of Providence in placing them upon our continent, it certainly was not "to replenish the earth and subdue it," to develop its resources, to cultivate its wastes, and to make it the abode of civilized and enlightened races. That great work, experience has shown, was to be performed by another branch of the human family, whose advent, establishment, and progress on the continent of America have unhappily kept pace with the retirement and decline of the primitive inhabitants.

There is, in my opinion, no inquiry more profoundly interesting than that which regards the means and the agencies by which this great work has thus far been effected; by which, in not more than two centuries and a half from the first efforts at settlement, so much of our continent has been brought within the domain of civilization, and raised to so high a point of improvement in the arts of life and in intellectual culture; and this inquiry, if I mistake not, conducts us directly to the objects and purposes which have brought us together at this time; I mean to the subject of education, in the largest comprehension of the term. The immediate

agencies by which the great work has been accomplished, the second causes, if I may so call them, of the rapid progress made in the civilization of the North American continent, are to be sought, no doubt, in various geographical, political, and moral conditions which it would require a minute and protracted analysis to trace in detail; but the great master cause, humanly speaking, the *causa causans*, is unquestionably to be found in the creative power, the resistless energy, and the legitimate sway of *educated mind*, acting upon this broad theatre, upon the inexhaustible materials of social improvement presented by the new found hemisphere, and working under the lead of a gracious Providence toward the elevation of our common humanity.

This great human miracle, I say, is the work of educated mind; and when you found a seminary of learning, you do but seek the further development, discipline, and application of that ethereal power, which brooded over the dark chaos of the barbarism that covered our beloved America three centuries ago, bade light to shine upon its broad surface, set the great luminaries of intellectual and moral culture in its firmament, and called its lovely creations of art and knowledge, to life and day. It is not brute force, nor material elements, nor political influences by which, in the last analysis, this all-important work has been achieved; it is the sovereign power of educated mind.

It would be foreign to my present purpose, though a most interesting subject of discussion, to trace to their sources in Europe the intellectual energies and influences by which this great work thus far has been achieved. It may be sufficient to remark in general that the first European settlers of this continent brought with them, in various measures, the intellectual culture of the Old World, some in a high degree, a majority that portion which falls to the average lot of the mass of the community, and which places the day-laborer of Europe and America, — who reads a good newspaper week-days, and goes to church on Sundays, — in many respects on a higher level of intelligence, than the Sultan of Turkey, or the Shah of Persia. Assuming the seventeenth century as

the period of colonization, the first settlers of North America left their native countries in the age of Bacon, and Shakspeare, and Milton, and Newton; of Grotius, of Pascal, of Descartes, of Bossuet, of Corneille, of Racine; of Galileo, of Tasso, of Keppler; — not to speak of other names, not unworthy to be mentioned with these, in preceding generations. They accordingly left the Old World at a time, when cultivated mind had, in some departments, reached its culminating point. To prevent this intellectual culture from being extinguished, under the hard material conditions of the New World, was their earliest care. They immediately made such provision for education as circumstances admitted, in their new homes. Those whose means permitted it, and who desired greater advantages of education than the new settlements could furnish, were sent to European seminaries. Of whatever national origin the settlers might be, — English, French, German, — a living cord of sympathy bound them to the cultivated mind of some one of the most improved peoples and languages of Europe. Geographically they might be the neighbors of the savage on the remotest frontier; the log cabin, with the green twigs sprouting upon it, might be their only shelter, and the wolf might howl by night at their threshold; but they were educated in the communion of the choicest spirits of our race, and every ship that crossed the Atlantic kept their minds in the neighborhood of the cultivated intellect of Europe. The young consumptive clergyman, who in 1637 just landing on the continent, on his way to heaven, laid the foundations of Harvard College, in Cambridge, brought with him, besides a pretty substantial ballast of dogmatic theology, some of the great masters of ancient wisdom, and that golden volume of Lord Bacon's Essays, of which it has lately been said, that "of all the productions of the English language it contains the most matter in the fewest words." * Franklin, a poor apprentice boy in Boston, picked up an odd volume of the Spectator, then lately published, and there learned his unaffected, transparent, English

* Quarterly Review, September, 1856.

style; and the immortal young surveyor of Virginia, while living with Lord Fairfax, in the valley of the Shenandoah, then the very frontier of civilization, gave his leisure hours to the same inimitable pages.

In addition to direct literary culture brought from Europe, or kept up by constant intercourse with it, the multiform traditions of social life trained the masses. The great professional institutions of the Old World were substantially transferred to the New. They carried to the remotest cabin of the settler of English descent, those foundation principles of social right which had been maturing in the common law for ages. The French settler brought with him the still older principles transmitted in the Roman code, from the most highly developed jurisprudence of the ancient world. The German emigration was of a later date; and its educated men, magistrates and preachers, had been trained in the intellectual system and habits of the most philosophical and speculative of the modern nations. Accordingly, although there was, for more than a century and a half, a hard struggle with material nature, and the political straits of colonial infancy, there was no disconnection from the mind of the civilized world; — no intellectual crudeness in any period of our history. Every thing which pertained to outward condition was rough, provisional, and imperfect; but high literary culture was perpetuated; and whenever grave counsel was to be taken, or important business transacted, or the written or spoken word to be employed in any branch of the public service, an astonishing ripeness and skill never failed to be disclosed. In this way, as a handful of disciplined soldiers, wielding the arms of civilized warfare, and led by intrepid chiefs, seldom if ever fails to triumph over any number of plumed savages; so the intellect of the European settlers, fortified with all the agencies of education, gained an easy mastery over the physical hardships that awaited them here; and operating upon this almost boundless field, comparatively safe from the political complications of the Old World, has produced and is daily producing results, which, with all their familiarity, fill us with amazement.

To train and strengthen by discipline the powers of the mind, in other words to give still greater force and wiser direction to those intellectual energies, which have established civilized man in this western world, is the great object of institutions of education, from the humblest infant school to the most advanced seminary of learning, of science, of art, of the professions. Justly tracing their prosperity to its rightful source, plainly discerning a trophy to the triumphs of education in every square league of territory wrested from the wilderness, the people of the United States, in every stage of their progress, as far as local circumstances have permitted, have acted upon these principles, and have cared for education. They have regarded it, not as a separate interest of a favored class, but as the most important concernment of the whole community, practically interwoven with its inmost life.

From the early legislation of the colony of Massachusetts Bay which provided for the foundation of a college, and the establishment of a school in every town, down to the congressional reservation of one thirty-sixth part of the public domain for this purpose, more, I think, has been done for education in America, and at an earlier period, by systematic public action, than under any other government. Nor, considering the comparative want of vast private fortunes in the New World, is the extent to which individual liberality has been bestowed in this direction less creditable to the country.

It may seem, therefore, a work of supererogation, in this country, on any occasion, or in any place, to attempt an argument on the importance of institutions of education; more especially on an occasion like this, which evinces in its very nature that you, at least, need no argument on the subject; and that, by whomsoever else or wheresoever else the duty of founding and endowing places of education may be called in question, it will not be done by those I have now the honor to address.

But though the universal mind of America has accepted as an axiom in social economy, that the largest possible provision is to be made for public education, it is perhaps rather in

reference to elementary education in common schools that this principle has been established; and we frequently hear the necessity, sometimes the value, of education as obtained in the higher institutions, — colleges, universities, and professional schools, — seriously questioned; and brilliant examples of "self-taught" men ominously and triumphantly quoted to prove the inutility, if not even the inexpediency, of academical training.

Nothing could be more abhorrent to my feelings than to speak disparagingly of self-taught men. I have neglected no fitting opportunity to eulogize them among the departed, nor to manifest sympathy and respect for them among the living. I know of no spectacle on earth, pertaining to intellectual culture, more interesting than that of a noble mind, struggling against the obstacles thrown by adverse fortune in the way of its early improvement; no triumph more glorious than that which so often rewards these heroic exertions. It is because I appreciate the severity of the struggle, and deeply sympathize with those who have forced their way to eminence, in the face of poverty, friendless obscurity, distance from all the facilities for improvement, and inability to command their time, that I would multiply the means of education, and bring them into as many districts of the country, and as near the homes of as large a portion of the population as possible, in order to spare to the largest number of gifted minds, the bitter experience by which those who succeed in doing so are compelled to force their way to distinction.

This premised, I have four words to say concerning self-taught men. The first is, that while a few minds of a very high order rise superior to the want of early opportunities, with the mass of men, that want, where it exists, can never be fully repaired. In the next place, although it is given to a few very superior intellects to rise to eminence without opportunities for early education, it by no means follows that, even in their case, such opportunities would not have been highly beneficial, in smoothing the arduous path and leading to an earlier and more perfect development of the mental powers. Accordingly we find in the third place, that highly

intelligent men, who have felt the want of early education themselves, are (without an exception, as far as my observation has gone) the best friends of academic education; as if determined that others should enjoy the advantages of which they were deprived. It would not be necessary to leave this platform, to find the most striking illustrations of the truth of this remark. Lastly, this epithet, "self-taught," is subject itself to great misconception. It is by no means to be supposed, because eminent men, in any department of science or art, passed their first years and earned their first laurels without early opportunities of education, that they remained, more than other men, destitute to the end of their lives of instruction from abroad. Far otherwise; in all ordinary cases, the epithet in question applies only, with real significance, to the early stages of a distinguished career. As soon as a gifted person, however destitute of early culture, has possessed himself of the keys of science and literature, and gained access to books, he is no longer self-taught, he is a regularly entered pupil in the great high-school of recorded knowledge, in which the wise and famous of every age are the masters. He may have acquired the elements of any branch of literature or science by weary and solitary toil over the poorest manuals, but as soon as they are acquired, Euclid and Newton become his teachers in geometry; Addison and Goldsmith correct his compositions; Tully and Demosthenes teach him to speak. He learns his chemistry from Lavoisier and Davy; his electricity from Franklin and Volta; Galileo and Herschel teach him to point his telescope to the heavens; Thucydides and Tacitus are his lecturers in history; and Milton and Dante, and Virgil and Homer, conduct him to the inmost shrine of the muses; while to encourage his progress by living examples, — not to mention the illustrious names of foreign lands, — he will find guides and models in every department of knowledge in his own country.

But there is an impression, I grant, perhaps a growing impression, on the part of a considerable portion of the community, that some at least of the studies pursued at our colleges and universities, as at present constituted, are scholas-

tic, antiquated, and abstract; tending at best to the acquisition of learning which is rather curious than useful, and not adapted to qualify men for the actual duties of life.

Before inquiring whether this impression is well founded, or attempting to meet the reproach which is implied in it, let me say a few words, if I dare do so in this utilitarian age, for the noble inutility of generous studies; rather let me call it for the ineffable beauty, dignity, loveliness, and priceless worth of the meditations and exercises of the thoughtful, well-instructed mind, soaring on the wings of its conscious,— nay, better, of its unconscious powers and susceptibilities,— far above the region of utilitarian appliances, to the highest heaven of thought, imagination, and taste. I am not so preposterous as to disparage utility, properly understood and pursued, but it is in its ordinary acceptation the handmaid of imperfection and frailty, and carries with it a greasy feel of selfishness,—a brassy taste of self. It implies wants to be relieved and defects to be supplied; hunger to be fed, nakedness to be clothed, and sheltered, and warmed; and the dependent weakness of a feeble and suffering nature to be armed against the thousand ills that flesh is heir to. And so, with immense toil,—evil at once and remedy,—intense labor to obviate the necessity of laboring,—incessant care to gain relief from care,—a killing strain upon the faculties to procure repose of mind,—it plies the axe in the primeval forest, ploughs and plants and reaps the field, bridges the river, navigates the ocean, unlocks the gates of mountain chains, explores with groaning enginery the Tartarean depth of mines; drags up spouting Leviathan from the abyss; lifts from the earth, to warm and light our dwellings, great black clods, into which the forests of an elder world have been crushed and condensed; imprisons the mutinous force of steam in iron cells, there to work the bidding of its master; turns brawling rivers upon the wheels of industry; smelts the ore; poises the trip-hammer; forges the anchor; tempers the watch-spring; tips the gold pen with a spark of iridium; touches the needle with magnetic life; stamps thought upon paper; delineates the human face by the solar ray; packs up

the ship's longitude in a watch-case; balances the steerage of tall navies on the gimbals of the compass-box; and transmits intelligence by the electric spark from continent to continent, beneath the ocean's bed. All this is the work of mind indeed; but of mind dealing with material forces and elements, to supply the wants and avert the sufferings of our physical nature; often, in the individual case, at the cost of greater hardships than it relieves. Man prays to Heaven for his daily bread. Heaven showers down no manna upon the waste, but teaches, through the inventive faculties, these bread-giving arts, and clothes the land with plenty.

But, oh, my friends, there is that in the capacities of our minds which is more than useful, and which deals with higher elements than those of material well-being. It is not appointed to man to live by bread alone, and

> "The thirst that from the soul doth rise,
> Demands a drink divine."

There are facts in this great and wondrous universe, which it is delightful to trace, though we cannot as yet discern their relations to the service of man. There are truths and groups of truths, which seem to bind all creation, — the flower of the field, the stars of the sky, and the marvellous frame of man in bonds of strange analogy, — of which it lifts the soul from earth to heaven to catch a glimpse, as of a golden thread woven in the great loom of Providence through the mystic tissue of the universe. Immeasurably above all the delights of sense is the serene rapture of meditation, the calm ecstasy of pure thought, sounding the depths of its own consciousness, and ruling all else which is subject to man, in the heaven above and the earth beneath, with the sovereign mastery of mind. Unspeakable are the attractions of patient enthusiastic science, now following the traces of creative wisdom, along the minutest fibres of microscopic life, and now clinging to the folds of the streaming robe of Omnipotence, as it floats over the transcendent galaxies of the highest heavens. Calm and pure the satisfactions of the scholar, who, aloof from the competitions and the prizes, the mean

jealousies, the hollow pretences, the brutal vilifyings, the base intrigues, the measureless corruptions of public life, holds converse in his inoffensive seclusion with the unenvious wise and gifted of every country and every age. Exquisite the enjoyments of a refined taste, keenly alive to the beauties of sight and sound; to the fair creations which rival nature on the glowing canvas, or which start from the quarried marble, clothed with form and grace beneath the sculptor's hand. Sweet the entrancement of music, as it breathes in vocal melodies from tuneful lips; or cries with almost human pathos from the chorded viol; or stirs the blood in the inmost chambers of the heart with the voice of the crashing trumpet; or rises and swells and rolls, soft or loud, in full diapason, along the quivering arches of some grand cathedral, heaving and mounting in one overflowing tide of harmony from all the full-mouthed stops of the pealing organ far up to the resounding dome, and bathing in rich floods of music the resplendent forms of saints and martyrs, whose purple robes and golden halos blaze from the storied windows on high. And nobler, purer, higher than the inarticulate voice of chord, or reed, or flute, or sounding key, the articulate voice of Poetry; the music of the genius, the fancy, the heart; the nearest approach of the human faculties to raptures more than human; the earthly transfiguration of wisdom into prophecy, of genius into inspiration, of nature into the supernatural, of the letter which killeth into the spirit which maketh alive; the brightest vision which mortal eye can catch of harmonies and relations beyond the pale of sense; the noblest conquest of humanity over time and fortune; mysterious quintessence of our intellectual being; the golden casket in which memory locks up her choicest treasures; the eternal column on which Fame records her brightest and dearest names.

But let us admit, for the sake of argument, that it is the business of places of education, not to train the mind to these higher tastes or minister to their gratification, but to pursue those studies and form those mental habits which tend directly to the practical uses of life, and, I think, we may still boldly venture to submit the usual branches of Academic

learning to this test. I apprehend that we shall find that the value and importance of collegiate education can be sufficiently vindicated as the appropriate discipline and preparation for many of the most important departments of public and professional duty; understanding, when we speak of "the practical uses of life," not the life of a cabbage or a dray-horse, of "Epicurus' stye" or the anchorite's cell, but the life of a Christian man in civilized society.

It will be observed that I speak of collegiate education chiefly as a discipline and a training; not as if it dismissed its subject with an absolute fitness for the duties of life. The truth is, that education of all kinds, in many respects, begins precisely when in common parlance it is said to be completed. With the single exception of the languages, — if even they form an exception, — the absolute attainments to be made in three or four years passed at college, compared with those of after-life, are of minor consequence; especially when we remember how many departments of science and literature are in their nature so rapidly progressive, that theories, which commanded universal assent thirty years ago, are now in many cases exploded, with every probability that another generation will work the same change with some of those which we adopt. But, while the law of progress thus operates on results, — habits of philosophical, cautious, and liberal investigation, formed in early life, will never cease to guide the conscientious inquirer to the discovery and application of truth.

It is, I know, a common prejudice against places of academical education, that they must be comparatively useless, because they are stationary while every thing else is progressive. Universities have been wittily compared to vessels at anchor in the stream of time, serving little purpose but to show with what rapidity independent research moves down the current. Many illustrious examples might be gathered from academical history, — the names of Copernicus, and Galileo, and Newton alone are enough, as far as science is concerned, — to refute this sarcasm. But, whatever may have been the case in former times, I think it can truly be said

that nothing in science, literature, or art is more progressive, at the present day, than education in all its forms, elementary, academical, and professional. As far as my acquaintance with American colleges and universities extends, the ancient reproach of bigoted scholasticism has wholly passed away. The despotism of Aristotle and Plato; the slavish transmission from age to age of jejune systems, the trammels of a sterile logic, productive of nothing but verbal puzzles and controversial subtilties; the use of arid manuals, and of the learned languages, to the exclusion of the vernacular, as the vehicles of instruction; the neglect of modern and contemporary literature and natural and practical science; all these short-comings and prejudices and obstinate adherences to the past have, in the American colleges and in many of the European, past away. The leaning with us is rather to the other extreme; the too prompt and facile adoption of novelties in the modes and subjects of study, and in the objects and conduct of collegiate education. As far as my own observation has extended, the spirit of progress and improvement is as much alive at our places of education as in any of the walks of active life.

The branches of study usually pursued in our higher American seminaries, are mainly the following: 1. Languages, principally the ancient, but not excluding modern foreign languages and the philosophical study of our own; 2. Science, in its two great branches of exact and applied; 3. Physiology, in all its departments, meaning thereby the knowledge of external nature, animate and inanimate; 4. The philosophy of the mind, or the investigation of the intellectual powers; 5. History, the general record of human action and progress; 6. The various branches of social science, including civil polity, political economy, and constitutional law; 7. The circle of the moral sciences, comprehending all those which rest on the discrimination of right and wrong; and, 8. The relations and duties of man as a spiritual and religious being.*

* The charter of the Washington University of the State of Missouri divests the institution of all sectarian or denominational character. See p. 524.

It will probably be admitted that some acquaintance with most of these branches of knowledge, would be highly desirable as a preparation for almost any calling of active life. But it is the intention of the trustees of the Washington University of the State of Missouri to give a peculiarly practical development and application to the studies designated under the second and third heads. To this end they propose to connect with the institution, as a prominent and peculiar feature in its plan, departments for the useful and the fine arts, in which the youth of the West shall be furnished with such systematic instruction, as shall enable them to carry to the factory, to the laboratory, to the quarry, to the mine, and to the farm, that scientific knowledge which is required to deduce practice from theory; to give dignity as well as efficiency to labor; and connect abstract principles with the industrial pursuits of life. They feel that this mighty West requires an education, in some respects, of a peculiar character, — corresponding with its great extent, the unexampled rapidity of its growth, and the magnitude of all its relations, social, industrial, and political. While they are determined, as far as depends upon them, that its emulous young men shall enjoy all the advantages of academical education, in the best forms in which it is known in older communities, it is no less their fixed purpose to furnish the requisite scientific preparation for the intenser life that exists in the great valley of the Mississippi.

Such being the case, it would be surely a waste of time to undertake, on this occasion, and before this audience, a general vindication of university studies, against the imputation to which I have above referred, inasmuch as the greater part of the studies in all our American collegiate institutions have an evident and avowed tendency and design toward practical utility; and that end will be especially kept in view, in the institution whose establishment we this day inaugurate. I shall, therefore, in the remainder of this discourse, confine myself to the inquiry, whether the unfavorable impression of which I have spoken is founded in reason or popular prejudice, in reference to those particular studies which are

usually objected to as antiquated, scholastic, and abstract; such as language, and especially the dead languages; the higher mathematics; and metaphysics, as that branch is usually called. A few hints only on each topic are all that the limits of the occasion will permit.

1. And first language, which is sometimes disparaged by an invidious contrast between words and things; and the dead languages, so called I suppose by *antiphrasis*, because some of them have outlived ninety generations of our race, and in all human probability will outlive as many more. What then is this so much disparaged language? It is the sign and image, the embodiment, the incarnation (if I may presume to use the word) of this spiritual thing which we call thought, including in that term, for convenience, all the mental exercises. I will not insist, with some philosophers, that the *word*, written or spoken, is essential to the existence of the *idea*, though I cannot myself practically separate them. But if it were admitted, that, in the secret recesses of the mind, there could be thoughts unassociated with words to represent them, still, it would be certain that without language, there could be no revelation of thought to the outer world. Here, then, let us pause for a moment, and, with the aid of this preliminary view, contemplate the sublime functions and the mysterious significance of language, as the representative of thought, and judge whether it is a subject worthy to engage our attention at a place of education.

This wonderful essence, then, which we call mind, of which thought is the exercise, which, under Providence, governs all created things subjected to man; which moves material masses; guides and controls natural forces; develops and applies physical properties; gathers and regulates the societies of men; the created life of the universe, without which all else would be a senseless clod, an irrational machine, a body without a soul; this mind, I say, — essence mysterious, ineffable, sovereign; — where is it, what is it, how acts it? I cannot feel it, I cannot see it, I cannot hear it. It has no substance, no shape, no parts, no whole. It gives perception to the senses, but I cannot in turn perceive it; it is not

sense. At its bidding, the valves of the heart permit the conscious blood to pour tumultuously into the blushing cheeks, or to rush back fainting and affrighted from their pallid collapsing cells; but it is not the heart nor the blood. It sends out living nerves from the lordly brain and the stately column that supports it, to the remotest avenues of feeling; but it is not brain nor nerve. It hears with the ear and it sees with the eye, but it is not eye nor ear. It is everywhere within me but not anywhere, inscrutably wrapped up in this muddy vesture of decay, every particle of which it clothes with beauty and life and power.

How does this unseen and spiritual nature manifest and express itself; how does it act upon surrounding fellow-men, on kindred minds, in other regions, in after ages? It manifests itself, it becomes perceptible, it enters into communion with kindred mind, chiefly by the agency of articulate speech; by the twofold interchangeable mystery of language; this double system of intelligible signs; the one a few black marks addressed to the eye, the other delicate vocal undulations of the air addressed to the ear, — too faint to be perceived by the other senses; totally different from each other, and both as different from the mind itself (which they represent) as matter and spirit; and yet made by a standing miracle not only to express with automatic accuracy and electric speed the minutest shades of thought; but to do it at pleasure in the language of the eye or the language of the ear as if they were one and the same thing; instead of being as radically distinct as sight and sound, or as air and light.

Such is language, the representative of thought. Dwell upon it, I pray you, a moment longer; it is a great mystery of our being. By the use of a few written or printed lines on paper, so like each other, that, in languages with which we are unfamiliar, — witness a Malay or a Japanese manuscript, — there seems scarce any difference between them; this unseen, intangible, mysterious mental essence compared with which a perfume, a sound, a lunar rainbow is gross and material, expresses itself to the eye; by the gentle impulse, the soft vibrations, which the lips impart to the elastic air it

expresses itself to the ear. To give the spoken word duration, I translate it into written character; — to give the written sign a vital emphasis, I translate it into vocal speech. By one divine art, the dead letter, charged with a living meaning, sounds through echoing halls, and wins or storms its way to sympathetic hearts; by another, the fleeting wavelets of the air are crystallized into a most marvellous permanence, and become imperishable gems of thought, whose lustre no lapse of time can obscure; while, by the union of both, this incomprehensible being, the mind, gently wooed from the vestal chambers of our inmost nature, comes forth like a bride adorned for her lordly spouse, the word; clad in the rich vesture of conversation, of argument, of eloquence, of poetry, of song; to walk with him the busy or the secluded paths of life; to instruct and delight the living generations; ethereal essences as they are, to outlive columns of brass and pyramids of granite; and to descend in eternal youth the unending highways of the ages.

Does it seem much that the skill of men has in these latter days contrived the means of communicating intelligence almost with the rapidity of thought, across the expanse of continents and beneath the depth of oceans by the electric wire? That a message despatched from Boston at midday, will so far out-travel the sun as to reach St. Louis an hour before he arrives at that meridian? It is much, and we contemplate with just amazement the wonderful apparatus which, when laid down, as sooner or later it perhaps will be, so as to connect the three continents, may, by possibility, send the beginning of such a sentence as I am now pronouncing around the terraqueous globe and return it to the lips of the speaker, before he has completed its utterance. But this amazing apparatus is but another form of language; it transmits intelligence only as it transmits words. It is like speech, like the pen, like the press, another piece of machinery by which language is conveyed from place to place. The really wonderful thing is language itself, by which thought is made sensible and communicated from mind to mind, not only in the great living congregation of the civilized world for

the time being, but through the vast general assembly of the ages: by which we are able at this moment, not only to listen to all the great utterances which express the thoughts and emotions of the present day throughout the world, but to soar with Milton to the green fields of Paradise in the morning of creation; to descend with Dante to the depths of penal woe; to listen to the thunders of Tully and Demosthenes, and, by the golden chain of etymology, trace the affinity and descent of nations back, through the labyrinth of the past, almost to the cradle of the race.

I hold in my hand a portion of the identical electrical cable, given me by my friend, Mr. Peabody, which is now* in progress of manufacture, to connect America with Europe. I read upon it the following words: "A part of the submarine electric telegraph cable, manufactured by Messrs. Glass & Co. of London, for the Atlantic telegraph company, to connect St. Johns, Newfoundland, with Valencia, Ireland, a distance of sixteen hundred and forty nautical, or nineteen hundred statute, miles." Does it seem all but incredible to you that intelligence should travel for two thousand miles, along those slender copper wires, far down in the all but fathomless Atlantic, never before penetrated by aught pertaining to humanity, save when some foundering vessel has plunged with her hapless company to the eternal silence and darkness of the abyss? Does it seem, I say, all but a miracle of art, that the thoughts of living men, — the thoughts that we think up here on the earth's surface in the cheerful light of day, — about the markets, and the exchanges, and the seasons, and the elections, and the treaties, and the wars, and all the fond nothings of daily life, should clothe themselves with elemental sparks, and shoot with fiery speed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, from hemisphere to hemisphere, far down among the uncouth monsters that wallow in the nether seas, along the wreck-paved floor, through the oozy dungeons of the rayless deep; — that the last intelligence of the crops, whose dancing tassels will in a few months be coquetting

* April 22, 1857.

with the west wind on these boundless prairies, should go flashing along the slimy decks of old sunken galleons, which have been rotting for ages; that messages of friendship and love, from warm living bosoms should burn over the cold green bones of men and women, whose hearts, once as fond as ours, burst as the eternal gulfs closed and roared over them, centuries ago? — Behold another phenomenon of a surety not less surprising, — an intellectual electrical telegraph, — if I may so call it, — not less marvellous! The little volume which I hold in my hand contains the two immortal poems of Homer, those world-renowned strains, which one of the imperial minds of our race, not far from thirty centuries ago, poured forth in the delighted ears of heroic Greece, while the softest down of youth was upon the cheek of its young nationality, — those glowing golden legends, — that sovereign wrath of Achilles, which

> ——— "shall burn unquenchably,
> Until the eternal doom shall be," —

the parting of Hector and Andromache, — a scene to which the sad experience of three thousand years could not add one image of tenderness and sorrow; the threats of Jupiter to the awe-struck gods, while every peak of Olympus was ablaze with his leaping thunders; the piteous supplications of aged Priam, kissing the hand and bathing with his tears the feet of the cruel chieftain, who had dragged the torn body of his noble son three times round the Ilian walls; the weary and sorrowful wanderings of Ulysses, which every subsequent age of mankind has retraced with delight, — these all, like the cunningly imprisoned airs of a musical box, breathe to us in one perennial strain of melody from within the covers of this small volume. By the simple agency of twenty-four little marks, stamped on the written or the printed page, the immortal legend has flashed down to us through the vicissitudes of empires and eras; — across the vast expanse of enlightened and benighted periods of history; — from region to region, from his own rocky islet in the Ægean to shores unknown, undreamed of, by him; — beneath the overwhelming

billows of three thousand years, where peoples whole have sunk; and it now binds together, by the golden wires of intellect and taste, the mind of Europe and America, at this meridian of their refinement, with the mind of every intervening age of literary culture, back to the cradle of infant Greece. And while, at our places of education, we diligently investigate the wonderful properties of matter developed in the phenomena of the physical world, shall we not, my friends, deem a portion of our time and attention well bestowed upon the miracles of the *word*, written and spoken,— the phenomena of language, which lie at the foundation of all our intellectual improvement, of all our literature and science, in a word, of all rational communication between man and man?

2. The mathematics, abstract and applied, form another leading branch of study, especially as pursued in scientific and polytechnic schools; and one, I suppose, which the majority of young persons regard with least favor and pursue with least success, either as attended in the higher departments of the study with greater difficulty, — or as requiring a peculiar aptitude possessed by fewer persons, — or as supposed to be less directly applicable to the business and duties of after-years. Beyond the little arithmetic required for the ordinary economies of life, the mass of college-bred men, unless engaged in the business of instruction or in pursuits which directly involve their application, from the time they leave their places of education of whatever name, give up the mathematics as a useless and hopeless abstraction.

But more closely viewed, the mathematics, like language, (of which indeed they may be considered a species,) comprehending under that designation the whole science of number, space, form, time, and motion, as far as it can be expressed in abstract formulas, are evidently not only one of the most useful, but one of the grandest of studies. Commencing with arithmetic, which, however humble and familiar its processes, is the pivot on which the business of the world turns, either as regards private fortunes or the policies of great states; ascending through algebra and geometry,

where lies the broad field of nearly all the applied sciences and many of the mechanical and manufacturing, and some even of the fine, arts, — for music and drawing and architecture have their mathematical principles, — till we reach those transcendental refinements of the calculus by which the great dynamical problems of the universe are solved and the laws of its phenomena demonstrated, it is evident that no other study can exceed the mathematics, not merely in the variety of their applications to the service of man, but in proper dignity and importance.

A large part of the training of the engineer, civil and military, as far as preparatory studies are concerned; of the builder of every fabric of wood or stone or metal designed to stand upon the earth, or bridge the stream, or resist or float upon the wave; of the surveyor who lays out a building lot in a city, or runs a boundary line between powerful governments across a continent; of the geographer, navigator, hydrographer, and astronomer, — must be derived from the mathematics. Although with the majority of those who study and practise in these capacities, second-hand acquirements, trite formulas, and appropriate tables are sufficient for ordinary purposes, yet these trite formulas and familiar rules were originally or gradually deduced from the profound investigations of the most gifted minds, from the dawn of science to the present day. A most important case recently adjudicated in the East, has shown that the highest mathematical principles may be involved in the production of the simplest mechanical result. The further developments of the science, with its possible applications to larger purposes of human utility and grander theoretical generalizations, is an achievement reserved for a few of the choicest spirits, touched from time to time by Heaven to these highest issues. The intellectual world is filled with latent and undiscovered truth as the material world is filled with latent electricity. The latter, "much enforced" by our cylinders and batteries, "shows a hasty spark," which is straight reabsorbed into the surrounding medium; but the new truth, which is struck out from the all-surrounding realm of thought, will shine and

burn, unabsorbed and unabsorbable, till the partial glimpses we now catch of the material universe shall kindle up into the broad effulgence and the unclouded illumination of higher spheres of being and knowledge.

But it would be a grievous wrong to mathematical, as indeed to any, science, to rest its importance mainly on a utilitarian basis. The great truths with which it deals, are clothed with an austere grandeur, far above all purposes of immediate convenience or profit. It is in them that our limited understandings approach nearest to the conception of that absolute and infinite, toward which in most other things they aspire in vain. In the pure mathematics we contemplate absolute truths, which existed in the divine mind before the morning stars sang together, and which will continue to exist there, when the last of their radiant host shall have fallen from heaven. They existed not merely in metaphysical possibility, but in the actual contemplation of the supreme reason. The pen of inspiration, ranging all nature and life for imagery to set forth the Creator's power and wisdom, finds them best symbolized in the skill of the surveyor. "He meted out heaven as with a span;" and an ancient sage, neither falsely nor irreverently, ventured to say, that "God is a geometer." Yes, precisely by the same calculus by which I might number the individuals on this platform, has the Omniscient mind numbered the leaves in the interminable forest, the sands on the sea-shore, the particles of light that radiate from a universe of suns, the atoms of the ethereal medium, if such there be, which fills the infinite of space. The same divine enginery which shapes the drop now falling from my finger, gave its form to the unfathomable ocean which encompasses the globe, to the moon which heaves the weltering tides of that ocean from their darksome beds, to the sun which chains moon and earth alike to the eternal centre. The laws which keep that roof from falling on our heads, are no other than those which suspend the fluid ring of Saturn, — a bottomless and shoreless ocean, as it has been shown to be, by our own Bond and Peirce, — high in the heavens above the encircled planet, upheld in circumfluent

equilibrium by his eight sustaining moons. The teacher of the village school, who draws an ellipse on the blackboard, has described the curve of revolution of every luminary that travels the infinite of space. Those principles which are true in the recitation-room, are true in the nebula of Hercules; as true when they carry a falling apple to the earth, as when they wheel the starry universe about its central sun.

3. But not less important or interesting as a branch of university education than language or mathematics, is the philosophy of the mind, though somewhat discredited, it may be feared, under the accidental, and, as usually interpreted, not very significant name, of metaphysics. If it be true that "the proper study of mankind is man," surely there is no part of that study so worthy of our attention as those intellectual powers, — the nature and functions of that spiritual essence, — in which man chiefly differs from the beasts that perish. In much that belongs to our material frames we share with them a common organization; nay, in those bodily senses and organs which belong to both, they sometimes excel us. The eagle discerns the sportsman from a greater distance than the sportsman discerns the eagle. The antelope is fleeter of foot and quicker of ear than his pursuer. All that marvellous and inexplicable network of vein and artery and nerve, however various the detail of its structure, exists in the same astonishing complication in the subject animals as in man.

But without attempting to define the nature or assign the limits of the wonderful instincts, possessed by the humbler orders of sentient beings, we may safely claim an unshared preëminence for man, in the glorious prerogative of reasoning mind; and the study of its mysterious powers and faculties, besides its practical utility for the purposes of education and mental discipline, is surely as noble an exercise of thought as can engage our time and attention.

It is true the inquiry is attended with peculiar difficulty, arising from the very circumstances which give it interest and importance. Clothed with material bodies, endowed with material organs and senses, and connected with our

fellow-men and the world around us by material ties, not merely convenience and habit, but the very necessities of our being, direct our first attention to the outer world and give a paramount importance to material nature, in reference to all the ordinary business and duties of life. But outward nature and our material frames are a part only of our being. We are conscious of a spiritual essence within us, endued with a higher order of faculties, and destined, as we believe, to a higher sphere of life and action, when our bodily frames, and the vital relations in which we are placed by them, shall have passed away.

This transcendent mystery of our nature is the subject of the philosophy of the mind. It rises from extension and solidity and weight and form and color, — wonderful properties, I grant, of some wonderful, undiscovered, and probably undiscoverable substratum, which we call matter, to the incalculably higher properties of perception, attention, abstraction, association, imagination, memory; — the exalted attributes of the intellectual nature. It seeks, through the careful study of their operations, and a patient scrutiny of our own consciousness, to acquire some accurate knowledge of these exalted powers; of that *intuition* which darts to its goal more swiftly than the electric spark to the completion of its circuit; of that *abstraction* which gathers from a thousand actual existences the common attributes which are concrete in all, and separate in none; of that *association* which binds our ideas in chains as strong as they are often mysterious and arbitrary; of that *imagination* which neither space nor time nor nature can limit; of that *memory* which gives continuity to our intellectual being, and preserves the sacred deposit of a life of action and thought; of those *emotions* and *passions* which impart to character its force; of that *will* which determines the moral quality of our actions; of that *conscience* which reigns supreme over the whole realm of voluntary and responsible conduct.

Can we doubt the dignity and importance of such a study? Shall we think it a profitable employment of time to devote weeks and months and years to the investigation of the

circulatory system of the poor beetle that frets the velvet cheek of the rose-bud; to the discovery of the periods of binary stars, whose separate existence as faint sparks of light in the remotest heavens can only be detected by telescopes of the highest defining power; to the assignment of the geological age of strange trilobites, and paradoxical fish-lizards, that ceased to exist uncounted ages before the present orders of being on earth began, but which the science of these latter days has evoked from the marble jaws of her lowest strata, — shall objects like these occupy our time and deserve our attention, as I admit they do, for the hand of the Creator is as visible in them all, — in the star, the fossil, and the insect, as in the sun which it guided this morning from the horizon to the zenith, — and shall we find no interest in the inquiry into the nature of the very faculties by which we conduct these curious investigations, and contrive the marvellous apparatus by which they are pursued; which enable the sagacious, the patient, the ardent lover of truth, to work the miracles of inductive reasoning; which embolden him, not with presumptuous daring but with reverential aspiration, to build the sublime stories of analogy to the highest heaven;* to pierce the earth almost to its core; in a word, to achieve those triumphs of invention and demonstration, of art and of science, in which our frail nature makes its nearest approach to the infinite and the divine?

I know it is objected to the study of the philosophy of the mind, that all our labor and research must end with the inquiry into the *operation* of the mental powers, and that it is impossible to penetrate to the mental *essence*. But, great heavens, is not this equally the case with the study of matter? Do not all our labor and all our research in the study of nature end with the discovery of material properties; and is it not equally impossible to penetrate to material essence? Are not extension, solidity, form, temperature, color, ductility, elasticity, magnetism, electricity, and gravitation, the master quality of all, — mere properties, primary or secondary, of the

* Amos ix. 6.

unknown, hidden basis which we call matter; and which defies alike the piercing eye of the microscope, the merciless search of the crucible, the biting tooth of the solvent acid, and the all-subduing, blasting energy of the voltaic spark. It may be burned to ashes, or ground to powder, or melted to glass, or evaporated into air, and not a ray of light will be thrown upon its nature. The all-wise Creator has placed the bars and the bolts of impenetrable mystery as firmly on the secret nature of the material as of the immaterial world. We know them both but in their properties and qualities. In what those properties inhere we are in both cases profoundly and equally ignorant; and it is the great superiority of the intellectual nature, that it is endowed with those faculties, by which alone, not merely the wonders of its own consciousness, but all the phenomena of the outer world, are explored and comprehended.

These natural sciences, as we call them, are but logical sequences of thought; — these branches of physical knowledge are the creations of intellect. The celestial vault sparkling with its countless suns is but a darkling blank, till the sun of reason, — the immortal mind, — has shot a perceptive glance up to its peerless glories. The brightest star has no eye to behold its own lustre or that of its sister star. This infinite loveliness of nature on earth holds no mirror up to itself; the prairie has no eye for the flowers that paint it; the forest has no ear for the crashing symphonies of the whirlwind. The river rolls along unconscious of its verdant bank; — the verdant bank drinks in no music from the murmuring stream. This gorgeous atmospheric drapery, which hangs its aerial festoons over land and sea, lined at morning and eventide with cloudy lutestrings of purple and gold, and dipped at noon in ultrameridian blue; these columnar mountains, whose granitic architraves, carved and fretted with the tempests of ages, support the vaulted sky; these great arterial rivers which drain the waters of whole continents into the mighty ocean alembic, thence to be carried by vaporous distillation to the piteous heavens, to be wept down again in compassionate showers upon the parched earth; — this heav-

enly concert of falling waters, and sighing breeze, and rustling grove, vocal with all the music of spring,—were lost, but for the human intellect. There is in all creation, below God and the angels, no eye for the beauty, no ear for the melody, no sense for the fragrance, no perception for the symmetry, no comprehension for the unutterable bounty, dignity, and grandeur, but in the rational mind. It would all lie hushed and blank and cold, but for the vitality enkindled in it from the living sense of intelligent man. I pass by, at this time, as too vast, too various even for the most hasty enumeration, the novel forms and wondrous combinations wrought in the natural elements by the inventive and disposing powers of mind; as I do also of necessity the intellectual and moral creations of our reasoning and imaginative faculties.

Yes, my friends, this external creation is unutterably magnificent and fair; but we have "that *within* which passeth show." Not all the kingdoms of the earth, with all their wonders, which the lying tempter promised to the patient Son of God from that exceeding high mountain to which he had taken him up, can be compared to the wonders of the little world within; of that creative principle through which and by which alone the power and wealth and grace of the material world are perceived and explored. I repeat it, the phenomena of matter exist for us, only as they are disclosed by the contemplations of mind. Is it not so? Trace the history of science from its commencement. Since the world began, the magnetic attraction had dwelt uncomprehended beneath its flickering auroral canopy enthroned "on the sides of the North;" traversing unobserved the curve of its inscrutable oscillations, and breathing its unperceived influence all round the globe. The acuteness of some happy observer in what we arrogantly call the dark ages, (the ages that built cathedrals, and taught their arches to resound to organs attuned to the praises of the Most High,—which produced the Divina Commedia and the Canterbury Tales,) penetrated the outer vestibule of this elemental mystery; and—oh, divine compensation,—from behind the eternal battlements

of this ice-bound unapproachable North, from within those frozen portals, where even now the stoutest hearts and the hardiest frames knock for admittance, — in vain, alas, as the recent sorrows of the whole country too well attest, — went forth the guiding spirit, the trembling little pilot which conducts the mariner over the pathless ocean, beneath the darkest night, to the uttermost ends of the earth. Since the world began, the vapor of heated water had risen, and diffused and lost itself in the air; ages on ages passed by and witnessed unconsciously this stupendous waste of elemental power; till the keen reflection, the patient research, the untiring perseverance of a long line of philosophers, ending in Watt and Fulton, grappled with the problem, and brought to perfection the machinery which has turned these fleeting watery atoms into a mighty mechanical force, revolutionized the industrial world, and for all the purposes of material power has, within the last half century, doubled the population of the globe. Since the world began, the lightning had played harmlessly upon the fringes of the distant cloud, or shot its three-bolted artillery in dreadful volleys through the piled and rolling embrasures of the storm, till a creative glance of Franklin's mind, just a hundred years ago this year, pierced the hidden nature of the subtle element, and laid the foundation of those discoveries which have been since made the instrument of transmitting that thought which it most resembles across continents and oceans, and recording the movements of the furthest stars. Finally, the great frame of nature, from the infinitesimal molecule to the entire compacted universe, is held together by the law of gravity; every mote that floats in the sunbeam, every leaf that falls in the forest, every drop that distils from the clouds, every planet that encircles the sun, every sun which holds together its attendant system, and every system which swings in vast gyration through the infinite of space, obeys this mysterious power. But the sovereign law, though impressed on every particle of created matter, was written in hieroglyphics which Pythagoras and Aristotle and Archimedes and Copernicus and Keppler and Galileo and Bacon beheld but could not

decipher; and to which, at length, the mind of Newton first found the key, not two centuries ago.

No, my friends, when you make provision at your places of education for the study of the philosophy of the mind, it is no refined abstraction nor scholastic subtlety to which you invite the student's attention. You seek to impart to him the knowledge of that principle within us, whose essence indeed is inscrutable, but whose faculties, under Providence, rule with divine vicegerency the created world, and stamp upon our frail humanity the reflected image of the Creator. Yes, noble Aristotle, thou or thy commentators are right. *Μετὰ τὰ φυσικά* this divine philosophy may well be called;— after — beyond the natural things. The region to which the philosophy of the mind conducts us, dimly discerned in the present state of being, lies far off, beyond the realms of material nature; beyond these crowded cities, and fertile fields, and dewy vales, where some of us linger with sobered step, and the youngest of you, my friends, will soon reach the goal; beyond the lofty hills that bound the horizon, and which fly before us as we advance; over the land and over the sea; broader then earth and ocean and sky; above these burning stars, which speak down to us in the still watches of night from the sacred heavens; behind these veils of aching, fainting, dying flesh. After the bloom of the cheek has faded; after the wreath of fame has withered; after the taste of pleasure has palled; after nature, after time, after life, after death, we reach at last the pleasant land,

"Sweet fields beyond the rolling flood," —

where the philosophy of the mind awaits, at the foot of the Cross, from a WISDOM higher than its own, the complete solution of its momentous problems.

Go on, then, my friends, in your praiseworthy undertaking. The cause in which you are engaged is that of civilization, of virtue, of truth, and of religion. The influences you seek to strengthen and extend are those, which in three centuries have brought our beloved America from the infancy of bar-

barism to her honorable position in the family of nations. The studies for which you make provision are not only the skilful purveyors to the common wants of our nature, but the ministers to its purest delights. The faculties you endeavor to discipline and to cultivate are those which raise intellectual man above the savage and the brute. Complete then your already liberal endowments. Fill your departments with able and faithful instructors. Establish on a permanent basis a liberal seminary of education; a great school of literature, science, and the arts. Collect an ample library — that great, silent, but all-eloquent teacher of every branch of knowledge. Found an observatory* upon the meridian of St. Louis, the ninetieth west from Greenwich, and thereby admirably adapted for the comparison of observations. Let solid learning, and sound principle, and pure morals, go forth to the rising West, from this, one of the chief *foci* of her natural communications and expanding commerce. Your honored fellow-citizen, Judge Bates, has just compared it to the spider's web, which gathers to its centre whatever ventures within its circuit; let it be also a genial sun, sending forth its beams of light and truth to the furthest bounds of this imperial valley. Be faithful to the great heritage of freedom, prosperity, and power which you have received from your fathers. Enter into a generous emulation with your older sister States, and thus keep alive the kindly sympathies which bind the cultivated mind of the country together. In your day of small things, remember the infancy of those "twins of learning" in the East; the frugal legacy that gave being to Harvard, the few precious volumes that founded Yale; not doubting that the time will come, if your enlightened views shall be shared by your successors, that the seminary you are now founding will take rank equal with those venerable patriarchs of our literary republic. The dust of your fathers, with few exceptions, lies side by side with the dust of our fathers in the honored soil of the East. On that soil — may the love of Heaven forever fall in gentle dews upon it — many of yourselves first drew the breath of life.

* See Appendix B.

Let these tender associations give strength to the sacred bond of brotherhood which unites us, and before the dark day shall arrive that witnesses its rupture, may these eyes be closed beneath the sod. Above all, my friends, lay the corner-stone of your institution on the Rock of Ages, and may the blessing of Heaven rest upon it.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE change in the Charter, above indicated, was made by the insertion of the following sections, in compliance with the petition of the Directors to the General Assembly of Missouri. [Act approved February 12, 1857.]

SEC. 2. No instruction, either sectarian in religion, or party in politics, shall be allowed in any department of said University, and no sectarian or party test shall be allowed in the election of professors, teachers, or other officers of said University, or in the admission of scholars thereto, or for any purpose whatever.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors of said University, upon being informed of any violation of the second section of this act, forthwith to institute an inquiry into the charge or charges that may be preferred in respect thereof, by any credible person, in writing, against any officer of said University; and if it shall appear that any officer of said University has violated the said second section of this act, the Board of Directors shall forthwith remove such person so offending from any office which he may then fill in any department of said University; and such person so removed shall be forever thereafter ineligible to any office in said University.

SEC. 4. In case the Board of Directors, upon being notified in writing by any credible person of a violation of the second section of this act, shall refuse or neglect to investigate the charge hereupon preferred against any officer of said University, it shall be competent for the St. Louis Circuit Court, or the St. Louis Court of Common Pleas, to compel the Board of Directors, by *mandamus*, to perform their duty in investigating such charge, and to show their performance of such duty to the satisfaction of the court having cognizance of the matter; and all proceedings under this section shall be summary, and conducted to a conclusion with as little delay as possible; and the power hereby given to said courts may be exercised by the judge of either of said tribunals in vacation.

B.

The Board of Directors are gratified to state that this appeal has met with a hearty and generous response from one of their own number. JAMES H LUCAS, Esq., one of the most highly respected citizens of St. Louis, and to whose enterprise much of its prosperity is due, has declared his intention of building and endowing an Observatory, on a large and national scale, at an estimated cost of two hundred thousand dollars. For a work of such magnitude several years will, of course, be requisite, in order to its successful completion, but a beginning will be made at the earliest day practicable.

It is an interesting coincidence that Sir ISAAC NEWTON was *Lucasian* Professor of Mathematics. No better augury could be desired in the establishment of the LUCAS OBSERVATORY OF ST. LOUIS.

The Observatory buildings will not be erected on land now belonging to the University. A beautiful and commanding site, containing twenty acres, has been set apart for the purpose by Mr. LUCAS, and will be used, unless some more suitable place can be found.

THE STATUE OF WARREN.*

Mr. President, —

On behalf of a committee of the directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, I have the honor to surrender to you, as the President of that body, yonder marble statue of General Joseph Warren, who laid down his life for his country on this spot, eighty-two years ago this day. In this act of grateful commemoration, we do but pay an early-promised, long-deferred tribute of affection and respect to one of the most zealous champions and efficient promoters of American liberty and independence — the first distinguished victim in the cause. As far as it is in our power, we wipe off the reproach which has rested upon us for two generations. As early as the 8th of April, 1777, it was ordered by the Continental Congress, that a monument should be erected to the memory of General Warren in the town of Boston, and to the memory of General Mercer in Fredericksburg, Virginia. The marble of which these monuments are to be erected has not yet been quarried. In 1794, the members of King Solomon's Lodge of Masons in Charlestown, erected on the summit of Bunker Hill a Tuscan column, in honor of General Warren and his brave associates in arms. The property of the spot on which this monument stood was, by the donation of the Hon. James Russell, vested in the Lodge, and was ceded by them to the Bunker Hill Monument Association in 1825, on condition that some trace of their early patriotic effort should be preserved within the

* An Address, delivered on Bunker Hill, on the 17th of June, 1857, on occasion of the Inauguration of the Statue of General Joseph Warren.

more appropriate and permanent monument which the Association were about to erect. This pledge was fully redeemed in 1845, by allowing the Lodge to place within the obelisk an exact copy in marble of the original monument and of the inscriptions upon it.

At the celebration of the anniversary of the battle, in 1850, three quarters of a century after the great event, it occurred to a generous and patriotic citizen present,—whose heart and hand were ever open to the calls of public spirit or benevolence, — the late Thomas Handasyd Perkins, that the time had come when the duty of erecting some permanent memorial of General Warren ought no longer to be neglected, and a contribution of one thousand dollars was liberally offered by him for this purpose. This offer, contained in a letter to the late lamented Dr. John C. Warren, was referred to a committee of the directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association; by whom, after due consideration, a marble statue, to be executed by some American artist, was recommended as the most suitable form of the memorial. This recommendation was adopted by the directors, was approved by Colonel Perkins, and has been carried into effect by his generous subscription and the contributions of other liberal benefactors. The work was confided, in conformity with the expressed wish of Colonel Perkins, to Mr. Henry Dexter, of Cambridgeport, a meritorious, self-taught American artist, who, in its execution, has united the sympathetic ardor of the patriot with the conscientious zeal of the sculptor. He has adopted the original portrait of Warren, by Copley, as the basis of his likeness, and has no doubt attained as perfect a resemblance of the youthful hero as it is now in the power of the art to produce. In his presence, and that of his work, it would be alike superfluous and indelicate to enlarge upon its merits. There it stands, let it speak for itself. I perform the last pleasing and honorable duty of the committee for procuring the statue, in now transferring it to your official possession, and placing it, through you, in the permanent custody of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

The performance of this pleasing and honorable duty is

not unattended with sadness. In the interval of seven years, which have elapsed since the work was proposed, its first and greatest benefactor has passed away, and with him the other earliest and largest contributors to the statue, our late respected and liberal fellow-citizens, John Welles and Samuel Appleton, and the two noble brother patrons of every public-spirited and philanthropic undertaking, Amos and Abbott Lawrence. One half of the cost of the statue was defrayed by these five departed benefactors, — the residue is the more recent donation of living contributors. The pedestal of beautiful American *verde antique* is the contribution of the family of the late Dr. Warren. For whatever of interest there is in this occasion — for whatever of satisfaction we enjoy, in seeing the first beloved and youthful victim in the cause of American liberty restored to us in enduring marble, we are indebted, in the first place, to the large-hearted, warm-hearted men whose names I have repeated. They have all passed away; and with them has also passed away another honored associate, the friend of nearly half a century, who would have enjoyed a silent but intense gratification in this day's proceedings, the nephew of General Joseph Warren, the late lamented Dr. John C. Warren, whose warm and active interest in the commemoration of the 17th of June, 1775, transcending the limits of name and kindred, led him to consecrate the strenuous exertions of more than thirty years, not merely to the erection of the monument, but to the illustration of all the memories that cluster around Bunker Hill. And may it be permitted to me, sir, as the only survivor of the first committee appointed to procure subscriptions in 1825, and of the executive committee clothed with the full powers of the directors, in the construction of the work, to state, that among all the zealous, persevering, and judicious friends of the Bunker Hill Monument, there was none who from first to last contributed more effectively to its successful prosecution and final completion than Dr. John C. Warren.

Nor let it be thought, sir, that in erecting the statue of General Joseph Warren and bestowing the honors of this

day exclusively upon him, we forget the services of the great men of whatever rank, who partook, with like courage and patriotic devotion, the perils of the ever memorable 17th of June, 1775, whether with him they gave their lives to the country, or survived for other fields of danger and other calls of duty. To honor, without attempting to enumerate or compare their names, — to mark to the latest generation the spot where they stood side by side through the live-long hours of that anxious, toilsome night and that tremendous day, and braved in their most terrible form, and most of them for the first time, the perils of the battle, — is the object of the time-defying work which crowns the hill on which we stand. It commemorates no individual man or State. It stands indeed on the soil of Massachusetts, where the battle was fought; but there it stands equally for Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, and the younger sisters of the New England family, Vermont and Maine, whose troops shared with ours the dangers and honors of the day. It stands for Prescott and Warren, but not less for Putnam, and Stark, and Greene. No name adorns the shaft; but ages hence, though our alphabets may become as obscure as those which cover the monuments of Nineveh and Babylon, its uninscribed surface, (on which monarchs might be proud to engrave their titles,) will perpetuate the memory of the 17th of June. It is the monument of the day, of the event, of the battle of Bunker Hill; of all the brave men who shared its perils, — alike of Prescott and Putnam and Warren, — the chiefs of the day, and the colored man, Salem, who is reported to have shot the gallant Pitcairn as he mounted the parapet. Cold as the clods on which it rests, still as the silent heavens to which it soars, it is yet vocal, eloquent, in their undivided praise. Till the ponderous and well-compacted blocks of granite, which no force but that of an earthquake will heave from their bearings, shall fall asunder, it will stand to the most distant posterity a grand, impartial illustration — nature's own massive lithography — of the noble page, second to no other in the annals of America, on which

History shall write down the names and the deeds of the 17th of June, 1775.

But while the obelisk, unappropriated to any individual name however brilliant, forgetful of no individual merit however humble, towers in serene simplicity, the one impartial monument of the day, — it seemed proper to the munificent proposer of the work we now inaugurate, and to his liberal associates in the undertaking, that a beginning should at length be made of a separate commemoration of those who rendered especial service in an action which gave a character to the whole succeeding contest; a battle in which the loss of the enemy exceeded twofold that of Saratoga, Monmouth, or Yorktown, or of any other conflict in the war; and which, disguising a disastrous defeat with the name of victory, was, in the language of General Burgoyne, who witnessed the engagement, "the loss of the British Empire in America." No one, I am persuaded, will think it unjust that the first statue has been erected to Warren; no one but must desire that the example thus set should be followed by those of Prescott, of Putnam, of Gardner, of McClary, and of whomsoever else a grateful posterity may deem worthy to be associated with them in these posthumous honors. I need not tell you, sir, that it has long been in contemplation to erect a permanent lodge on some portion of these consecrated grounds, which shall afford an appropriate place of deposit for the archives of the Association, and for the relics and memorials of the battle, and there it is probable, if this design is executed, that the statue which we this day inaugurate will be definitively set up, to be surrounded, let us hope, with the busts and statues of many others of the brave men, who stood or fell in the cause of the country on that momentous day.

In these ways and by these works — by the majestic structure which points its uninscribed shaft to the skies, and by the monumental statues which we dedicate to individual merit, — a grateful posterity will seek to honor those to whose wise and brave counsels, to whose toils and whose blood,

we are indebted, under Providence, for this rich heritage of public and private prosperity. Of these, — in this part of the Union, — there is no name to stand before Warren's. Prudent, resolute, fearless, not yet thirty-five years of age, he was in reality, as president of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and chairman of the Committee of Safety, the efficient head of the patriotic cause in New England. In addition to these important offices, three days before the battle of the 17th of June, he was chosen major-general of the Massachusetts troops. He was himself opposed to the occupation of Bunker Hill, but that measure having been resolved upon by the council of war, Warren determined to support it with his presence, and if need should be, his blood. Mr. Gerry, his associate in the Committee of Safety, in conference with him on the 16th, strongly dissuaded his joining the detachment which had been ordered on this eventful errand. "It will be madness," said he, "to expose yourself where destruction will be all but inevitable." "I am aware of this," said Warren, "but I live within the sound of the cannon: how could I hear their roaring in such a cause and not be there?" Again Mr. Gerry remonstrated, and concluded with saying, "As surely as you go to the hill, you will be slain." Warren's reply was —

"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."
It is sweet and becoming to die for the country.

That day, the 16th, he passed at Watertown, the seat of the Provincial Congress, remaining there the greater part of the night, in the discharge of the public business. At five o'clock on the morning of the 17th he rode to Cambridge, and suffering severely from headache, threw himself on the bed for a little repose — the last he ever took on earth. When the intelligence reached Cambridge that the enemy was in motion, it was communicated to him by General Ward. He rose from his bed, — declared that he was well, — mounted his horse, and rode to Charlestown. Just elected a major-general, he repaired to the field as a volunteer, — refused the command which was tendered him by Putnam and

Prescott,—inquired where the attack would be most formidable, and placed himself there,—among the foremost in the conflict, among the last in the lingering retreat; till he was struck with a bullet in the head, and fell to rise no more. The next morning the body was found by Dr. Jeffries and General Winslow, who visited the field, and who saw the spot where it was buried. The following spring, after the departure of the royal forces, the honored remains, identified by sure indications, were reinterred, with appropriate funeral ceremonies, in Boston. The pall was borne by General Ward and other distinguished associates in arms, and the opening words of Morton, the eulogist,—"Illustrious Relics! what tidings from the grave?"—produced a thrill in the audience, which clung, through life, to the memory of those who heard it. In the official account of the battle, prepared a short time afterwards, at the instance of the Committee of Safety, Major-General Joseph Warren is named first among the dead, as "a man whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen, and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valor shall be esteemed among mankind."

Eighty-two years have passed away since these prophetic words were uttered, and we now behold a pledge of their fulfilment in this great assembly, gathered to do honor to his name, and in the attendance of so many of the most distinguished of our community and of the land. We are deprived, indeed, by a cause which demands all our sympathy, of the desired presence of the illustrious chief, the Lieutenant-General of the armies of the United States, whose own blood has not been spared in the service of the country, who has fought her battles victoriously in every climate from the Canadian frontier to the tropics, and who, more favored of Providence, has lived to an honored age, to enter into that reward of gratitude and veneration, which it was given to Warren to deserve but not to enjoy. We are honored with the presence of the governors of several sister States, although suddenly deprived, to our great regret for the event and its cause, of the attendance of the chief magistrate of the empire State of New York, worthy representative of a

noble Massachusetts sire, governor of a State whose population equals that of the whole United Colonies on the day when Warren fell; of others who have served the republic in posts of honor and usefulness, in different parts of our common country; of these patriotic military corps, and civic and literary and benevolent fraternities; in a word, of this vast multitude of every age and either sex, assembled to pay homage to the marble presentment of the youthful hero; eager to crown with this earthly immortality of fame the first great martyr in the cause of American Independence.

Nor is it the least of the satisfactions with which we pay these honors to the memory of Warren, and celebrate the anniversary of his sacrifice, that we do it with no feelings of unkindness toward the land of our fathers. Time has long since poured its healing balm into the wounds of the Revolution, and the ancient ties of common language and kindred blood have resumed their force. Reason and humanity alike forbid that the fierce collisions which unavoidably attend the disruption and reorganization of States should open perennial fountains of national bitterness. When the excitements of the struggle are past, the great movements of public policy should be as calm and passionless as the march of the planets through the sky. While we pay due honors to the illustrious men who led the armies of the Revolution, we rejoice to believe and to know, that the great separation which they effected has been productive of equal benefits to both countries, and that the enlightened English statesmen of the present day, like the Burkes and Chathams of the Revolutionary period, acknowledge the soundness of the principles for which our fathers flew to arms, and are everywhere extending their application throughout the colonial empire of Great Britain. Henceforth let our only contest with the father-land be a generous emulation in the arts of peace. While I speak, the public vessels of the two countries are bound on a joint errand to the mid ocean, not to stain its waters with fraternal blood, but to knit the two continents together by those mysterious bonds by which modern science and art, outstripping the laggard hours, annihilating the width

of oceans, and flashing like thought through their rayless depths, is bringing the whole civilized world into the magic circle of instantaneous communication.

But, after all, the obelisks we erect and the statues we set up are but expressive symbols. The proudest monuments to the memory of our fathers are not those which are carved by the skilful artist from blocks of marble, or reared by the architect in majestic piles of granite. These, indeed, have their value and their interest. They mark for the latest posterity the scene of some momentous conflict; they redeem from the power of time and decay, the features of some noble countenance and the proportions of some manly form, causing the poor dust to start into life again from the molten bronze or the quarried marble. But these are not the rewards for which Warren and his associates braved death; not the monuments which will best perpetuate their fame. The principles of free government for which they laid down their lives; the national independence which, by united counsels and painful sacrifices, they achieved on hard fought fields; this great family of States which, with prophetic foresight, they bound together in a fraternal confederacy; this admirable adjustment of local and federal government, — the most exquisite contrivance of political wisdom which the world has seen, — these shall be their enduring monument. Nor less eloquent in their praise shall be the material prosperity which has resulted from their wise and patriotic measures. The world-surrounding ocean, whitened with the sails of American commerce, which, before the Revolution, was hemmed in by the narrow limits of colonial restriction; the hundreds of cities that line the coast and crown the banks of noble rivers, and which have started from the soil since the establishment of independence; the vast wilderness, whose primeval forests are yearly bowing to the settler's axe, affording a home to the redundance of our own population and the hungry millions of Europe; those boundless prairies over which the living wave of population is pouring like a rushing tide, bringing with it to the utmost verge of settlement the last results of civilization, railroads following the line of the recent Indian

trail, electric telegraphs to convey intelligence where the mail-coach was a thing of yesterday, great steamers on rivers and lakes traversed within a generation by the bark canoe, — these proclaim, in language more expressive than inscriptions on monumental granite, — in forms more significant than the sculptured marble, — the worth and the memory of the great and good men who sowed in weakness the harvest which we raise in power, who in the doubtful elements of national greatness which opened upon them in a visionary future, beheld the germs of this palmy growth, of this imperial abundance, as the sculptor beholds in advance the muscular limbs, the glowing features, the triumphant expression, of his marble hero, in the heart of the shapeless block.

Finally, my friends, let the recollections of a common danger and a common glory, which the day and the spot awaken, bring with them the strengthened love of a common country. The patriotism of our fathers, and especially of the illustrious man whom we commemorate, was of the most comprehensive cast. In a letter of the 21st of November, 1774, addressed to Josiah Quincy, another early-lost, devoted champion of American liberty, General Warren declares that "it is the united voice of America to preserve their freedom, or lose their lives in defence of it. I am convinced that the true spirit of liberty was never so universally diffused through all ranks and orders of the people in any country on the face of the earth, as it now is through all North America."

On the day on which Warren fell, Washington was commissioned as "commander-in-chief of all the continental forces raised or to be raised in defence of American liberty." Massachusetts and Connecticut had their armies in the field, commanded by their favorite generals; but John Adams took the lead in promoting the nomination of a general from that part of the Union where there was as yet no force embodied, eager to give a striking proof that no local feeling swayed New England, by intrusting the command of her army, — for such it was, — to a leader from the banks of the distant Potomac, whom he already designated as the "Beloved Washington." The melancholy tidings of the death of

Warren were received with poignant grief throughout the country, and it may be doubted whether the most brilliant success on Bunker Hill could have done as much to bind the colonies together as the noble, though in its immediate results unavailing, resistance; the profuse, though at the time unprofitable, outpouring of human blood. A great revolution must be inaugurated with a great sacrifice, and all the loftier passions are ennobled by the purification of sorrow; nor is it certain that Warren, had he assumed the command, and driven the enemy back to his boats, would have done as much to kindle a chastised and resolute enthusiasm throughout the country, and unite the colonies in the impending struggle, as when he shouldered his musket and fell in the ranks.

And, oh! my friends, let the lesson of fraternal affection which he taught us in his death be repeated in the persuasive silence of those stony lips. In his own heart-stirring language, let "the voice of our fathers' blood cry to us from the ground;" and upon this sacred day, and on this immortal hill, let it proclaim a truce to sectional alienation and party strife, as the mediæval church proclaimed the "truce of God." Wherever else the elements of discord may rage, let the billows sink down and the storm be hushed, like yonder placid waves, at the foot of Bunker Hill. Here let the kindly feelings that animated our fathers revive in the bosoms of their sons, assured that — should "malice domestic or foreign levy" invade us — if living champions should fail, that monumental cheek would burn with the glow of patriotism, that marble sword would leap from its scabbard, and the heaving sods of Bunker Hill give up their sheeted regiments, to the defence of the Union!

THE IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE.*

MR. PRESIDENT, GOVERNOR KING, PRESIDENT FILLMORE,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

THE surpassingly beautiful spot where we are assembled this day is one of no ordinary interest. We are met in full view of the outlet of one of the most considerable of those inland seas which form so marked a feature in the geography of our continent. We can almost hear the roar of its waters as they plunge, at yonder world-renowned cataract, to the lower level of the sister lake. The prosperous city, under whose immediate auspices we are assembled, has, within the experience of living men, grown up from a small village on the skirts of an Indian reservation, to be the busy mart of a vast inland trade. Behind us, uniting, in what may truly be called the bonds of holy matrimony, the waters of the mighty lakes with the waters of the mighty ocean, enduring monument of one of the most honored sons of New York, stretches far to the east that noble canal, which alone, perhaps, among the works of its class, has sustained itself in the competition with the railroad and the locomotive. In front of us spread out the fertile domains of a friendly neighboring power, the home of a kindred race, separated from us but by a narrow stream; a region to which we have closely grappled with hooks of steel, or at least with hooks of railroad iron, and the still stronger bonds of a mutually beneficial commercial reciprocity. We have come together on this interesting spot, at

* An Address delivered before the New York State Agricultural Society, on occasion of their Annual Fair, at Buffalo, Friday, 9th of October, 1857.

the invitation of the New York State Agricultural Society, to hold the farmer's autumnal holiday. From the remotest quarters of the Empire State and her sister republics, the railroads which have thrown their vast network over the country have afforded a ready conveyance to multitudes. Other multudes have descended your magnificent lake, in those unparalleled steamers, which, with scarce an interval of time, have taken the place of the bark canoe that skimmed its surface at the beginning of the century. Others, from the adjacent province, have crossed that noble suspension bridge, a wonder of engineering skill. In behalf of the respectable association in whose name I have the honor to speak, on this spot from which the simple children of the forest have not yet wholly disappeared, from whatever quarter, by whatever conveyance you have assembled, I bid you welcome. Friends, fellow-citizens, welcome! The woods have put on their gorgeous robes of many colors to receive you; the vaporous atmosphere has for this day hung up its misty veil, to shield you from the too fervid sun; the sparkling waters of Niagara River bid you "HAIL AND FAREWELL," as they hurry downward to their great agony; and Autumn spreads before you the rustic hospitality of her harvest-home.

There is a temptation, when men assemble on occasions of this kind, to exaggerate the importance of the pursuit in which they are engaged, in comparison with the other callings of life. When farmers or merchants or manufacturers or teachers or professional men, come together to celebrate an anniversary or an important event, or to do honor to some distinguished individual, it is almost a matter of course that their particular occupation or profession should be represented by those on whom the duty of speaking for their associates devolves, as the most important profession or calling. No great harm is done by these rhetorical exaggerations, which in the long run must correct each other; and which, if they have the effect of making men more content with their own pursuits, are not very pernicious, even if they remain uncorrected.

Although these claims which men set up, each for the paramount importance of his own occupation, cannot of course be all well founded, it may be maintained that each of the great pursuits of life is indispensable to the prosperity of all the rest. Without agriculture and manufactures, the merchant would have nothing to transport or exchange. Without commerce, the farmer and the manufacturer would be confined to a barter trade, in a limited home circle of demand and supply. In this respect, all the great pursuits of life in a civilized community may be deemed of equal importance, because they have each and all for their object to supply some one of the great wants of our nature; because each is necessary, to some extent at least, to the prosperity of every other; and because they are all brought, by the natural sympathies of our being, into an harmonious system, and form that noble and beautiful whole which we call civilized society.

But, without derogating from the importance of any of the other pursuits and occupations, we may safely, I think, claim for agriculture in some respects a certain precedence before them all. It has been said to be the great and final object of government to get twelve impartial and intelligent men into the jury-box; by which, of course, is meant that the administration of equal justice between man and man is the primary object of civilized and social life. But the teacher, secular or spiritual, might plausibly urge that it is of prior importance that the community should have the elements, at least, of mental and moral culture, and be taught the obligations of an oath, before any twelve of its members should take part in the administration of justice. The physician might contend that health is of greater importance than the trial by jury; and with greater reason it might be claimed for agriculture that it supplies the first want of our nature; the daily call of the great family of man for his daily bread — the call that must be answered before the work of life, high or low, can begin. Plaintiff and defendant, judge and jury, must break their fast before they meet in court; and, if the word of

a witty poet can be taken, certain very important consequences sometimes happen to culprits, in order that jurymen may get to their dinners.

But, to speak in a more fitting and serious strain, I must confess that there has always seemed to me something approaching the sublime in this view of agriculture, which (such is the effect of familiarity) does not produce an impression on our minds in proportion to the grandeur of the idea. We seem, on the contrary, to take for granted that we live by a kind of mechanical necessity, and that our frames are like watches made, if such a thing were possible, to go without winding up, in virtue of some innate principle of subsistence independent of our wills; which is indeed in some respects true. But it is not less true that our existence, as individuals or communities, must be kept up by a daily supply of food, directly or indirectly furnished by agriculture; and that, if this supply should wholly fail for ten days, all this multitudinous, striving, ambitious humanity, these nations and kindred and tribes of men, would perish from the face of the earth, by the most ghastly form of dissolution. Strike out of existence at once ten days' supply of eight or ten articles, such as Indian corn, wheat, rye, potatoes, rice, millet, the date, the banana, and the bread-fruit, with a half-dozen others which serve as the forage of the domestic animals, and the human race would be extinct. The houses we inhabit, the monuments we erect, the trees we plant, stand in some cases for ages; but our own frames — the stout limbs, the skilful hands, that build the houses, and set up the monuments, and plant the trees — have to be built up, re-created, every day; and this must be done from the fruits of the earth gathered by agriculture. Every thing else is luxury, convenience, comfort — food is indispensable.

Then consider the bewildering extent of this daily demand and supply, which you will allow me to place before you in a somewhat coarse mechanical illustration. The human race is usually estimated at about one thousand millions of individuals. If the sustenance of a portion of these multitudinous millions is derived from other sources than agriculture,

this circumstance is balanced by the fact that there is a great deal of agricultural produce raised in excess of the total demand for food. Let, then, the thoughtful husbandman, who desires to form a just idea of the importance of his pursuit, reflect, when he gathers his little flock about him to partake the morning's meal, that one thousand millions of fellow men have awakened from sleep that morning, craving their daily bread, with the same appetite which reigns at his family board; and that if, by a superior power, they could be gathered together at the same hour for the same meal, they would fill both sides of five tables reaching all round the globe where it is broadest, seated side by side, and allowing eighteen inches to each individual; and that these tables are to be renewed twice or thrice every day. Then let him consider that, in addition to the food of the human race, that of all the humble partners of man's toil,—the lower animals,—is to be provided in like manner. These all wait upon agriculture, as the agent of that Providence which giveth them their meat in due season; and they probably consume in the aggregate an equal amount of produce. Finally, let him add in imagination to this untold amount of daily food for man and beast the various articles which are furnished directly or indirectly from the soil, for building materials, furniture, clothing, and fuel.

The grand total will illustrate the primary importance of agriculture, considered as the steward — the commissary — charged with supplying this almost inconceivable daily demand of the human race and the subject animals for their daily bread; a want so imperative and uncompromising, that death in its most agonizing form is the penalty of a failure in the supply.

But although agriculture is clothed with an importance which rests upon the primitive constitution of our nature, it is very far from being the simple concern we are apt to think it. On the contrary, there is no pursuit in life which not only admits, but requires, for its full development, more of the resources of science and art — none which would better repay the pains bestowed upon an appropriate education.

There is, I believe, no exaggeration in stating that as great an amount and variety of scientific, physical, and mechanical knowledge is required for the most successful conduct of the various operations of husbandry, as for any of the arts, trades, or professions. I conceive, therefore, that the legislature and the citizens of the great State over which you, sir (Governor King), so worthily preside, have acted most wisely in making provision for the establishment of an institution expressly for agricultural education. There is a demand for systematic scientific instruction, from the very first steps we take, not in the play-farming of gentlemen of leisure, but in the pursuit of husbandry as the serious business of life.

In the first place, the earth which is to be cultivated, instead of being either a uniform or a homogeneous mass, is made up of a variety of materials, differing in different places, and possessing different chemical and agricultural properties and qualities. A few of these elements, and especially clay, lime, and sand, predominate, usually intermixed to some extent by nature, and capable of being so mingled and treated by art as to produce a vastly increased fertility. The late Lord Leicester in England, better known as Mr. Coke, first carried out this idea on a large scale, and more than doubled the productive value of his great estates in Norfolk by claying his light soils. To conduct operations of this kind, some knowledge of geology, mineralogy, and chemistry is required. The enrichment of the earth by decaying animal and vegetable substances is the most familiar operation perhaps in husbandry; but it is only since its scientific principles have been explored by Davy and Liebig, that the great practical improvements in this branch of agriculture have taken place. It is true that the almost boundless natural fertility of the soil supersedes for the present, in some parts of our country, the importance of artificial enrichment. I inquired last spring of a friend living in a region of this kind, on the banks of the Ohio, how they contrived to *get rid* of the accumulation of the farm-yard, (a strange question it will seem to farmers in this part of the world,) and he answered, "By carting it down to the river's

side, and emptying it into the stream." In another portion of the western country, where I had seen hemp growing vigorously about thirty years ago, I found that wheat was now the prevailing crop. I was informed that the land was originally so rich as to be adapted only for hemp, but had now become poor enough for wheat.

These, however, are not instances of a permanent and normal condition of things. In the greater part of the Union, especially in those portions which have been for some time under cultivation, the annual exhaustion must be restored by the annual renovation of the soil. To accomplish this object, of late years every branch of science, every resource of the laboratory, every kingdom of nature, has been placed under contribution. Battle fields have been dug over for the bones of their victims; Geology has furnished lime, gypsum, and marl; Commerce has explored the remotest seas for guano, and has called loudly on Diplomacy to assist her efforts; Chemistry has been tasked for the productions of compounds, which, in the progress of science, may supersede those of animal or vegetable origin that are prepared by nature. The nutritive principles developed by decaying animal and vegetable organizations are universally diffused throughout the material world, and the problem to be solved is to prepare them artificially on the large scale, cheap enough for general use. In the mean time the most simple and familiar processes of enrichment, with the aid of mechanical power and a moderate application of capital, are producing the most astonishing results. The success which has attended Mr. Mechi's operations in England is familiar to us all. By the application of natural fertilizing liquids, sprinkled by a steam-engine over his fields, they have been made to produce, it is said, seven annual crops of heavy grass.

Simple water is one of the most effectual fertilizers, and in some countries irrigation, carried on with no moderate degree of hydraulic skill, is the basis of their husbandry. While walking, on one occasion, with the late Lord Ashburton, in his delightful grounds in Hampshire, just before he departed

on his special mission to this country, in one of the intervals of our earnest conference on the Northeastern Boundary, he told me that he had expended ten thousand pounds sterling in conducting round his fields the waters of the little river — the Itchen, I think — that flows through the property, and that it was money well laid out. Pardon me the digression of a moment to say that I could not but honor the disinterested patriotism which led this kind-hearted, upright, and intelligent man, at an advanced age (with nothing on earth to gain or desire, and with every thing of reputation to risk), to leave the earthly paradise in which I visited him, and to cross the Atlantic in the winter in a sailing vessel (his voyage was of fifty-one days), to do his part in adjusting a controversy which had seriously menaced the peace of the two countries. The famous water-meadows of the Duke of Portland, at Clipstone, have been often described, where the same operation has been performed on a still more extensive scale. Mr. Colman's interesting volumes on European agriculture contain accounts of other works of this kind, but I confine myself to those which have fallen under my own observation.

Nor are these the only operations in which agriculture calls for the aid of well-instructed skill. That moisture, which, in moderation is the great vehicle of vegetable nourishment, may exist in excess. Vast tracts of land are lost to husbandry in this country, which might be reclaimed by dykes and embankments, or become fertile by drainage. Land is yet too abundant and cheap in America to admit of great expenditures in this way, except in very limited localities; but the time will no doubt come when, in the populous portions of the country, especially in the neighborhood of large cities, the sunken marshes which now stretch along our coast will be reclaimed from the ocean, as in Holland; and thousands of acres in the interior, now given up to alder swamps and cranberry meadows, be clothed with grass and corn. There are few farms of any size in the country which do not contain waste spots of this kind — the harbor of turtles, frogs, and serpents — which might be brought, at moderate expense

and some hydraulic skill, into cultivation. Other extensive tracts are awaiting the time when the increase of population and the enhanced value of land will bear the expense of costly operations in engineering. The marshes on the sea-coast of New England, New York, and New Jersey, probably exceed in the aggregate the superficies of the kingdom of the Netherlands, the greater part of which has been redeemed by artificial means from the ocean — a considerable tract, covered by the lake of Haarlem, within a few years. Now, if we could add a new territory to the Union, as large as the kingdom of the Netherlands, by the peaceful operations of husbandry, it would be a species of *annexation* to which I for one should make no objection. All the resources of science have been called into operation in that country, under the direction of a separate department of the government, to sustain the hydraulic works which protect it from the ocean. The state of things is similar in the fens of Lincolnshire and Bedfordshire. All the spare revenues of the Grand Duke of Tuscany have been appropriated for years to the improvement of the low grounds on the coast of that country, once the abode of the powerful Etruscan confederacy, which ruled Italy before the ascendancy of the Romans, now and for ages past a malarious, uninhabitable waste.

But when science and art have done their best for the preparation of the soil, they have but commenced their operations in the lowest department of agriculture. They have dealt thus far only with what we call lifeless nature, though I apply that word with reluctance to the genial bosom of our mother earth, from which every thing that germinates draws its life and appropriate nourishment. Still, however, we take a great step upward, when, in pursuing the operations of husbandry, we ascend from mineral and inorganic substances to vegetable organization. We now enter a new world of agricultural research; the mysteries of assimilation, growth, and decay; of seed-time and harvest; the life, the death, and the reproduction, of the vegetable world. Here we still need the light of science, but rather to explore and reveal than to imitate the operations of nature. The skilful agricultural

chemist can mingle soils and compound fertilizing phosphates; but, with all his apparatus and all his re-agents, it is beyond his power to fabricate the humblest leaf. He can give you, to the hundredth part of a grain, the component elements of wheat; he can mingle those elements in due proportion in his laboratory; but to manufacture a single kernel, endowed with living, reproductive power, is as much beyond his skill as to create a world.

Vegetable life, therefore, requires a new course of study and instruction. The adaptation of particular plants to particular soils and their treatment, on the one hand, and on the other, their nutritive powers as food for man and the lower animals, the laws of germination and growth, the influences of climate, the possible range of improvability in cereal grains and fruits, are topics of vast importance. The knowledge — for the most part empirical — already possessed upon these points, is the accumulation of the ages which have elapsed since the foundation of the world, each of which has added to the list its generous fruit, its nutritive grain, its esculent root, its textile fibre, its brilliant tincture, its spicy bark, its exhilarating juice, its aromatic essence, its fragrant gum, its inflammable oil; some so long ago that the simple gratitude of infant humanity ascribed them to the gift of the gods, while others have been brought to the knowledge of the civilized world in the historical period, and others have been presented to mankind by our own continent. No one can tell when wheat, barley, rye, oats, millet, apples, pears, and plums were first cultivated in Europe; but cherries and peaches were brought from the Black Sea and Persia in the time of the Roman republic; the culture of silk was introduced from the East in the reign of Justinian; cotton and sugar became extensively used in Europe in the middle ages; maize, the potato, tobacco, cocoa, and the Peruvian bark, are the indigenous growth of this country. Tea and coffee, though productions of the Old World, were first known in Western Europe about two centuries ago; and India rubber and gutta percha, as useful as any but the cereals, have been introduced in our own day.

There is much reason to believe, as our intercourse with Eastern Asia, Polynesia, and Australia increases, that new vegetable products will become known to us, of the greatest interest and importance for food, medicine, and clothing. Many, with which we are acquainted only in the writings of travellers and botanists, will unquestionably be domesticated. The most interesting experiments are in progress on the sugar-canes of Africa and China; and there is scarce a doubt that the most important additions will, in the course of time, be made to our vegetable treasures from the latter country. China, like North America, forms the eastern shore of a great ocean, with a cold north-western region in the rear. Its climate, under similar local conditions, closely resembles our own; and there is reason to believe that whatever grows there will grow here. A somewhat curious illustration of this is found in the plant ging-seng, to which the Chinese formerly attached, perhaps still attach, such a superstitious value. Its bifurcated root, as they thought, symbolized humanity, which indeed it does, as well as Falstaff's "forked radish;" and hence the name ging-seng, or "man-plant." They called it "the pure spirit of the earth," and the "plant that gives immortality." They deemed it the exclusive product of the central flowery kingdom, a panacea for every form of disease, cheaply bought for its weight in silver. A Jesuit missionary to China, Lafitau, being transferred to America early in the last century, discovered the precious plant in our own woods, where, indeed, in some parts of the country, it abounds. It began to be exported by the French to China, and after the commencement of our commercial intercourse with that country, at the close of the war of the Revolution, this much-prized root was sent in great quantities to Canton, and, much to the perplexity and disgust of the mandarins, became literally a drug in the market, losing most of its mysterious efficacy, in proportion as it was abundantly supplied by the outside barbarians.

But, without wandering so far for additions entirely novel which may be expected to our vegetable stores, I cannot but regard what may be called organic husbandry as one of

the richest departments of science, and one which is as yet almost wholly in its infancy. What wonders are revealed to us by the microscope in the structure and growth of the seed! — the instinct, so to say, of radicle and plumule, which bids one seek the ground, and the other shoot up toward the air; the circulation of the sap, which, examined under a high magnifying power, in a succulent plant — the Calla, for instance — resembles a flowing stream of liquid silver — a spectacle, in these days of "suspension," to make a man's mouth water; the curious confectionary that secretes sugar and gluten and starch and oil, and woody fibre, and flower and fruit and leaf and bark from the same elements in earth and air, differing in each differing plant, though standing side by side in the same soil; in a word, the wonders and beauties of this annual creation, — for such it is, — as miraculous as that by which sun and moon and stars and earth and sea and man were first formed by the hand of Omnipotence!

And who shall limit the progress of science, and its application to the service of man, in this boundless field? The grafting of generous fruits on barren stocks is as old as European civilization; but the artificial hybridization of flowers and fruits is a recent practice, which has already filled our conservatories with the most beautiful flowers, and our graperies and gardens with the choicest varieties of fruit. When reasoning man does with science and skill what has been hitherto left to the winds and the bees, the most important results may be anticipated. Modern chemistry has shown that the growth of the plant is not one simple operation, but that different ingredients in the soil, and different fertilizing substances, afford the appropriate nourishment to different portions of the plant. This discovery will, no doubt, prove to be of great importance in the higher operations of horticulture and pomology.

The culture of the grape and the manufacture of wine have already become considerable branches of industry, and afford great scope for the application of chemical knowledge. The vineyards in the neighborhood of Cincinnati and St.

Louis, though limited in extent, already bear, in other respects, a creditable comparison with those of Europe. All the processes of manufacture rival those of the province of Champagne and the Rhine, both in integrity and skill — a remark which I venture to make from some opportunities of personal comparison. Time, no doubt, will eventually bring to light a belt of territory — probably in the interior, or in the western portion of the continent (for we do not find wine in the eastern portion of Asia) — which will equal the most delicate vintages of Burgundy, Bordeaux, or Xeres.

Nor is it less probable that many vegetable products now imported from foreign countries will be naturalized here. It is but a century since the first experiments were made on the American continent in the cultivation of rice and cotton; and there is no reason to doubt that whatever the Old World produces will flourish within the same isothermal lines in this hemisphere. The recent agricultural reports from the Patent Office contain very important indications and suggestions on this branch of husbandry.

The condition of our native forests opens another broad field of inquiry in agricultural science, under three very striking aspects. The extensive prairies of the West, denuded of wood for an unknown length of time, and under the operation of causes not perhaps certainly made out, await from the settler's skill and industry those plantations which add so much to the beauty and salubrity of the soil, and contribute so materially to the service of man. In the mean time it is a very important question, in a broad region of the West, whether any thing cheaper and more effectual than the Osage orange (Maclura) can be found for fencing. In other portions of the country a condition of things exists, the precise reverse of that just described; and immense tracts of native forest, covering the land for hundreds of miles with a matted, impervious, repulsive wilderness, form a very serious impediment to cultivation, and constitute one of the great hardships which attend the pioneer of settlement. The opening of railroads through extensive districts of this description, with the intense demand for land, caused in part by the

unexampled emigration from Europe, will probably lead to new applications of steam-power, machinery, and capital, in the first clearing of the land; and thus materially facilitate the process of bringing it into cultivation. In the mean time, in the older settled parts of the country, we have some backward steps to take. The clothing of the sterile hill-sides and barren plains with wood is an object of great interest. The work of destruction has been carried on without sufficient discrimination. Too little thought has been had of that noblest spectacle in the vegetable world, plantations of trees for ornament and shade; too little consideration for a permanent supply of the demand for timber and fuel.

Every topic to which I have thus hastily alluded, in connection with the vegetable kingdoms of nature, suggests inquiry for the naturalist, in some department of his studies, and forms the subject of regular courses of instruction in some of the European universities, especially those in Germany.

The insects and vermin injurious to vegetation present another curious and difficult subject of inquiry. A very considerable part of every crop of grain and fruit is planted not for the mouths of our children, but for the fly, the curculio, and the canker-worm, or some other of these pests of husbandry. Science has done something, and will no doubt do more, to alleviate the plague. It has already taught us not to wage equal war on the wheat-fly, and the parasite which preys upon it; and it will, perhaps, eventually persuade those who need the lesson, that a few peas and cherries are well bestowed by way of dessert on the cheerful little warblers who turn our gardens into concert-rooms, and do so much to aid us in the warfare against the grubs and caterpillars, which form their principal meal.

Agriculture is looking anxiously to science for information on the nature and remedies of the formidable disease which has of late years destroyed so large a portion of the potato crop. The naturalist who shall solve that problem will stand high among the benefactors of his race.

Closely connected with this department of agriculture is

another, in which the modern arts have made great progress, and in which inventive sagacity is still diligently and successfully employed. I refer to agricultural machinery — improved implements of husbandry. This is a field in which the creative powers of the mind seem to be at work with an activity never before equalled, and which is likely to produce more important results in this than in any other country. The supply of labor in the United States has not kept pace with the demand, as it can rarely do in a new country, where strong temptations exist for enterprising attempts in every branch of industry. This state of things has furnished very powerful inducements for the introduction of labor-saving machinery and implements, and the proverbial ingenuity of our countrymen has been turned, with great success, in that direction. Your exhibition grounds fully justify this remark. Even the good old plough has become almost a new machine in its various novel forms; and other implements of the most ingenious contrivance and efficient action have been invented. The cultivator, the horse-rake, the mowing-machine, the reaper, and the threshing-machine, are daily coming into use in Europe and America, and producing the most important economy of labor. Successful attempts are making to work them by steam. It was said long ago of the cotton-gin, by Mr. Justice Johnson of the Supreme Court of the United States, that it had doubled the value of the lands in the cotton-growing region; and the mowing-machine, the reaper, and the threshing-machine are destined, almost to the same extent, to alleviate the severest labors of the farmer's year The fame of the reaper is not confined to this hemisphere. At the great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, in London, in 1851, it mainly contributed to enable American art to hold up her head in the face of the civilized world.*

* The first of the following extracts is copied from the *Boston Traveller* of the 23d September, 1857; the second from a recent number of the *London Illustrated News*. I have no means of verifying the accuracy of the statements: —

I.

"AGRICULTURE AT THE WEST. — The scarcity of labor, and the enterprise of the emigrants and speculators, have led to the introduction of more

But there is still another department of agriculture, which opens the door to research of a higher order, and deals with finer elements, — I mean that which regards the domestic animals attached to the service of man, and which are of such inestimable importance as the direct partners of his labors, as furnishing one of the great articles of his food, and as a principal rescource for restoring the exhausted fertility of the soil. In the remotest ages of antiquity, into which the torch of his-

labor-saving machinery upon the farms in our Western States than anywhere else in the world. A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* says, among other improvements, steam-power threshing-machines are fast coming into use. The writer describes one he had just seen in operation on the farm of Dr. Watts, in Chillicothe. The wheat fields on this farm cover, the present year, three hundred and eighty-seven acres, which have produced some eight or ten thousand bushels of grain. He found the threshing ground very much like a village of straw-ricks, in the midst of which was a puffing engine, making the wheels of a machine fly, while men, horses, oxen, and wagons were kept busy supplying its wants. The machine, and three men to tend it, are furnished for five cents a bushel threshed. The consumption of wood is about one and a quarter cords per day, at two dollars and a half per cord. The price of farm labor there now is one dollar per day and board.

"The machine, when in active operation, threshed two bushels a minute, and on an average threshes seven hundred bushels a day. This is the work of seventy men in the old way of threshing by flail. The proprietor of the machine had more applications than he could supply, and his next engagements were for fifteen hundred acres of grain, owned by five proprietors, and yet this is not one of the great wheat counties of the State. Agricultural machinery of all kinds is extending rapidly through the West. The county of Pickaway now employs three hundred and fifty mowing and reaping-machines. Some of the interior counties have great manufacturing establishments for this machinery."

II.

"A correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* says, that, being in Rock county, Illinois, in the middle of August, 1857, he went up to the top of a hill called Mount Zion, six miles from Janesville, and counted on the surrounding plain one hundred and fifty four-horse-power reaping machines, busily cutting down wheat. There were a thousand men, women, and boys following, binding and shocking up the golden sheaves. It was a sight worth seeing to behold the grain falling, and gathered up at the rate of two hundred acres per hour."

tory throws not the faintest gleam of light, a small number, selected from the all but numberless races of the lower animals, were adopted by domestication into the family of man. So skilful and exhaustive was this selection, that three thousand years of experience, during which Europe and America have been settled by civilized races of men, have not added to the number. It is somewhat humbling to the pride of our rational nature to consider how much of our civilization rests on this partnership; how helpless we should be, deprived of the horse, the ox, the cow, the sheep, the swine, the goat, the ass, the reindeer, the dog, the cat, and the various kinds of poultry. In the warmer regions, this list is enlarged by the elephant, the llama, and the camel, the two last named of which, it is not unlikely, will be extensively introduced in our own country.

It may be said of this subject, as of that to which I have already alluded, that it is a science of itself. No branch of husbandry has, within the last century, engaged more of the attention of farmers, theoretical and practical, than the improvement of the breed of domestic animals, and in none perhaps has the attention thus bestowed been better repaid. By judicious selection and mixtures of the parent stock, and by intelligence and care in the training and nourishing of the young animals, the improved breeds of the present day differ probably almost as much from their predecessors a hundred years ago, as we may suppose the entire races of domesticated animals do from the wild stocks from which they are descended.

There is no reason to suppose that the utmost limit of improvement has been reached in this direction. Deriving our improved animals, as we generally do, from Europe, that is, from a climate differing materially from our own, it is not unlikely that, in the lapse of time, experience will lead to the production of a class of animals better adapted to the peculiarities of our seasons than any of the transatlantic varieties as they now exist. The bare repetition of the words, draft, speed, endurance, meat, milk, butter, cheese, and wool will suggest the vast importance of continued experi-

ments on this subject, guided by all the lights of physiological science.

Among the most prominent *desiderata*, in what may be called animal husbandry, may be mentioned an improved state of veterinary science in this country. While the anatomy of the lower animals is substantially the same as man's, their treatment when diseased, or overtaken by accidents, is left almost wholly to uneducated empiricism. It rarely, I may say never, happens, that the substantial farmer has not considerable property invested in live-stock, to say nothing of the personal attachment he often feels for some of his favorites — horse or cow or dog. But when their frames, as delicately organized and as sensitive as our own, are attacked by disease, or they meet with a serious accident, they are of neccssity in most parts of the country committed to the care of persons wholly ignorant of anatomy and physiology, or imperfectly acquainted with them, and whose skill is comprehended in a few rude traditionary operations and nostrums. There are few of us, I suppose, who have not had some painful experience on this subject, both in our pockets and our feelings. The want of veterinary institutions, and of a class of well-educated practitioners, is yet to be supplied.

This hasty survey of the different branches of agriculture, imperfect as practical men must regard it, has, I think, shown that it opens a wide field for scientific research, and demands an appropriate education. It is, in fact, in all respects a liberal pursuit, and, as such, ought to be regarded by the community. It is greatly to be desired, that public opinion in America should undergo some change in this respect. There is no want of empty compliments to the "independent yeomanry" at public festivals and electioneering assemblages. When the popular ear is to be tickled, and the popular suffrage conciliated, the "substantial farmer" is sure to be addressed in honeyed phrase; but the most superficial observation of society shows that the learned professions, as they are denominated, — the various kinds of "business," as it is

significantly called, as if people could not *busy* themselves to any purpose, except in some kind of traffic, — and, in preference to both or in conjunction with both, political employment, are regarded as the enviable pursuits of life. It is not altogether so in the country from which the majority of the people of America are descended. In England, the ultimate object of a liberal ambition is the ownership of a handsome landed property, and the actual management by the proprietor of a considerable portion of it. Great fortunes, however acquired, are almost sure to be invested in great landed estates. Whether employed in the professions or in commerce, men escape from city life as from confinement, and the country-seat is generally the family mansion.

It would be absurd to deny the manifold importance of great commercial towns in our social system. They are not the mere result of calculation; they grow up by an irresistible necessity. The intense life which springs from their stern competition undoubtedly performs a most important office in the progress of civilization. The faculties are sharpened by the direct contact and collision of kindred minds. The great accumulations of capital, which almost exclusively take place in commerce and the occupations connected with it, exercise an all-powerful influence in the community, and are felt in all its enterprises. The social sympathies gather warmth and force from the generous contagion of congenial natures. But society is in its happiest state when town and country act and react upon each other to mutual advantage; when the simpler manners and purer tastes of rural life are brought to invigorate the moral atmosphere of the metropolis, and when a fair proportion of the wealth acquired in the city flows back, and is invested in landed improvements; transferring cultivated tastes and liberal arts from crowded avenues and ringing pavements to the open, healthful country, and connecting them with its substantial interests and calm pursuits.

In acknowledging, as I do most cheerfully, the important relations of city life and commercial pursuits to the entire social system of the country, I leave of course out of the account — I have no words but of abhorrence for them — the

organized conspiracies, swindling, and plunder, which exist side by side with the legitimate transactions of the stock-exchange. It is not one of the least perplexing anomalies of modern life and manners, that, while avowed and thus far honest gambling (if I may connect those words) is driven by public opinion and the law to seclude itself from observation within carefully tyled doors, there to fool away its hundreds, perhaps its thousands, in secret — discredited, infamous — blasted by the anathemas of deserted, heart-broken wives and beggared children — subject at all times to the fell swoop of the police — the licensed gambling of the brokers' board is carried on in the face of day; its pretended sales of what it does not own, its pretended purchases of what it does not expect to pay for, are chronicled in the public prints to the extent of millions in the course of a season, for the cruel and dishonest purpose of frightening innocent third parties into the ruinous sacrifice of *bonâ fide* property, and thus making a guilty profit out of the public distress and the ruin of thousands.

I do not claim for agricultural life in modern times the Arcadian simplicity of the heroic ages; but it is capable, with the aid of popular education and the facilities of intercommunication, of being made a pursuit more favorable than city life to that average degree of virtue and happiness, to which we may reasonably aspire in the present imperfect stage of being. For the same reason that our intellectual and moral faculties are urged to the highest point of culture by the intense competition of the large towns, the contagion of vice and crime produces in a crowded population a depravity of character from which the more thinly inhabited country, though far enough from being immaculate, is comparatively free. Accordingly, we find that the tenure on which the land is owned and tilled — that is, the average condition of the agricultural masses — decides the character of a people. It is true that the compact organization, the control of capital, the concentrated popular talent, the vigorous press, the agitable temperament of the large towns, give them an influence out of proportion to numbers; but this is less the case in the United States than in most foreign countries,

where the land is held in large masses by a few powerful landholders. Divided as it is in this country into small or moderate-sized farms, owned for the most part and tilled by a class of fairly educated, independent, and intelligent proprietors, the direct influence of large towns on the entire population is far less considerable than in Europe. Paris can at all times make a revolution in France; but not even your imperial metropolis could make a revolution in the United States. What the public character loses in concentration and energy by this want of metropolitan centralization, is more than gained, by the country, in the virtuous mediocrity, the decent frugality, the healthfulness, the social tranquillity, of private life. I trust I do full justice to the elegant refinements, the liberal institutions, the noble charities, the creative industries, the world-encompassing energy, of the cities; but the profuse expenditure of the prosperous, the unfathomed wretchedness of the destitute, the heaven-defying profligacy of the corrupt, the insane spirit of speculation, the frantic haste to become rich, the heartless dissipations of fashionable life, the growing ferocity and recklessness of a portion of the public press, the prevailing worldliness of the large towns, make me anxious for the future. It appears to me that our great dependence, under Providence, must be more and more on the healthy tone of the population scattered over the country, strangers to the excitements, the temptations, the revulsions of trade, and placed in that happy middle condition of human fortune which is equidistant from the giddy heights of affluence, power, and fame, and the pinching straits of poverty, and as such most favorable to human virtue and happiness.

While the city is refreshed and renovated by the pure tides poured from the country into its steamy and turbid channels, the cultivation of the soil affords at home that moderate excitement, healthful occupation, and reasonable return, which most conduce to the prosperity and enjoyment of life. It is, in fact, the primitive employment of man — first in time, first in importance. The newly created father of mankind was placed by the Supreme Author of his being in the garden, which the hand of Omnipotence itself had planted,

"to dress and to keep it." Before the heaving bellows had urged the furnace, before a hammer had struck upon an anvil, before the gleaming waters had flashed from an oar, before trade had hung up its scales or gauged its measures, the culture of the soil began. "To dress the garden and to keep it" — this was the key-note struck by the hand of God himself in that long, joyous, wailing, triumphant, troubled, pensive strain of life-music which sounds through the generations and ages of our race. Banished from the garden of Eden, man's merciful sentence — at once doom, reprieve, and livelihood — was "to till the ground from which he was taken," and this, in its primitive simplicity, was the occupation of the gathering societies of men. To this wholesome discipline the mighty East, in the days of her ascendancy, was trained; and so rapid was her progress, that, in periods anterior to the dawn of history, she had tamed the domestic animals, had saddled the horse, and yoked the ox, and milked the cow, and sheared the patient sheep, and possessed herself of all the cereal grains (with the exception of maize, and that controverted) which feed mankind at the present day. I obtained from the gardens of Chatsworth and sent to this country, where they germinated, two specimens of wheat raised from grains supposed to have been wrapped up in Egyptian mummy-cloths three thousand years ago, and not materially differing from our modern varieties; one of them, indeed, being precisely identical; thus affording us the pleasing assurance that the corn which Joseph placed in Benjamin's sack, before the great Pyramid was built, was not inferior to the best Genesee of the present day.

Agriculture, I say, was the great pursuit of the primeval East. Before the intellectual supremacy of Greece was developed, while the Macedonian sword slept in its scabbard, before the genius of military domination was incarnate in the Roman legion, while the warlike North yet wandered in her pathless snows, the Persian travelled far on the road to universal conquest and empire. From the Ionian Gulf to the Indus, from the Tanais to the sources of the Nile, a hundred and twenty-seven satraps, in the name of the great king, ad-

ministered that law of the Medes and Persians which never changed; and, throughout this mighty monarchy, — one of the most extensive that ever obeyed one ruler, — next to war, agriculture was the honored pursuit. On this subject the Greek historian Xenophon has preserved to us a charming anecdote. On a certain occasion, one of those half-mythical Persian sovereigns, into whose personal history the philosophers of Greece delighted to weave their highest conceptions of royal polity, Cyrus the Younger, received Lysander, the envoy of the Grecian allies, at Sardis; and, conducting him into the royal grounds, pointed out the beauty of the plantations, the straight avenues of trees, their rectangular disposition, and the fragrant shrubbery that shaded the walks. "Truly," cried the Spartan warrior, unused to these delightful but manly refinements, "I admire the beautiful scene, but much more should I admire the artist by whose skill it was created." Cyrus, pleased with this commendation, exclaimed, "It was all laid out and measured by myself, and a portion of the trees planted by my own hands." The astonished Lacedæmonian chieftain, looking up at Cyrus, arrayed, as was and is the fashion of the East, in royal purple, his arms and fingers sparkling with rings and bracelets, and his robes exhaling perfumes, exclaimed, "You have planted these trees with your own hands?" "Yes, by heavens," cried Cyrus, "nor do I ever go to my dinner till I have earned my appetite by some military or agricultural exercise." The Spartan saw in these manly, strength-giving, life-giving gymnastics the secret of the power which for the time had mastered the world, and clasping the hands of the virtuous prince, exclaimed, "Justly hast thou prospered, O Cyrus! thou art fortunate because thou deservest to be."

The Persian sank beneath the sword of the Macedonian, whose short-lived empire fell with its youthful founder. Had Alexander the Great planted trees in the interval of his wars, and drank water, like Cyrus, he might have lived to establish the most extensive empire which the world has yet seen. But a new portent of conquest was springing up in the West, on the frugal acres of Etruria and Latium. That Cincinnatus

who drove the Æqui and Volsci from the gates of Rome; that Paulus Æmilius who led the last king of Macedonia with his family in triumph up the steps of the Capitol; that Scipio who at Zama forever broke the power of Carthage; those iron-handed, iron-hearted consuls who conducted the Roman legions over degenerate Greece, and fiery Africa, and effeminate Asia, in the intervals of war and conquest tilled their little Latian farms. That stern censor who first made the name of austere frugality synonymous with Cato, wrote a treatise on the cultivation of the soil; and, so sure was a great Roman chief, in the best days of the republic, to be found at his farm, that the sergeants-at-arms, sent by the senate to summon them to the command of legions and the conquest of nations, were technically called *viatores*, "travellers."

At length the Roman civilization perished, and a new one, resting on the morality of the gospel and the hardy virtues of the northern races, took its place, and has subsisted, with gradual modifications, to the present day. Its first political development was in the land tenures of the feudal system, and it still rests on the soil. Notwithstanding the great multiplication of pursuits in modern times, the perfection of the useful and the fine arts, the astonishing expansion of commercial, manufacturing, and mechanical industry, agriculture has kept pace with the other occupations of society, and continues to be the foundation of the social system. The tenure cultivation, and produce of the soil, still remain the primary interests of the community.* The greatest political philosopher and most consummate statesman of modern Europe, Edmund Burke, who saw further than any of his countrymen into the cloudy future which hung over the close of the eighteenth century, at the meridian of his life, and while most engrossed in public business, purchased a large farm. "I have," says he in a letter written to a friend in that most critical year of English politics, 1768, "just made a push with all

* "That description of property (landed property) is in its nature the firm base of every stable government." — *Burke's Letters on a Regicide Peace.*

I could collect of my own and the aid of my friends, to cast a little root in the country. I have purchased about six hundred acres of land in Buckinghamshire, about twenty-four miles from London. It is a place exceedingly pleasant, and I purpose, God willing, to become a farmer in good earnest." This his purpose he carried into effect, and adhered to it to the end of his life. Those immortal orations, which revived in the British senate the glories of the ancient eloquence, were meditated in the retirement of Beaconsfield; and there also were composed those all but inspired appeals and expostulations which went to the heart of England and Europe in the hour of their dearest peril, and did so much to expose the deformity and arrest the progress, of that godless philosophy, — specious, arrogant, hypocritical, and sanguinary, — which, with liberty and equality on its lips, and plunder and murder and treason in its heart, waged deadly war on France and mankind, and closed a professed crusade for republican freedom by the establishment of a military despotism.

A greater than Burke in this country, our own peerless Washington, with a burden of public care on his mind such as has seldom weighed upon any other person, — conscious, through a considerable part of his career, that the success, not only of the American Revolution but of the whole great experiment of republican government, was dependent in no small degree upon his course and conduct, — yet gave throughout his life, in time of peace, more of his time and attention, as he himself in one of his private letters informs us, to the superintendence of his agricultural operations, than to any other object. "It will not be doubted," says he, in his last annual message to Congress, (7th of December, 1796,) "that, with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage. . . . . Among the means which have been employed to this end, none have been attended with greater success

than the establishment of boards, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled, by premiums and small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement." On the 10th of December, 1799, Washington addressed a long letter to the manager of his farms, — the last elaborate production of his pen, — transmitting a plan, drawn up on thirty written folio pages, containing directions for their cultivation for several years to come. In seven days from the date of this letter his own venerated form was "sown a natural body, to be raised a spiritual body."

Nearly all the successors of Washington in the Presidency of the United States, both the deceased and the living, passed or are passing their closing years in the dignified tranquillity of rural pursuits. One of the most distinguished of them, Mr. Jefferson, invented the hill-side plough. Permit me also to dwell for a moment on the more recent example of the four great statesmen of the North, the West, and the South, — whose names are the boast and the ornament of the last generation, — Adams, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, who forgot the colossal anxieties, the stern contentions, the herculean labors and the thankless sacrifices of the public service, in the retirement of the country, and the calm and healthful pursuits of agriculture. One of these four great men it was not my fortune personally to behold in the enjoyment of these calm and rational pleasures; but I well remember hearing him say, with a radiant countenance, that there was nothing in the triumphs or honors of public life so grateful to his feelings as his return to his home in Carolina, at the close of the session of Congress, when every individual on his plantation, not excepting the humblest, came out to bid him welcome, and to receive the cordial pressure of his hand. I was often the witness of the heart-felt satisfaction which Mr. Adams enjoyed on his ancestral acres, especially in contemplating the trees planted by himself, thousands of which are now scattered over the estate. While he ministered in this way to the gratification and service of other times, he felt that he was discharging no small portion of the debt which each generation owes to its successors. Adopting a tree as the device of his

seal, he added to it, as the expressive motto, the words which Cicero quotes with approbation from an ancient Latin poet, *alteri sæculo.* Mr. Adams took particular pleasure in watching the growth of some white maples, the seeds of which he had gathered as they dropped from the parent trees in front of that venerable hall in Philadelphia which echoed to his honored father's voice in the great argument of American independence. At Ashland, in 1829, I rode over his extensive farm, with the illustrious orator and statesman of the West; and as the "swinish multitude," attracted by the salt which he liberally scattered from his pocket, came running about us in the beautiful woodland pasture, carpeted with that famous Kentucky blue grass, he good-humoredly compared them to the office-seekers, who hurry to Washington at the commencement of an administration, attracted by the well-flavored relish of a good salary. Mr. Webster, reposing on his farm, at Marshfield, from the toils of the forum and the conflicts of the senate, resembled the mighty ocean which he so much loved, which, after assaulting the cloudy battlements of the sky with all the seething artillery of his furious billows, when the gentle south-west wind sings truce to the elemental war, calls home his rolling mountains to their peaceful level, and mirrors the gracious heavens in his glassy bosom.

The culture of the soil has, in all ages, been regarded as an appropriate and congenial occupation for declining life. Cicero, in his admirable treatise on "Old Age," speaking in the person of Cato the elder, to whom I have already referred, when he comes to consider the pleasures within the reach of the aged, gives the most prominent place to those which may be enjoyed in agricultural pursuits. These, he adds, are not impaired by the advance of years, and approach, as near as possible, to the ideal "life of the Wise Man." Guided by the light of nature, he contemplated with admiration that "power," as he calls it, of the earth, by which it is enabled to return to the husbandman, with usury, what he has committed to its trust. It belongs to us, favored with a knowledge of the spiritual relations of the universe not

vouchsafed to the heathen world, to look upon agriculture in higher aspects, especially in the advance of life; and as we move forward ourselves toward the great crisis of our being, to catch an intelligent glimpse of the grand *arcana* of nature, as exhibited in the creative energy of the terrestrial elements; the suggestive mystery of the quickening seed and the sprouting plant; the resurrection of universal nature from her wintry grave.

A celebrated sceptical philosopher of the last century, the historian Hume, thought to demolish the credibility of the Christian Revelation by the concise argument, "It is contrary to experience that a miracle should be true, but not contrary to experience that testimony should be false." The last part of the proposition, especially in a free country, on the eve of a popular election, is, unhappily, too well founded; but in what book-worm's dusty cell, tapestried with the cobwebs of ages, where the light of real life and nature never forced its way — in what pedant's school, where deaf ears listen to dumb lips, and blind followers are led by blind guides — did he learn that it is contrary to experience that a miracle should be true? Most certainly he never learned it from sower or reaper — from dumb animal or rational man connected with husbandry. Poor Red-Jacket, off here on Buffalo Creek, if he could have comprehended the terms of the proposition, would have treated it with scorn. Contrary to experience that phenomena should exist which we cannot trace to causes perceptible to the human sense, or conceivable by human thought! It would be much nearer the truth to say, that within the husbandman's experience there are no phenomena, which can be rationally traced to any thing but the instant energy of creative power.

Did this philosopher ever contemplate the landscape at the close of the year, when seeds and grains and fruits have ripened, and stalks have withered and leaves have fallen, and winter has forced her icy curb even into the roaring jaws of Niagara, and sheeted half a continent in her glittering shroud, and all this teeming vegetation and organized life are locked in cold and marble obstruction; and, after week upon

week and month upon month have swept, with sleet, and chilly rain and howling storm over the earth, and riveted their crystal bolts upon the door of nature's sepulchre — when the sun at length begins to wheel in higher circles through the sky, and softer winds to breathe over melting snows; did he ever behold the long-hidden earth at length appear, and soon the timid grass peep forth, and anon the autumnal wheat begin to paint the field, and velvet leaflets to burst from purple buds throughout the reviving forest; and then the mellow soil to open its fruitful bosom to every grain and seed dropped from the planter's hand, buried but to spring up again, clothed with a new mysterious being; and then, as more fervid suns inflame the air, and softer showers distil from the clouds, and gentler dews string their pearls on twig and tendril, did he ever watch the ripening grain and fruit, pendent from stalk and vine and tree; the meadow, the field, the pasture, the grove, each after his kind, arrayed in myriad-tinted garments, instinct with circulating life; seven millions of counted leaves on a single tree,* each of which is a system whose exquisite complication puts to shame the shrewdest cunning of the human hand; every planted seed and grain, which had been loaned to the earth, compounding its pious usury thirty, sixty, a hundred-fold — all harmoniously adapted to the sustenance of living nature — the bread of a hungry world; here a tilled corn-field, whose yellow blades are nodding with the food of man; there an unplanted wilderness — the great Father's farm — where he "who hears the raven's cry" has cultivated, with his own hand, his merciful crop of berries and nuts and acorns and seeds for the humbler families of animated nature — the solemn elephant, the browsing deer, the wild pigeon, whose fluttering caravan darkens the sky — the merry squirrel, who bounds from branch to branch, in the joy of his little life; has he seen all this — does he see it every year and month and day — does he live and move and breathe and think in this atmosphere of wonder — himself the greatest wonder of

* Johnston's Chemistry of Common Life, I. p. 13.

all, whose smallest fibre and faintest pulsation is as much a mystery as the blazing glories of Orion's belt, — and does he still maintain that a miracle is contrary to experience? If he has, and if he does, then let him go, in the name of Heaven, and say that it is contrary to experience that the August Power which turns the clods of the earth into the daily bread of a thousand millions of souls could feed five thousand in the wilderness!

One more suggestion, my friends, and I relieve your patience. As a work of art, I know few things more pleasing to the eye, or more capable of affording scope and gratification to a taste for the beautiful, than a well situated, well-cultivated farm. The man of refinement will hang with never-wearied gaze on a landscape by Claude or Salvator; the price of a section of the most fertile land in the West would not purchase a few square feet of the canvas on which these great artists have depicted a rural scene. But nature has forms and proportions beyond the painter's skill; her divine pencil touches the landscape with living lights and shadows, never mingled on his pallet. What is there on earth which can more entirely charm the eye or gratify the taste than a noble farm? It stands upon a southern slope, gradually rising with variegated ascent from the plain, sheltered from the north-western winds by woody heights, broken here and there with moss-covered boulders, which impart variety and strength to the outline. The native forest has been cleared from the greater part of the farm, but a suitable portion, carefully tended, remains in wood for economical purposes, and to give a picturesque effect to the landscape. The eye ranges round three fourths of the horizon over a fertile expanse, — bright with the cheerful waters of a rippling stream, a generous river, or a gleaming lake, — dotted with hamlets, each with its modest spire; and, if the farm lies in the vicinity of the coast, a distant glimpse from the high grounds, of the mysterious, everlasting sea, completes the prospect. It is situated off the high road, but near enough to the village to be easily accessible to the church, the school-house, the post-office, the railroad, a sociable neighbor, or a

travelling friend. It consists in due proportion of pasture and tillage, meadow and woodland, field and garden. A substantial dwelling, with every thing for convenience and nothing for ambition, — with the fitting appendages of stable and barn and corn-barn and other farm buildings, not forgetting a spring-house with a living fountain of water, — occupies, upon a gravelly knoll, a position well chosen to command the whole estate. A few acres on the front and on the sides of the dwelling, set apart to gratify the eye with the choicer forms of rural beauty, are adorned with a stately avenue, with noble, solitary trees, with graceful clumps, shady walks, a velvet lawn, a brook murmuring over a pebbly bed, here and there a grand rock, whose cool shadow at sunset streams across the field; all displaying, in the real loveliness of nature, the original of those landscapes, of which art in its perfection strives to give us the counterfeit presentment. Animals of select breed, such as Paul Potter and Morland and Landseer and Rosa Bonheur never painted, roam the pastures, or fill the hurdles and the stalls; the plough walks in rustic majesty across the plain, and opens the genial bosom of the earth to the sun and air; nature's holy sacrament of seed-time is solemnized beneath the vaulted cathedral sky; silent dews, and gentle showers, and kindly sunshine, shed their sweet influence on the teeming soil; springing verdure clothes the plain; golden wavelets, driven by the west wind, run over the joyous wheat-field; the tall maize flaunts in her crispy leaves and nodding tassels: while we labor and while we rest, while we wake and while we sleep, God's chemistry, which we cannot see, goes on beneath the clods; myriads and myriads of vital cells ferment with elemental life; germ and stalk, and leaf and flower, and silk and tassel, and grain and fruit, grow up from the common earth; the mowing-machine and the reaper — mute rivals of human industry — perform their gladsome task; the well-piled waggon brings home the ripened treasures of the year; the bow of promise fulfilled spans the foreground of the picture, and the gracious covenant is redeemed, that while the earth remaineth, summer and winter, and heat and cold, and day and night, and seed-time and harvest, shall not fail.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS AND CHARITY.*

PREFATORY NOTE.

A SEVERE financial crisis took place in the United States, and extended to the other commercial nations of the world, in the summer and autumn of 1857. Multitudes were thrown out of employment by the general stagnation of business, and a winter of unusual severity for the poor was anticipated. During the prevalence of this fear, Mr. Everett proposed to the President of the Boston Provident Association (Hon. Robert C. Winthrop) to deliver an address on the subject of charity, for the benefit of that excellent institution. This offer was readily accepted, and the following discourse, aiming only at a popular discussion of the subject, was prepared. In the course of the following season it was repeated at Providence, R. I.; Charlestown, Cambridgeport, and Salem, Mass.; in the cities of New York; Newark, N. J.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Richmond, Va.; Baltimore; Philadelphia; Washington and Georgetown, D. C.; and Charleston, S. C. The aggregate net amount accruing to the various charitable institutions for whose benefit the discourse has been delivered, is about $12,500.

BOSTON, 1st of June, 1858.

THE interesting statement of the President of the Provident Association, to which we have just listened, makes it unnecessary for me to dwell at length on the nature and objects of that institution. It is generally supposed, that, owing to the present financial state of the country, (though its severity happily is in some degree mitigated,) an unusual degree of that suffering, of which there is always so much in the winter,

* An Address delivered before the Boston Provident Society on the 22d of December, 1857, and repeated, in substance, in several other places in the course of the ensuing season.

will exist during the approaching season. In the midst of an almost unexampled prosperity, a great, though as we trust a temporary, visitation has passed over the land. A more than usually abundant harvest had filled the granaries of the mighty West almost to repletion, but at that season of the year, when the produce ought to be moving to the market, the steamers on the great lakes and rivers, as if smitten by an invisible hand, were laid up, and the railroad trains moved backward and forward with less than half the ordinary amount of travel and transportation. In the older and more thickly settled parts of the country, and in the large towns, the cheerful din of the factory and the workshop was hushed, and those employed in them sorrowfully dismissed from their accustomed labors. Enterprise, alike in its boldest flights and humblest walks, was paralyzed. Our ships brought home valuable cargoes only to go into the public stores, or to be reshipped at great sacrifice to foreign markets. Our banks were in the possession of coin which they dared not circulate, and transacted their business with promises to pay on demand, which they knew at the time they could not fulfil. Happily I am able to speak of this feature of the crisis in the past tense. Great trading companies and substantial private fortunes went alike to the ground, and embarrassment and distress, in too many cases ruin, have brooded like evil spirits over the opulent counting-house, the busy shop, and the petty stall.

This state of things, though commencing in our own country, has not been confined to it. It has pervaded the commercial world; it is felt in the remotest channels of trade; and springs no doubt from causes deep-seated and far-reaching.

It is no part of my purpose, on this occasion, to explore these causes, or to speculate on the possible remedies for the wide spread evils which have come upon us. Conceiving that the severe discussion of abstract principles would be out of place at this time, I shall attempt only to show the importance, — the necessity even, in communities like ours, — of

well-administered charitable organizations; and this by a few arguments and illustrations addressed to the common sense and Christian sympathies of an intelligent audience. In fact, the great object of my appearance before you this evening is already attained. It has been accomplished by your presence, before I have opened my lips; and if, at the close of the evening, you should be of opinion that you have hardly got your money's worth, I hope you will be consoled by the reflection that the poor will have your money.

Whatever be the causes of the general financial paralysis, from which the country is just beginning to recover, its necessary effect must, of course, be very severely felt by that portion of the population — and this in our great cities is a large portion of the population — which depends upon their daily employment for their daily bread. I feel, however, that to any call for extra efforts of relief, it may be answered, that, at a crisis like this, the resources of those best able to make these efforts have been almost universally impaired, — in some cases greatly reduced, — and in not a few wholly cut off. But to this it must be rejoined, that, if the means ordinarily available for the relief of suffering have in some cases, have in the main, been diminished, the amount and the urgency of want have been increased in an equal degree; and the appeal is proportionably the stronger to those, who, by the blessing of Providence, though they may have been affected by the prevailing embarrassments, are still in the possession of the means of aiding their destitute fellow-beings. The question is not, what can we do as conveniently as ever, but what can we do without great inconvenience? We must not, because our prosperity may in some degree have been impaired, be insensible to the wants of those to whom the seasons are always unfavorable and the times always hard; — and who have no margin of prosperity, — nothing in reserve, — to enable them to sustain any additional pressure, without severe distress.

I am aware of the discouragements which attend extraordinary efforts for the relief of the destitute, in times like these,

especially when those efforts are to be made by the mass of the reasonably prosperous community, who yet have at best not much to spare from the ordinary wants of themselves and families; and who, in a season of general financial distress, are obliged to draw upon that little surplus for their own support. One of these discouragements is, that the burden, if we regard it as a burden, is so unequally distributed. While some give munificently in proportion to their ability; many fairly and willingly; there are too many who give as little as possible; and some who refuse altogether, and that with the amplest means, to bear their part in the performance of the common duty. "Why should I be called upon?" says one; "I have but a moderate income; I work hard at my business; I have many dependent on me; I really have but little that I can possibly spare. My neighbor here has a great property; he lives entirely at his ease; he has no family burdens; he has more money than he knows what to do with, and he gives little or nothing for charitable purposes?"

But however much this state of things is to be regretted, however warmly it may be resented as a piece of injustice on the part of those who, enjoying the protection of society and favored by the bounties of Providence, yet refuse to contribute their share toward the relief of their fellow-men in distress, yet this must not prevent us from doing our own duty according to our ability; it does but make it the more necessary that we should exert ourselves to the utmost. We must look upon the closed hand of the parsimonious, as a part of the blighting storm in spring, the untimely frost in harvest, the stagnation of business, the hard times. Nay, we must consider those who thus shut their ears and their hearts to the cries of suffering humanity, as so many new objects of compassion, not indeed requiring food and clothing, but richly entitled to our profound pity; pity for their barren and unblessed affluence. This sentiment is embodied with striking significance in the ordinary usage of our language. The forms and causes of human misery are infinite;—poverty, disease, bereavement, insanity, all these make men miserable; but

it is the close-handed, hard-hearted man of wealth,—the poor rich man,—whom we call *the* miserable,—the miser.*

But there is another and a much more serious objection to organized charities and charitable institutions of all kinds, which was brought forward with the *éclat* of an original discovery, maintained with great zeal, supported by a formidable array of statistics and a vast but rather crude detail of historical illustration, by an ingenious and celebrated writer of the last generation in England, the Rev. Mr. Malthus, and still adhered to by a numerous school of political economists, his disciples. The theory of this distinguished writer, personally it is said a man of the most amiable disposition, in substance is this;—that there is a natural tendency in population to increase faster than the supply of food, which necessarily results in want and suffering; that all measures for the relief of this want come to be regarded as a part of the regular resources of the community,—and in this way exert an influence toward the increase of the population, and consequently in the long run have the effect of augmenting, instead of diminishing, the want and suffering they were intended to relieve. In the earlier editions of his work, Mr. Malthus used this most extraordinary language, which I quote to you *verbatim:* "A man who is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents, on whom he has a just demand, and if the society do not want his labor, has no claim of *right* to the smallest portion of food; in fact he has no business to be where he is. At nature's mighty feast, there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone, and will speedily execute her own order, if he do not work upon the compassion of some of her guests. If these guests get up and make room for him, other intruders immediately appear demanding the same favor." † This atrocious sentiment, expressed in language not less atrocious, was omitted out of deference to the public feeling in the later edi-

* "Our language, by a peculiar significance or dialect, calls the covetous man the *miserable man*." — *South's Sermons*, Vol. IV. p. 305.

† Malthus' Essay on the Principles of Population. London, 1803, p. 531.

tions of Mr. Malthus' work; but the philosophy, in which it is conceived and which it expresses, lies at the basis of the celebrated "Essay on Population."

That philosophy I regard as radically false. That want and suffering, — suffering even for the necessaries of life, — exist by a law of our nature is I believe true; though I respect every effort to find, by patient investigation and sober reasoning, a more cheerful solution of what has been lately called "the social problem." They seem to be inseparable from the nature of a race of imperfect beings placed in a state of moral probation. They always have existed, sometimes to a frightful extent as to the number of the victims and the severity of the suffering, sometimes greatly reduced and mitigated; but they always have existed and probably always will exist. "The poor ye have always," is not merely a plaintive utterance, breathed from the tenderest heart that ever beat in a human form; but it is an axiom of political economy, deducible from the whole experience of life and history of man. But from the monstrous consequences inferred from this truth by Mr. Malthus and his school I wholly dissent. His doctrine overlooks altogether laws of our nature as certain and as imperative as those which it recognizes; it shuts its eyes upon duties which stand among the highest on the scale of social obligation; it neglects sources of happiness the most abundant and pure. Prove to me that there is a grief or a pang incident to our poor human nature, and you prove that somewhere in God's universe, — in nature or in society, — in law, opinion, or sympathy, there is a drop of balm intended for its solace. It is just as much a law of our nature that suffering should be relieved as that it should exist; just as much a law of our nature that hunger should be fed and nakedness clothed, as that improvidence, casualty, disease, mental imbecility, or any amount or variety of moral causes, should produce poverty and suffering. It would be I think no error to affirm, that one part of the design of Providence, in permitting the existence of want and the misery caused by it, is to cultivate the kindly sympathies of our nature by their relief.

Moreover this argument against charitable institutions, if it proves any thing, proves greatly too much. The argument in substance is, that the relief afforded by such institutions gets to be relied upon as a regular resource, and consequently tends to the increase of that part of the population which enjoys the benefit of the relief. The more almsgiving, the more mendicants; the larger the sums appropriated for the relief of the poor, the greater the number of paupers. But if charitable institutions tend to this abuse, much more certainly, extensively, and effectively are the various industrial pursuits and occupations of society productive of the same evil. The expectation of earning a subsistence by one of the various callings of life is the great and primary inducement, — as far as motives of calculation go, — which tempts the rising generation to establish themselves in families; and the actual ease or difficulty of thus earning a livelihood is the condition which, in point of fact, determines the increase of the population. The process of emigration, which is at present draining Europe into America, sufficiently illustrates this proposition: it is the Old World rushing to the New for bread. Now if, as Mr. Malthus and his school virtually contend, all charitable provisions for the poor ought to be given up, on the ground that they get to be reckoned among the regular resources of the community, and consequently tend to turn poverty into a vocation, and rear a generation for the almshouse, the asylum, and the infirmary, for the same reason all the arts and trades must be proscribed, as so many temptations to lure adventurers to establish themselves in families, of whom the greater number are doomed to be unsuccessful; in other words, that no one "has any business to be where he is," except those able to live on inherited wealth, or otherwise previously assured resources.

I have promised to abstain from the discussion of abstract principles on this occasion, but I may at least say that this argument of Mr. Malthus rests upon an assumption as groundless as it is arrogant, that mankind are divided into two distinct classes, the rich and the poor; having no connection with each other; travelling by parallel paths which never

run together the journey of life; separated by a high wall, which is not to be broken down nor leaped over; and that it is our duty to leave, if not even to make, the shady side of the wall as cheerless and uninviting as possible.

This whole wretched view of the matter has its origin mainly in treating subjects which involve great moral elements simply as questions of political economy. The true philosophy, or, to use a phrase which I greatly prefer, the plain truth, is, that we all belong to one great company, making the pilgrimage of life together; the strong and the weak, the wise and the simple, the amply provided and the scantily provided; that by the law of our nature, the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong; that disaster may attend those who start with the fairest prospects, and unexpected success crown the feeblest beginnings: that there all degrees of condition and varieties of character, from overflowing abundance to pinching want; from creative energy of intellect to a feebleness of mind which scarcely rises above instinct; from a will which nothing can resist to an irresolution which yields to every obstacle; that these degrees of condition and varieties of character are strangely and inseparably mixed together in the great brotherhood of humanity; and that it is not less the privilege than the duty of the strong, the prosperous, and the well provided to assist those who falter by the way. "The poor learn to calculate upon these organized charities," you say. Why, good heavens, they ought, to a reasonable extent, to calculate upon them! There is no better index of the mature civilization of a country than well organized charitable institutions; and no surer token of general decrepitude and political decay than the frightful mendicancy which scourges a land in their absence. Why, what a world it would be, if the path of life lay all the way along the brink of a steep precipice, as in some of the mountain passes which cross the Alleghanies, where if the carriage deviates but an inch from the track it plunges headlong to destruction! Judiciously administered and to the proper objects (and on that point I shall presently say a word), charitable relief of honest want is, in the very constitution of society, a

resource as legitimate and as honorable — though, of course, to the recipient by no means as desirable — as trade, agriculture, or manufactures. I see no more justice, no more virtue, no better ground of complacency on the part of giver or receiver, in the eighteen dollars a month which you pay to a sailor while he is healthy and strong, for taking his chance of being blown from your topmasts in a gale, — the cold, wet sail, as thick and as hard as a board, beating like a sledge-hammer in his face with every roaring gust, — the mad ship dipping her yard-arms in the sea at every roll, with a sweep and a swing which it makes a landsman sea-sick but to think of, — than there is the moiety of that sum which you pay him in his premature old age — if there ever was such a thing as old age in the life of poor Jack — to support him in a hospital after he is worn out in your service; his bones lifted out of their sockets by the rheumatisms contracted on your dreadful wintry coast; his iron muscles melted down with the scurvy, produced by luxuriating too long on that barrelled abomination, which I dare not call before this audience by its sailor name; and his lungs consumed by the poisonous atmosphere, which, to the disgrace of practical science, is still allowed to infest the forecastle.

But charity, as I have said, must be judiciously bestowed on the proper objects, and administered in accordance with those prudential considerations, without which our benevolence augments the evils which it aims to relieve. If not so bestowed and administered, it not only becomes a bounty on improvidence, perhaps on profligacy, and impairs the fund that ought to be exclusively applied to the relief of honest want; but in cases of imposition, if the fraud is at length discovered, it tends to lessen the willingness to afford relief on the next appeal. For this reason, the bestowal of charitable aid should be regarded as a matter of serious advisement. It may, I think, be laid down as a rule wholly to forbear almsgiving in the streets; to mere vagrants at the door; or to unknown persons presenting themselves, not an uncommon case, with testimonials from persons equally unknown. In general terms it may be stated, that, in this community, no street

beggar, no professed mendicant of whatever name or under whatever plausible pretext, is a meritorious object; nor is it safe to receive unsupported statements of distress from entire strangers, further than to make them the subjects of patient inquiry.

This is a point of such practical importance, — of such ever-recurring application, — in the administration of our charities, that you will permit me to illustrate it at somewhat greater length, than the proportions of my address might otherwise seem to admit. Some time last year a young man called upon me of rather equivocal appearance, but of somewhat insinuating address, who represented himself and truly to be the son of a highly respectable gentleman well known to me, but living at a distance, and the young man requested of me a supply of money to take him home. The demand was moderate in amount, and the reason for making it plausibly stated. Apologizing to him for not immediately acceding to his request on the ground of the impositions so frequently attempted, I told him, that, if he would bring me a testimonial from any respectable source, I would with pleasure grant him the desired aid. I suggested as the readiest method of effecting his object, that he should send a telegraphic message to his father, to which he would get a return in a few hours. To this proposal he replied, that his father was at a distance from home; and he left me to return in the evening with a recommendation, which he was confident he could procure in the neighborhood. It occurred to me, as I went down the street, that it might be prudent to communicate by telegraph with another member of the family with whom I was acquainted, and in a few hours I received for answer that it was by no means their wish that I should comply with his request. The next mail brought me the information that he had roamed the world for several years, raising contributions from those who, personally or by reputation, knew his father; whose friends and acquaintances he was estimated to have taxed in this way to the amount of twenty-five thousand dollars.

A few weeks ago, the public journals contained an account

of a benevolent lady in Philadelphia, who was frequently called upon by a child to relieve the wants of her father, represented as dangerously ill, and at length as dying. Finally he was reported as dead, and the good lady furnished the means of defraying his funeral expenses. Hitherto she had acted without personal inquiry, but Christian sympathy now led her to propose a visit to the house of mourning. Here she found the child's father in his coffin, surrounded by the weeping family. Her tender feelings were still further wrought upon by the general appearance of misery in the wretched apartment, and on taking her departure she gave them additional aid, and promised continued supplies from charitable friends. Returning a few moments afterwards for her purse, which she had accidentally left behind her, she found the supposed dead man sitting up in his coffin eagerly counting its contents.

Mendicity in Europe is a trade, — almost a profession. It is carried on by organized fraternities; it is taught in regular schools, and, strange as the proposition sounds, it yields a handsome income. In the large cities, the members of these fraternities have each his regular beat, on which no outsider is allowed to intrude. On a visit to Europe in early life, I was informed that at that time in London, a street of average productiveness "well-begged" would yield six shillings sterling *per diem;* a dollar and a half of our money; — which was at least three times the amount of the wages of a farm laborer in most parts of England; and my informant added, that, by good management, by the time his circuit was completed, the beggar might begin again. About the same time, a friend of mine went to pass the winter at Rome. On his first arrival, he was regularly accosted by a beggar, the same individual, as soon as he left his door in the morning, to whom my friend for a few days as regularly gave a few pence. Soon perceiving that this annoyance was likely to last, my friend frankly told his persecutor that he was going to stay till spring, and asked him how much he would take, money down, to leave him unmolested for the rest of the season, and to keep off all interlopers. After a little chaffering, they

agreed upon a pretty moderate sum; the beggar kept his word; and my friend, who of course was half in jest and had nothing serious in view but to escape the daily annoyance, thought he had made a good bargain, and discounted the winter's dole to very tolerable advantage.

Our great American novelist, Cooper, tells an amusing anecdote of a battalion of beggars near a hundred strong, which he recruited at Sorrento, in the kingdom of Naples, during a few weeks residence at that delightful spot. The operation began by his giving a *grano*, a copper coin worth about a cent, to a beggar, who daily seated himself at the gate of Mr. Cooper's villa. In a few days one or two additional pensioners made their appearance, and received their expected *grano*. As the fame of the beneficent American *Signore* went abroad, the numbers increased, till all the mendicants in Sorrento assembled daily at Mr. Cooper's door to receive each his *grano*. The rumor of such unexampled munificence could not be confined within the city walls; new candidates for the pittance flocked in from the neighborhood, — from considerable distances; to prevent jostling and struggling, their benefactor caused them to be drawn up in line for the reception of the accustomed largess, and on the day of his departure from Sorrento, they paraded in this way to the number of ninety-six,* as tattered a corps probably as has been mustered in Christendom since the days of Falstaff's regiment; for of all beggars the Neapolitan are known for their transcendant, not to say transparent, raggedness. There is no part of the Christian world which has fallen under my observation, where the art of begging is carried to greater perfection than in the kingdom of the two Sicilies. All sorts of grievous hurts and shocking diseases are skilfully counterfeited; a real deformity or mutilation is a revenue; and an incurable disease an income for life.

But France is not much behind Italy in this respect, unless things are greatly mended within the last thirty years. I saw almost every day during a whole winter, and that a severe

* Cooper's Excursions in Italy, p. 136.

one, a young woman seated on the *Pont Neuf* at Paris, holding two pale, bloated, drowsy children in her lap. Downcast and pensive, she asked no alms. Some little sewing or knitting feebly plied occupied her delicate fingers. A basket of matches and other trifles for sale stood on one side, and served as a receptacle for the bounty of the kind-hearted; on the other side was a placard, which in large legible letters set forth, that the young mother and her children were suffering for want of food. A sadder group can hardly be imagined; but on speaking of it to a friend who had penetrated further into the *mystères de Paris* than I had, he told me that this young person was well known to the police; that she returned at night to a rather luxurious home; that the children, drugged with anodynes to keep them quiet, were hired by the day for this exhibition, which yielded so much, that, after paying the real mother liberally for their use, a handsome surplus remained to reward the patient exhibitor.

The learned Professor Beckmann, in his valuable and interesting "history of Inventions," narrates a case of a child borrowed for a like purpose, which terminated less advantageously for the borrower.* During a great scarcity at Hamburgh, there was a gratuitous distribution of bread. A poor woman presented herself with a child in her arms. The infant was shrieking piteously, and the impatient but kind-hearted crowd gave way, and allowed her to reach the window from which the bread was given out. Another poor woman who had been striving in vain to reach the window perceiving this, requested with ready wit the loan of the infant. The request was cheerfully granted by the mother, who recommended to the borrower at the same time to pinch the infant smartly, in order to increase its apparent cries of hunger. This arrangement succeeded; the poor child uttered the most piercing cries; the hungry but sympathizing crowd again gave way; and the second woman obtained her loaf; but when she returned through the crowd to restore the bor-

* Beckmann's History of Inventions, Vol. II. p. 436, Bohn's Edition.

rowed baby, its mother, if she was its mother, which I greatly doubt, had wholly disappeared.

But the most remarkable instance of almsgiving without charity which I ever witnessed was at Lyons in 1818. The hill of Fourvières (Forum Vetus), the seat of the ancient city of Lyons and the birthplace of two Roman Emperors,* looks down upon the modern town. You ascend it by a winding path, through vineyards and olive gardens, and groves of fig-trees, and you behold from its summit a scene of transcendent natural beauty and historical interest, though one that has escaped, I think, the generality of tourists. For this reason you will perhaps allow me to dwell upon it for a moment, in further illustration of the main subject of my discourse. Through the defiles of Mount Cindre on the north, you catch a glimpse of the golden slopes of Burgundy. The dark and serrated ridges of Auvergne, within whose secret laboratories, heated by concealed volcanoes, nature distils some of her most salubrious mineral waters, bound the prospect on the west. The misty hills and genial valleys of Dauphiny and Languedoc stretch far away to the south in dreamy luxuriance. On the east comes in the headlong turbid Rhone, swelled with the tributary floods of the Lake of Geneva, of the Arve and the Arveyron; and sharing with the Rhine, the Danube, and the Po, the waters that trickle from a thousand Alpine glaciers. You follow the line of Jura distinctly on the north-east, and further in the east, especially with the aid of a glass, the eye, glancing from the Shreckhorn, the Finster Aar Horn, the Jung Frau, unclimbed by the foot of man till it was ascended by our own Agassiz, rests at length at the distance of a hundred miles upon sovereign Mont Blanc, visible in a clear day even to the naked eye. There you behold it swelling grandly to the sky, laden with the piled storms of sixty centuries; bright as the ocean of sunshine which bathes its cold unmelting sides; pure as the deep blue heavens which canopy its vestal snows; mysterious as the conscious stars which look down at midnight into its

* Claudius and Caracalla.

fathomless chasms; a vast eternal mountain of glittering crystal, — unutterable inconceivable monument of creative power!

When you turn at length from this all glorious panorama, and look down upon the confluence of the Saone and Rhone, at your feet, the recollections of nearly three thousand years crowd upon the mind. Here in the remotest antiquity sixty Gallic nations assembled to celebrate the annual sacrifices of the primitive Celtic race. This was the focal point, from which the power and policy of Rome, overleaping the Alps, radiated to the west and north. Here the great Dictator paused to meditate with dilating thought on the mighty career of conquest which was opening before him, and which is felt in the language, the laws, and the national divisions of modern Europe. This was the central station, from which Agrippa laid out the four great roads, pathways of empire, that traversed and tamed impatient Gaul. Here the subjugated races erected a temple to Agrippa's friend and father-in-law, the Emperor Augustus, in which, in the next generation, Caligula established prizes in rhetoric, condemning the unsuccessful competitors to wipe out their long dull orations from their tablets with their tongues (a regulation which, happily for modern orators, has been allowed to become obsolete, it being found that the lapse of a short time performs the operation with equal success): there in fine the liberal Trajan erected a splendid edifice for the markets, the fairs, and the courts.

These monuments of ancient power and altars of ancient worship have passed away; and the modest chapel of our Lady of Fourvières looks down upon their ruins from the summit of the hill. The popular faith ascribes miraculous powers to her image; and at the season of the year when the melting clusters of the *côte d' Or* are ready to burst with their gushing nectar; when the rough coat of the ripened fig opens, and discloses its purple bleeding heart, pilgrims in great numbers and from considerable distances flock to the shrine. These pilgrimages are the vintage, the harvest-home of the mendicants of Lyons and the neighboring

regions. They line the road-side from the bottom to the top of the hill singly and in families; they stand, they sit, they lie; the maimed, the halt, and the blind; the sturdy and the humble; the clamorous and the mute; of every age and of either sex, suffering every conceivable form of real or pretended infirmity. Long established usage sanctions their claim and settles its amount;— a *liard* (a half-farthing) from every pilgrim, who is sometimes the poorer man of the two, to every beggar. So much a matter of business is it; so little of delicacy or sentiment exists on either side, that in half the cases you see the parties making change with each other for this most minute of largesses. A *sous*, which is equal I believe to three *liards*, is handed by the pilgrim to the beggar. The beggar knows that he is to retain only a part of this magnificent sum, and returns two *liards* to the pilgrim!*

What a contrast between the charities of man and the charities of Heaven! Man making change with his brother man for half-farthings, and the dear God causing his rich big clouds to rain down plenty on the just and the unjust; and his noble rivers to pour from their secret urns in the eternal mountains; and his health-giving waters to sparkle from the secret dispensaries of the earth; and the breezy wings of his mighty winds to fan the languid pulses of creation into cheery vigor; and his wine and his oil to stream from every hill-side; and the finest of his wheat to wave in yellow luxuriance over a thousand fields; and all his imperial heavens from their opening windows to pour down every day upon the evil and the good one golden genial deluge of morning light!

But you will think that I indulge in a somewhat singular train of remark and illustration, in a discourse upon an occasion like this, the object of which is to strengthen your sym-

* Sir Walter Scott, in his interesting description of the professed beggar of Scotland in the introduction to "The Antiquary," relates an anecdote of Andrew Gammels, one of that class, who said to a gentleman, — on his expressing his regret that he had no silver, as in that case he would have given Andrew a sixpence,—"I can give you change for a note, Laird."

pathies in the cause of charity. But it is precisely on account of the inutility, not to say the absurdity, of mere mechanical alms-giving such as I have described; it is because of the atrocious impostures by which the benevolent are so liable to be deceived, who bestow their alms, without personal investigation, that I invite you to make some well organized and faithfully administered institution, like the Provident Association and others of like nature, the almoners of your bounty in all cases, — and they are by far the larger number of cases, — in which you are unable yourself to inquire particularly into the merits of the application. Most men, occupied with the duties of out-door life; most women, engaged in household cares and the calls of society, want the time, — for a good deal of time is required for the purpose, — to trace the applicant for relief to his generally remote and uninviting abode, and there investigate his case. Accordingly if we are satisfied by a plausible and coherent statement, still more if our sympathies are powerfully wrought upon by the appearance of manifest and urgent want, under the pressure of more imperative duties, or what we regard as such, we give without further inquiry, — sometimes to an unworthy object, — perhaps only to furnish the means of immediate indulgence and excess. We give, as the proverbial expression is, "to get rid of him"; not to relieve a suffering fellow-being, but to spare our own time and labor, to relieve ourselves. The sums thus wastefully bestowed are lost to the meritorious poor, for whom they should have been reserved; they are given without conscious self-approval on the part of the donor, without gratitude on the part of the receiver; and as I have already hinted, if imposition has been practised and it is afterwards detected, it tends to create a suspicious temper and to check the naturally warm current of benevolent feeling. In a word, bounty to the worthless is the plunder of the deserving.

Far different is the case in the operations of an organized society like the Provident Association. It is one of its incumbent duties, — not certainly a pleasant one, — to detect the impositions, so frequently attempted by pretended objects

of charity, and of these, to prevent the repetition, an accurate record is kept. Its more grateful office, and one which is performed with equal diligence and fidelity and far higher satisfaction, is, by the agency of its visitors, to verify the piteous tale, to follow the applicant for relief to his cheerless retreat, (home one can scarce call it,) his damp cellar, his forlorn attic, — to ascertain the extent of his suffering; and if possible apportion the assistance given to the nature and degree of his want; and of these two offices of Christian benevolence, that which relieves real distress is not more important than that which unmasks indolence, fraud, and profligacy.

It is plain that for the effectual performance of either of these duties no ordinary qualifications are required. The foundation must be laid in a warm loving nature; a profound sense of duty must add its powerful sanction; experience must impart a readiness of discrimination and a tact which are of very great importance; and even a kindly manner is not to be overlooked. It is harder for many persons to be patient than generous. It was a beautiful trait in the character ascribed to the late lamented general agent of the Provident Association, Mr. Calvin Whiting, that, while his retentive memory and large experience prevented his being easily deceived by the host of impostors who came before him, "the kindness of his heart led him always to give a patient and ready attention to their stories."

But a far more important branch of our subject is that which concerns the foundation of the duty of active benevolence. In what does its obligation consist? And on this topic it would seem enough to say, that of all our social duties none is more eminently characteristic of our religion as Christians, than charity. Let me accordingly remind you that we have reached the season of the year when, — with a little variation as to the precise day, growing out of the difference between the old and new style, — Christians of almost every name commemorate the birthday of their common master. On Christmas day, beginning at Jerusalem in the church of the sepulchre of our Lord, the Christmas anthem will travel with the star that stood above his cradle, from

region to region, from communion to communion, and from tongue to tongue, till it has compassed the land and the sea, and returned to melt away upon the sides of Mount Zion. By the feeble remnants of the ancient Syrian and Armenian churches, creeping to their furtive matins amidst the unbelieving hosts of Islam, in the mountains of Kurdistan and Erzeroum; within the venerable cloisters, which have braved the storms of barbarism and war for fifteen centuries on the reverend peaks of Mount Sinai; in the gorgeous cathedrals of Moscow and Vienna, of Madrid and Paris, and still imperial Rome; at the simpler altars of the Protestant church in western Europe and America; in the remote missions of our own continent, of the Pacific islands, and of the farthest East, on Friday next for the Catholic and Protestant churches, the song of the angels which hailed the birth of our Lord will be repeated by the myriads of his followers all round the globe.

Let its choral strains remind us, that, as far as the relations of man to man are concerned, charity is the central and characteristic duty of our religion. The splendid polytheisms of antiquity made little or no provision for the organized relief of the poor. What was done for that purpose was done almost exclusively by the political legislator. Without being entirely neglected by him, the duty of providing for the various classes of the poor was but very imperfectly appreciated. As far as we can gather from the remains of Grecian and Roman literature, such a thing as an almshouse, a refuge for the decayed poor of either sex, an institution for the instruction of the blind, the deaf-mute, the idiot, an infirmary of any description, a retreat for the insane, a foundling hospital, was unknown in the world before the birth of our Saviour. Instead of institutions of the last-named description, it was the practice in almost every part of the ancient world to expose the new-born infant to perish.* There were

* It is mentioned by Ælian (v. H. II. 7) that the exposure of infants was forbidden at Thebes, as if such a prohibition were singular on the part of that city.

vestal virgins to guard the sacred fire in the temples, but no sisters of charity to prevent the spark of life from being extinguished in the bosom of suffering humanity. In the large towns there were profuse distributions of corn to the citizens; wounded soldiers and the children of those who had fallen in battle were supported at the public expense; and in the temples of Esculapius there seem to have been arrangements for the maintenance of the diseased, who were brought to the shrine of the god for relief. The most important provision for the relief of the poor was that which was made by voluntary private associations, like the benevolent and social fraternities of modern times, — institutions which, however meritorious in their sphere, could have made no impression upon the pauperism and suffering of crowded cities and populous empires. Speaking in general terms, the relief of want was left to individual action, with very little aid from religion or the state. The common sympathies of our nature forbid us to doubt that this duty of charity toward the suffering was performed to some extent by individuals; but in reference even to this it must be borne in mind, that the great duty of active benevolence — the master principle of human sympathy — formed no part of the religious or political systems of antiquity. Those systems culminated in art, patriotism, justice, power, and conquest, but not in love. It is sometimes mentioned of a distinguished public character, that he bestowed his largesses open-handed on the populace, but I do not recollect in all classical history an individual portrayed to us as a philanthropist, in the modern acceptation of the term.*

This peculiarity of ancient life and manners grew in part

* The accuracy of the statements contained in this paragraph has been contested, partly from a misconception natural enough in a case of oral delivery, of what it really affirms. A careful perusal of the great work of the Baron Degerando *Sur la bienfaisance publique*, in which the entire subject of public charity is treated with equal learning and judgment, will I think furnish ample confirmation of all I have stated. See particularly *Troisieme Partie, Livre III. ch. Premier.* On the Temples of Esculapius, see *Recherches Historiques, sur l' exercice de la medicine dans les temples, chez les peuples de l' antiquité par L. P. Auguste Gauthier.* Paris, 1844.

from the very structure of society, and was one of its greatest defects. In the absence of an efficient recognition of the kindly principle which binds men together by the cords of love, the terrible inequalities of human fortune were left in all their unmitigated severity, and the different classes in the community were engaged in an eternal struggle, — the rich contending for power and pleasure, and the poor for bread. Wanting the best assurance of political stability, the mutual good-will inspired by kindly social relations, the little republics were the prey of constantly recurring revolutions; and the great military despotism, which eventually overpowered and swallowed up the smaller states, destitute for ages of the strength concentrated in a population whose various classes are knit together by the interchange of the kindly charities of life, upheld only by martial discipline and a corrupt and degrading superstition, gave way at last before the physical superiority of invading barbarians, and found the only influences which retarded its decline and fall, in the final ascendency of the Christian faith, which gradually imparted a moral unity to victors and vanquished, and moulded both at length into the new political organizations of the modern world.

This principle of active and disinterested benevolence, scarcely recognized by the ancient religions, became the corner-stone of the new faith, and was gradually developed in the thousand charities of Christendom. The majority of its first converts were the children of want and sorrow; it fed its destitute brethren at common tables; and for a while threw its little resources into a common stock. Springing originally from this source and prompted by religious sympathy, its charities for ages flowed through the channels of the church. During the dreary and chaotic period which intervened between the decay of the ancient civilization and the formation of modern society, charity, like letters, arts, manners, and every other influence which mitigated the military ferocity of the age, with the exception of chivalry, took refuge in the religious houses. The vast domains conferred upon the church in the dark ages by the policy, the superstition,

or the piety of the state, however otherwise misapplied, mainly furnished the fund by which the dependent poor were carried through those wintry mediæval centuries. Much unthrift and abuse, much worldly policy and individual selfishness, no doubt found their way into the administration of these domains; but it is not necessary to go back to the middle ages or to foreign countries for the like misapplication of what is good in itself. Mendicancy, sanctioned by religion, ceased to be discreditable and grew into a vocation. Idleness and profligacy forced their way with helpless infirmity and honest suffering to the tables of conventual bounty; but after all I know nothing that did so much as this organized religious benevolence, — coextensive with Christendom, — to keep society together under the iron yoke of feudalism, a system of which almost all the secular aspects are so entirely repulsive, anti-social, and unlovely.

In the Catholic countries of Europe this connection of active benevolence with the religious houses is still to some extent kept up, although their revenues within the last hundred years have been greatly impaired. Unquestionably the versatile many-sided civilization of the modern world admits of a far more efficient dispensation of charity, under the sanctions of law and secular organization; but religious sensibility and a sense of religious duty must still be the ultimate foundation and furnish the inspiring motive of all earnest benevolent action. I look therefore with entire respect on that sentiment, which, in the Catholic countries, calls the poor man's bank of deposit the *Mount of Piety*, transforming what in Protestant countries, under the name of the pawnbroker's shop, is too often a receptacle for stolen goods, into a most beneficent charitable institution. I honor the feeling which leads the French to call the Hospital "God's Hotel," the home where the Great Father gathers his poor children who have no other home on earth, in the hour of their utmost need. I feel how an act of homely kindness is elevated to sublimity, when I behold Archbishop Fenelon, the instructor of princes, the companion of the great, — who on one of his walks of charity, having found the family of a peasant in

great affliction weeping at the loss of a favorite cow, their only treasure, which had strayed away and could not be found, not only furnished them with money to supply the loss, but having on his way home fallen in with the very cow which was the object of so much sorrow, turned back in a dark night and drove her home to the peasant's door.* Protestant as I am, I more than reverence the fervid philanthropy, which animated St. Vincent de Paul, in founding "the Sisters of Charity." That noble display of energetic masculine benevolence, mingled and softened with all the tenderness of woman's love, which has encircled an English maiden's brow with the only enduring wreath of the late Crimean war,— a wreath which will preserve its bloom when all the laurels of the Alma and Inkerman and Balaklava, the Redan and the Malakoff, have faded, (Heaven forbid that I should seem to pluck a leaf from the beautiful chaplet!) — was not then for the first time witnessed in modern Europe, though never perhaps before in a manifestation so serenely illustrious. For a century and a half there has not been a battle field in France or Italy, which, before the thunder of the cannon has wholly ceased, has not been traversed by the Sisters of Charity. When the decisive battle of the Downs before Dunkirk, between Turenne and the great Condé, was fought, on the 14th of June, 1658, the wounded and diseased of the royal army were sent to Calais. There were no accommodations for them within the city, and they were placed under tents without the walls. The heats of midsummer and exposure to the night air in that unhealthy region, brought on an epidemic fever. The ordinary hospital attendance of the army proved wholly insufficient. At the suggestion of the Queen Mother, Anne of Austria, four young Sisters of Charity, then just organized at Paris, were sent by St. Vincent de Paul to nurse and tend the sufferers. Two of these young women soon perished under the laborious duty, — there were six hundred sick and wounded soldiers to be nursed and tended, — but their places were immediately supplied. "We

* Butler's Life of Fenelon, p. 113.

see," said the founder of this admirable sisterhood, "how full these poor young women are of zeal for the glory of God, and charity for their neighbor. One called upon me yesterday and told me that she had heard that two of her sisters were dead from fatigue at Calais, and desired me, if I thought best, to send her there. I told her I would think of it, and she came to me again to renew the request." *

When the monasteries were suppressed in the Protestant countries in the sixteenth century, as they have more recently been for the most part suppressed in the Catholic countries, the state assumed the support of the poor. The great act of the forty-third of Elizabeth may be regarded as the first systematic recognition by the law of the land of the great duty of supporting the poor.† The transition necessary in the new relations of the church, wise and salutary in its main results, was doubtless attended with no little suffering in the course of the change. It put an end to many beneficent provisions, which flowed from the one great fountain of Christian benevolence; of which, however, a few, gentle memorials of mediæval humanity, have survived the state of things that gave them birth. Some of the military and civil tenures of the feudal ages, not less than the ecclesiastical dotations, were held on the condition of a perpetual distribution of food to the needy wayfarer at the door of the castle or abbey. These kindly foundations have not all ceased to exist at the present day. I was twice a guest at noble houses in England, where by a beautiful custom, transmitted from time immemorial, a piece of bread and a cup of beer are given at the porter's lodge to every wayfarer that claims them, often to the number of thousands in a single year. Who can estimate the amount of the relief and comfort enjoyed by the weary

* Butler's Life of St. Vincent de Paul, p. 198.

† See Hallam's Constitutional History of England, Vol. I. p. 80. This most judicious author undervalues, as I think, the services rendered by the religious houses in the relief of the poor; and gives undue prominence to the abuses necessarily attending that mode of contributing to their support. See Burke's Abridgment of English History, Chapter II.

traveller, through the long centuries for which this unpretending bounty has been dispensed?

I remember to have heard a really affecting anecdote at one of these houses* of the fidelity of these poor wayfarers to their temperance vows. The noble mansion in question stands on the high road from the midland counties in England to Liverpool, and was constantly travelled by the poor Irish, who come over in summer to reap the wheat-harvest. At the time when Father Mathew's temperance labors were at the height of their success, and most of these humble hard-working pilgrims had taken the vow of total abstinence, so great was the number of those, who, far from home on the dusty road, in midsummer, weary and foot sore, and where there was no one to witness and betray a violation of their pledge and no law to compel its observance, yet refused the proffered glass of beer, that, in order to save the trouble of bringing them water from within, a marble fountain was constructed outside the porter's lodge, that they might more conveniently slake their thirst in the street.

These unostentatious charities exist only in a few cases by tradition; and have in general been swept away by the increase of population and the hard, unsentimental, matter-of-fact spirit of modern society. A personage like the licensed mendicant of former times, such as Scott has described in Edie Ochiltree, — type of a class to which the great Burns (it is sad to think it) deemed it not improbable he should himself sink, — could hardly exist at the present day; but its preservation down almost to our times bears witness to the half-sacred character, with which our Christian civilization invests the poor. A man must have sacrificed his best feelings on the altar of political economy, who is not touched with the simple charities of that inimitable "village preacher," who will live forever on the pages of Goldsmith, and in the heart of the Anglo-Saxon reader.

"His house was known to all the vagrant train,
He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain.

* Trentham Hall, the seat of the Duke of Sutherland in Staffordshire.

The long remembered beggar was his guest,
Whose beard descending swept his aged breast.
The ruined spendthrift, now no longer proud,
Claimed kindred there, and had his claim allowed.
The broken soldier, kindly bid to stay,
Sat by his fire and talked the night away,
Wept o'er his wounds; or, tales of sorrow done,
Shouldered his crutch, and showed how fields are won.
Pleased with his guests, the good man learned to glow,
And quite forgot their errors in their woe;
Careless their merits or their faults to scan,
His pity gave, ere charity began."

But although the relief of the poor is now clothed with the sanctions of the law, and is administered by public authority, as far as the sustenance of absolute indigence extends; there still remains that broad field of meritorious want, of temporary destitution trembling on the verge of hopeless pauperism but not yet sunk to its dismal level, which pleads the more earnestly on that very account for judicious, systematic, and effectual, though from the nature of the case voluntary relief. It is this description of want, in its nature the most afflictive to the sufferer, inasmuch as it implies wounded sensibilities,— mental as well as physical suffering,— which makes the strongest appeal to a liberal and compassionate nature. In truth the only difficulty which I experience in this, the closing part of my discourse is, in finding any line of argument,— any topic of persuasion, which is not too familiar to bear repetition before an audience like this. No, my friends, if the knowledge possessed by you all of the disastrous state of the times, which has not only levelled with the dust, means as ample and expectations as fair as yours, but which has thrown hundreds, not to say thousands, out of that daily employment on which they depend for their daily bread,— if the inquiry which no man of reflection can banish from his thought, how persons thus situated and their dependent families are to get through a New England winter,— where, how, in the failure of their accustomed means of support, they are to find fuel, clothing, and bread; if the sight one

sees too often in our large towns, notwithstanding all our admirable charities, of men, women, and children evidently suffering for want of an adequate supply of nourishing food,— (would to Heaven I could place before you on this platform, at this moment, a spectacle which I witnessed a short time since; a pale-cheeked, hollow-eyed, blue-lipped, barefooted, half naked, haggard creature, and oh that expression of fifty on the brow of fifteen, picking cinders from a barrel of ashes with the thermometer below zero);—if as the season advances, whose rigors as yet mercifully delayed are sure at length to arrive, these ice-clad streets, and dreary leaden skies, and howling wintry winds fail to bring home the sacred duty of charity with sufficient emphasis to your bosoms, it were worse than useless in me to multiply words in the attempt.

One thought only, prompted by the historical recollections of the season, I will venture to suggest, and with that relieve your patience. Yesterday was the anniversary of the landing of the pilgrims. Two hundred and thirty-seven years ago that little storm-tost company, a hundred and two* in number, one of them born on the passage, crept up the ice-clad rocks of Plymouth, never before trod by the foot of civilized man, to begin upon the verge of an unknown wilderness that terrific winter, which laid half their number beneath the sods, and those sods levelled with the ground to prevent the savages from counting the graves. Two hundred and twenty-seven years ago the Fathers of Massachusetts, though far more numerous and better provided than their brethren at Plymouth, went through *their* first winter of disease, want, bereavement, fear of the savage foe, and, on the part of not a few, home-sickness and despair. No voice or pen in these prosperous days will ever adequately describe those dreadful

* Bradford's newly discovered and lately published history adds some facts to our previous knowledge of that dreadful winter. At one time there were but six or seven individuals who were able to minister to the wants of the sick or bury the dead. From the same source also we obtain the rectification of the usually stated number of the pilgrims who arrived, — one hundred and two instead of one hundred and one. — Bradford, pp. 91 and 77.

winters. The sorrows then felt are buried never to be disclosed on earth, beneath the turf of Cole's hill at Plymouth and the mouldering sods of King's Chapel churchyard in Boston. Less than two centuries have passed since almost every town in Massachusetts, beyond a radius of fifteen miles from Boston, was assaulted and burned in King Philip's war, hundreds of the inhabitants killed, and the survivors, men, women, and children, dragged from their pleasant New England homes into Indian captivity, some of them reserved for treatment worse than death. Has it crossed your minds, how little time has elapsed, since all the frontier settlements of Massachusetts were periodically visited with those horrors of barbarous warfare, which make the flesh creep, as we read of them in the contemporaneous accounts from India? In 1704 Deerfield was ravaged with circumstances of heart-rending cruelty, and Haverhill in 1707. In the seven years war, only a hundred years ago, parties of French and Indians penetrated to Connecticut river; and the war of the Revolution, which, with all its glorious deeds, all its undying memories, all its grand success, and above all its Washington, reduced the whole country to the dead level of bankruptcy, public and private, — wasted the substance, and, as far as individual prosperity is concerned, clouded the prospects of an entire generation, — is an event within the personal recollection of living men.

Such is the long array of trials and sorrows through which the country, and particularly this part of it, has passed on its way to its present overflowing abundance in all the substantial elements of prosperity. From this most feeble starting point, by this most weary road, moistened in every generation by the tears and blood of the high-souled fathers and mothers of the land, it has journeyed on, and spread abroad, and soared upward, till it has reached a condition, which at this moment, I do not scruple to say it, taking the community in the aggregate, and notwithstanding the present financial embarrassments, might well be envied by the most favored people upon the surface of the globe. And can we, with all these blessings now in our possession, — the rich inheritance,

earned for us by the sorrows and sufferings of six generations, — can we allow fellow-men and fellow-christians to languish and sink beneath the pressure of wants, which it is fairly in our power to relieve? Can we, in the detestable language of political economy already cited, say to our brethren less favored than ourselves, — at the table thus laden with the dear-bought bounties of Providence, "there is no vacant cover for you"? Can we be guilty, as a community, of a degree of ingratitude and cruelty which would cover an individual with deserved reproach and shame?

But inasmuch as the collective responsibility of the public fails to address the mind with the directness and force of a specific case, let me ask your attention to a single instance. A young man in one of our large cities — I need not say which — applied to one of the benevolent institutions of the place, in a destitute, friendless, and truly pitiable condition. His case was carefully investigated and favorably viewed; he was not only more than once relieved from immediate want, but put in the way of earning a livelihood by his independent exertions; and being thus guided into the path of self-supporting effort, rose steadily, and at length by a happy turn of affairs, rapidly to competence, prosperity, and affluence. The change of his circumstances unfortunately failed to enlarge his sympathies. On the contrary, the sordid passion for accumulation stole in and grew upon him with the means of indulging it; prosperity turned his head and hardened his heart; and when at length formally solicited to contribute a trifle, from his abundance, to the funds of the very institution which had rescued him from the streets, he coldly declined. Nay, when urged by one who knew his history, and who adjured him by the remembrance of his own straits, and by the charity which helped him through them, to have pity on a fellow-sufferer, he bid him begone, and turned from him unmoved.

Do you ask me for the name of this hardhearted thankless cumberer of the ground? Are you anxious to point the slow unmoving finger of righteous indignation and scorn at this monster of ingratitude? Good Heavens! you know him, he

lives among us; he takes his daily walks in State street, in Washington street, in Beacon street; always on 'change; often at church; what if I should tell you that he is here in the hall this evening? I dare not call him by name; I leave one to do it, who has a better right; who spoke three thousand years ago with a voice of thunder in the ears of a guilty king. "*Nathan said unto David, thou art the Man!*" Yes, you, my comfortable fellow-citizen, with your town-house and your country-house and your marine villa, and your purple and your fine linen and your daily sumptuous fare. You, my gracious lady, whose life is a glittering melodrame of equipage, dress, and entertainments. You, my poor young friend, who are driving to destruction as fast as your fast horses can carry you, in the mad pursuit of the ghastly cheats which you call pleasure; — pleasures of an hour, curses of a life; an empty purse, a blighted name, fever in the veins and rottenness in the bones. You, my sweet young sister, — and most it grieves me to speak the words to you, — who have already set up the gilded idols of fashion in "the moving toy-shop" of your little heart; — thou art the man, thou art the woman, thou art the youth, thou art the maiden. My pitiful tale is a parable. Thou thyself art the helpless being, that crept wailing and destitute into life. Loving parents, kind friends, are the benefactors that shielded your dependent years. This vast and thriving country, that protects you and shares with you its prosperity, is the charitable association which helped you forward in life. A gracious Providence is the almoner that sends you daily bread. Health, strength, talents, opportunity, successful industry, are the largesses that have at length filled your coffers; and the poor creatures that shiver along the streets, the modest want that pines at home; the discouraged men, the overworked, heart-broken women, the wretched children whose eyes never kindled with one beam of light-hearted, youthful gladness; all the sons and daughters of want, who are passing this very night in cold garrets, in noisome cellars two stories deep, which a breath of wholesome air summer or winter never entered, — these are the

poor brethren who adjure you to remember them as Heaven has remembered you.

When the celebrated jurist Lord Erskine was told that a certain person, not remarkable for his liberality, had died worth two hundred thousand pounds, he said it was a very clever sum to begin the next life with. Unhappily the poor *millionnaire* was obliged to leave it all behind him, and enter the next world as needy as Lazarus. But if any reliance can be placed upon an antiquated but not yet wholly exploded authority, there is a species of property, which is not only safe beyond all the vicissitudes of this world, but which we can carry with us to

> "The undiscovered country, from whose bourn
> No traveller returns."

In that most instructive book, in which the practical ethics of the ancient dispensation are so admirably condensed in aphoristic form, there is an inculcation to active benevolence, which comprises in one short sentence the sum and substance of every charity sermon that was ever preached, and every charity address ever delivered. One scarce dares take it out of the sacred context and hold it up as a practical rule of life in modern times, and yet it would seem as if the royal moralist were breaking the sepulchral silence of thirty centuries and speaking straight at us; shooting his sharp arrow winged by inspiration right through the joints of that brazen armor of eager and unthrifty greed, in which we are all so apt to encase ourselves. While the tallest fortunes are toppling about us, like card-houses when one more piece of pasteboard is laid on the flimsy superstructure; while the most solid establishments, or what were deemed such, are sinking under our feet, like the reeling streets of a city heaved by an earthquake; while investments the most attractive are taking to themselves their paper wings and flying away, a still small voice, too seldom heard, I fear, on the stock-exchange, whispers in our ears: "He that hath pity on the poor lendeth" —

not giveth — "lendeth to the Lord, and that which he hath given, will *He* pay him again."

Yes, the merchandise in your warehouses may undergo a woeful decline in price; the rents on which you calculated with so much confidence may fail to be paid; the parched earth itself may withhold her expected bounty; the shares of bankrupt corporations lodged as collateral security for bankrupt notes may sink below the value of the paper on which they are engraved, for pure white paper is worth something, but he that hath pity on the poor lendeth to the Lord, with all the treasures in the crystal vaults of heaven, high as the stars, deep as eternity, pledged for the repayment.

You are all familiar I doubt not with that pathetic and well-told anecdote of the rescue of the Europeans in the residence at Lucknow in India, by the arrival, at the very crisis of their fate, of that noble Havelock, whose own untimely end has been so lately mourned by the whole civilized world.* The anecdote is of doubtful authenticity, at least as far as concerns its details, but the condition of the Europeans at the time of their relief is a matter of historical fact. The imperfect defences of the residence were undermined and ready to be forced; a remorseless enemy surrounded them on every side; the exhausted garrison was on the point of sinking under the toils and anxieties of the protracted defence; and death in its most dreadful forms stared them in the face. The women in the residence had borne their full part in the labors and dangers of the defence, tending the wounded and sick, conveying orders to the batteries, and supplying the men at the guns with needed refreshments night and day. On

* This address, as originally prepared for the benefit of the "Boston Provident Association," ended at the close of the last paragraph. The concluding portion was added, when the address was repeated in New York for the benefit of "the Women's Emigrant Aid Society" of that city. I always considered the celebrated anecdote here referred to as of doubtful authenticity; but thought it might with propriety be employed as in the text for the purpose of illustration.

what was at the time believed to be the morning of the last day the enfeebled garrison could possibly hold out, the wife of a superior officer (and it is she who is supposed to tell the pathetic tale) had gone to the lines to render such aid as she might be able, accompanied by the wife of a subaltern officer in the same regiment. This last poor young woman had fallen into a state of nervous excitement during the siege, and for the last few days a constant fever had preyed upon her. Her mind wandered at times, — she thought, she dreamed of home, — her heart in fact was in her distant highlands. At length overcome with fatigue, she wrapped herself in her plaid; threw herself on the ground, her head resting on the lady's knee, and fell asleep, praying only to be waked up — poor soul — "when her father should come home from the ploughing." In a short time, in spite of the continual roar of the cannons and bursting of the shells, the lady herself sunk to sleep also. Suddenly, however, she was awakened by an unearthly but a rapturous scream; and beheld the young woman starting to her feet, — her arms raised, her head bent forward in the most earnest attitude of listening. Soon a look of wild and intense delight broke over her countenance, she grasped the lady's hand, and drawing her close to her side, exclaimed in frantic joy, "Dinna ye hear it, dinna ye hear it, I'm no dreaming, — it's the slogan of the Highlanders, the Campbells are coming, we are saved, we are saved!"

The warfare of life has its perils, its sufferings, its extremities, its rescues, as urgent, as narrow as the warfare of arms. The greatest dangers, the most deplorable sacrifices, the most thrilling escapes, are not those of the tented field or "the imminent deadly breach." It is not necessary to go to the antipodes, and search amidst the crash of old effete despotisms, for scenes of horror which make the blood run cold at their bare mention. Here in the heart of our great cities, here in the neighborhood of spacious squares and magnificent avenues, here within the shadow of palatial walls, hundreds, thousands of our fellow-creatures are beleaguered this moment by the gaunt and ruthless legions of want and temptation. I venture to say that within a quarter of a mile of this magnificent

building,* crowded as it is with so much of the prosperity, the intelligence, the glowing life of this mighty metropolis, there are men and women, who have not partaken a regular meal this day; — whose shivering limbs are covered with rags that do not deserve the name of clothes; — their children crying for the bread which their wretched parents cannot give them. No resources, no friends to man the walls of their defence; — a stern, hand to hand, all but desperate fight with the merciless foe. Poor creatures, born with all your susceptibilities and wants; some of them to all your hopes and expectations, clasped in their infancy to bosoms as fond and warm as those which nursed you into health, strength, and beauty; — their memories running back in their delirious dreams to homes as pleasant as those which sheltered your childhood, — overtaken by calamity, by disease, by the hard times; — besieged, shut in by the dreadful enemy. The fires of necessity (fiercer than those which spout from roaring artillery or rage like an open hell along the embattled lines) girding them round; — nearer and nearer, hotter and hotter, with every feverish unfed morning's light and every fainting evening's watch; — the last piteous appeal for employment unsuccessfully made; the ill-spared cloak stripped from the shivering shoulders; the last sorely needed blanket torn from the miserable bed and taken to the pawnbroker's; the last fond trifles of better days, — the poor little gold ring, which her sailor brother put upon her finger when he went upon the voyage from which he never came back, — the bracelet of flaxen hair cut from the head of a little sister, as she lay in her coffin, white as the pale roses that decked it; — the cherished locket that clasped the tenderer secret of her young affections (for these poor creatures have hearts as warm as any that beat in those glittering rows), the very Bible that her mother placed in her trunk, when joyous and hopeful, loaded with the blessed burden of a parent's tears and prayers and benedictions, she left her native village for the city; all pawned, all bartered for bread, all parted with for ever. Oh Heavens!

* The Academy of Music in New York.

how can they bear it? How can virtue, conscience, holy shame itself hold out under another day's craving, gnawing hunger, another night's hateful, devilish temptation? They will, they must give way. Oh Christian men, and still more, dear Christian women, have mercy upon them! Let them, as they are just about to fall "like stars that set to rise no more,"—let them hear in the distance the footsteps of manly aid,—let hope come softly rustling to the strained ear like the flutter of an angel's wing, in the robes of matronly and maiden sympathy flying to their rescue, and from the lips of your poor sisters just ready body and soul to perish, let the blessed cry be heard, "We are saved, we are saved!"

DEDICATION OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.*

MR. MAYOR:—

IN behalf of the Trustees of the City Library, I receive with extreme pleasure the keys which you have placed in my hands. The completion of the noble building, which the city government now confides to our care, is an event to which the Trustees have looked forward with the greatest interest, and which they now contemplate with the highest satisfaction. They deem themselves especially honored in their connection with an institution, for whose use this stately and commodious edifice has been erected, and which they doubt not is destined to be instrumental of the highest good to the community, and to reflect lasting credit upon the liberality, public and private, with which it has been founded and endowed.

The city of Boston, owing to peculiar circumstances in its growth and history, has been at all times, as I think, beyond most cities in the world, the object of an affectionate attachment on the part of its inhabitants; a feeling entitled to respect and productive of good, even if it may sometimes seem to strangers over-partial in its manifestations. It is not merely its commanding natural situation, the triple hills on which it is enthroned, its magnificent bay and harbor, and the group of islands and islets that sparkle like emeralds on their surface; not merely this most admirable common, which opens before

* A Speech delivered on the 1st of January, 1858, in presence of the municipal authorities, at the dedication of the new building erected for the Free Public Library of the city of Boston, His Honor the Mayor (A. H. Rice) presiding.

our windows, delightful even at this season of the year, and affording us in summer, in its noble malls and shady walks, all that the country can boast of cool and beautiful and salubrious, transported to the heart of the city, "the poor man's pleasure-ground," as it has been well called, though a king might envy it; — nor the environs of our city of surpassing loveliness, which enclose it on every side in kindly embrace; it is not solely nor principally these natural attractions which endear Boston to its citizens. Nor is it exclusively the proud and grateful memories of the past, — of the high-souled fathers and mothers of the land, venerable in their self-denying virtues, majestic in the austere simplicity of their manners, conscientious in their errors, who, with amazing sacrifices and hardships never to be described, sought out new homes in the wilderness, and transmitted to us delights and blessings which it was not given to themselves to enjoy; — of those who in succeeding generations deserved well of their country, — the pioneers of the Revolution, the men of the stamp act age, whose own words and acts are stamped on the pages of history, in characters never to be effaced; — of those who, when the decisive hour came, stood forth in that immortal HALL, the champions of their country's rights, while it scarcely yet deserved the name of a country; it is not exclusively these proud and grateful associations, which attach the dutiful Bostonian to the city of his birth or adoption.

No, Mr. Mayor, it is not exclusively these, much as they contribute to strengthen the sentiment. It has its origin, in no small degree, in the personal relation in which Boston places herself to her children; in the parental interest which she cherishes in their welfare, which leads her to take them by the hand almost from the cradle, — to train them up in the ascending series of her excellent free schools; watching over them as a fond father watches over the objects of his love and hope; in a word, to confer upon them a firstrate school education at the public expense. Often have I attempted, but with very partial success, both in this country and in Europe, to persuade inquiring friends from the countries and places where no such well-organized system of pub-

lic education prevails, that our free schools do really afford to the entire population means of elementary education, of which the wealthiest citizen is glad to avail himself.

And now, Mr. Mayor, the enlightened counsels of the city government are about to give new strength to those ties of gratitude and affection, which bind the hearts of the children of Boston to their beloved city. Hitherto the system of public education, excellent as it is and wisely supported by a princely expenditure, does but commence the work of instruction and carry it to a certain point; well advanced, indeed, but far short of the goal. It prepares our young men for college, for the counting-room, for the office of the engineer, the *studio* of the artist, the shop of the artisan, the laboratory of the chemist, or whatever field of employment they may be destined to enter, but there it leaves them, without further provision for the culture of the mind. It disciplines the faculties and forms a taste for the acquisition of knowledge, on the part of our young men and women, but it provides no means for their exercise and gratification. It gives them the elementary education requisite for their future callings, but withholds all facilities of access to those boundless stores of recorded knowledge, in every department, by which alone that elementary education can be completed and made effectual for the active duties of life.

But to-day our honored city carries on and perfects her work. The trustees, from their first annual report to the present time, have never failed to recommend a first class public library, such as that, sir, for whose accommodation you destine this noble building, as the completion of the great system of public education. Its object is to give to the entire population, not merely to the curious student, but to the inquisitive member of either of the professions, to the intelligent merchant, mechanic, machinist, engineer, artist or artisan, in short, to all of every age and of either sex, who desire to investigate any subject, either of utility or taste, those advantages which, without such an ample public collection, must necessarily be monopolized by the proprietors of large private libraries, or those who by courtesy have the use of

them; nay, to put within the reach of the entire community advantages of this kind, far beyond those which can be afforded by the largest and best provided private libraries.

The trustees are anxious that the institution, whose prosperity they have so much at heart, should continue to be viewed in this light; as one more added to the school-houses of the city, at which Boston boys and girls, when they have outgrown the other schools, will come to carry on the education which has been there commenced; where Boston men and women, "children of a larger growth," may come to acquire that additional knowledge which is requisite for the most successful discharge of the duties of the various callings of society, — which opens, in its pursuit, the purest sources of happiness, — and which, without reference to utility, contributes so materially to the grace and ornament of life.

I am aware that there is still floating about in the community a vague prejudice against what is called book-learning. One sometimes hears doubts expressed of the utility of public libraries; opinions that they are rather ornamental than necessary or useful; and the fact that our time-honored city, never indifferent to the mental improvement of her children, has existed more than two centuries without one, is a sufficient proof, that, until within a very few years, their importance has not been practically felt. There is perhaps even now a disposition to claim some superiority for what is called practical knowledge — knowledge gained by observation and experience (which most certainly the trustees would not disparage), and a kind of satisfaction felt in holding up the example of self-taught men, in supposed contradistinction from those who have got their knowledge from books. No name perhaps is so frequently mentioned for this purpose as that of Franklin, who, because he had scarce any school education and never went to college, has been hastily set down as a brilliant example to show the inutility of book-learning. It has been quoted to me in this way, and to show that libraries are of no use, within three days.

Now, Mr. Mayor, I need not tell you that there never was a greater mistake in point of fact. A thirst for books, which

he spared no pains to allay, is the first marked trait disclosed in the character of Franklin; his success throughout the early period of his life can be directly traced to the use he made of them; and his very first important movement for the benefit of his fellow-men was to found a public library, which still flourishes;—one of the most considerable in the country. Franklin not a book-man! whoever labors under that delusion, shows that somebody else is not a book-man, at least so far as concerns the biography of our illustrious townsman. We happen to have a little information on that subject, in a book written by Franklin himself. He there gives a very different account of himself, and I would ask any one who entertains the idea to which I am alluding, at what period of Franklin's career he supposes this taste for books began to be manifested by him; how soon he ceased to be a self-formed man? Perhaps after he had struggled through the years of his youthful poverty, escaped to Philadelphia, set up in business as a printer, and begun to have a little money in his pocket. I need not tell you, sir, that it was earlier than that. Was it, then, while he was the clever apprentice to his brother, the editor of a journal, and wrote articles for its columns in a disguised hand, and tucked them under the office door, enjoying the exquisite delight of being ordered to set up his own anonymous articles; was it then, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, that this fondness for reading, under the stimulus of boyish authorship, disclosed itself? Earlier than that. Well, then, at the grammar-school and Master Brownwell's writing-school, which he attended from eight to ten (for there are boys who show a fondness for reading, even at that tender age); was little Benjamin's taste for books developed while yet at school? Earlier than that. Hear his own words, which you will permit me to read from that exquisite piece of autobiography to which I have already alluded: "From my INFANCY I was *passionately* fond of reading, and all the money that came into my hands was laid out in purchasing books. I was very fond of voyages. My first acquisition was Bunyan's works, in separate little volumes. I afterwards sold them to enable me to buy R. Burton's *Historical Collec-*

tions. They were small chapman's books and cheap, forty volumes in all. My father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read. I have often regretted [and this is a sentence that might be inscribed on the lofty cornice of this noble hall] that at a time when I had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen in my way. . . . There was among them Plutarch's Lives, which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great advantage. There was also a book of Defoe's, called an *Essay on Projects*, and another of Dr. Mather's, called an *Essay to do Good*, which" — did what, sir? For I am now going to give you, in Franklin's own words (they carry with them the justification of every dollar expended in raising these walls), the original secret of his illustrious career — what was the effect produced by reading these two little books of Defoe and Cotton Mather? "they perhaps gave me a turn of thinking, which had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life." Yes, sir, in the reading of those books was the acorn that sprouted into that magnificent oak; there was the fountain-drop which a fairy might have sipped from a buttercup, from which has flowed the Missouri and the Mississippi, — the broad, deep river of Franklin's fame, winding its way through the lapse of ages, and destined to flow on, till it shall be ingulfed in the ocean of eternity.

From his "infancy," sir, "passionately fond of reading," nay, with the appetite of a vulture, with the digestion of an ostrich, attacking the great folios of polemic divinity in his father's library. Not a dull boy, either; not a precocious little bookworm; fond of play; doesn't dislike a little mischief; sometimes, as he tells us, "led the other boys into scrapes;" but in his intervals of play, in his leisure moments, up in the lonely garret when the rest of the family were asleep, holding converse in his childhood with the grave old non-conformists, Howe and Owen and Flavel and Baxter, — communing with the austerest lords of thought; the demigods of puritanism, —

"Non sine dis animosus infans."

Franklin not a book-man? Why, he goes on to tell us that it was "this bookish inclination which at length determined his father to make him a printer," against his own inclination, which was for the sea; and when he had thus by constraint become a printer, his great consolation was, as he says, that "I now had access to better books. An acquaintance with the apprentices of booksellers enabled me sometimes to borrow a small one, which I was careful to return soon and clean. Often I sat up in my chamber reading the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening and was to be returned in the morning, lest it should be found missing."

Then he made the acquaintance of Mr. Matthew Adams, an ingenious, sensible man, "who had a pretty collection of books." He frequented the printing-office, took notice of the bright little apprentice, and "very kindly proposed to lend me such books as I chose to read." Having taken to a vegetable diet at the age of sixteen, he persuaded his brother to allow him in cash half the price of his board, — lived upon potatoes and hasty pudding, — soon found that he could save half even of that little allowance (which could not have exceeded two-and-six-pence a week, lawful money), and this poor little economy "was an additional fund for buying books." What would the poor, under-fed boy, who was glad to buy books on the savings of his potato diet, have said could he have had free access to a hall like this, stored as it soon will be with its priceless treasures?

Further, sir, while working as a journeyman in England, he says, "I made the acquaintance of one William Wilcox, a bookseller, whose shop was next door. He had an immense collection of second-hand books." — (Somewhat, I suppose, like our friend Burnham, in Cornhill.) — "Circulating libraries were not then in use, but we agreed that on certain reasonable terms, which I have now forgotten, I might take, read, and return any of his works. This I esteemed a great advantage, and I made as much use of it as I could."

Finally, sir, as I have already said, Franklin's first important movement for the good of his fellow-men was the founda-

tion of the public library in Philadelphia. At his instance, the members of a little club to which he belonged, tradesmen and mechanics of narrow means, threw into common stock the few books which belonged to them. A subscription was then obtained from fifty young men, principally tradesmen, of two pounds each, and ten shillings *per annum*, and with this little fund they began. "The books were imported, the library was opened one day in the week for lending them to the subscribers, on their promissory notes to pay double the value if not duly returned." "This was the mother," says Franklin, "of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. It has become a great thing itself, and continually goes on increasing. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and, perhaps, have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges."

Those are the words of Franklin, Mr. Mayor, which I read from his own book. Our excellent friend the President of the Commissioners (Hon. R. C. Winthrop) has justly felicitated himself on having been the first person publicly to raise his voice in this noble hall. He must be a happier man than I who can speak an earlier or an abler word than his on any occasion; but I claim the credit of having read from the first book opened in this hall' — and what is more, sir, I mean to have the satisfaction o presenting the first volume given to the library, since this building came into the care of the Trustees. In your presence, Mr. Mayor, and that of this vast assembly on this first of January, 1858, I offer this copy of Franklin's Autobiography in Sparks's edition, as a New-Year's gift to the Boston Public Library. Nay, sir, I am going to do more, and make the first, and perhaps the last, motion ever made in this hall; and that is, that every person present, of his own accord, if of age, — with the consent of parent or guardian, if a minor, — man, woman, boy, or girl, be requested, on going home, to select one good book, and in memory of the poor boy, who half-fed himself to gratify his

taste for reading, present it as a New-Year's gift to the Boston Public Library. I make you that motion, Mr. Mayor, and I call upon all present to give me their voices: especially I ask the coöperation of the fairer and better part of creation. If nowhere else, woman's rights shall be respected in this hall, while I have any thing to do with it. I pray you, Mr. Mayor, put the question, and then I'll finish my speech.

His Honor the Mayor then rose and stated the question, which was seconded by Mr. Winthrop. The mayor particularly called on the ladies to vote, and a unanimous and emphatic aye resounded through the vast hall. The negative was then called and no response made. His Honor, amidst great cheering and laughter, pronounced it a unanimous vote.* Mr. Everett resumed —

No, sir, if there is one lesson more than another directly deducible from the life of Franklin, it is the close connection of a thoroughly practical and useful life and career with books, libraries, and reading. If there is a thing on earth which would have gladdened his heart could he have anticipated it, it would be the knowledge that his native city, in two generations after his death, would found a library like this, to give to the rising generation and to the lovers of knowledge of every age that access to books, of which he so much felt the want. And could it be granted to him, even now, to return to his native city, which dwelt in his affections to the close of his life, his first visit would be to the centre of the ancient burial-ground, where in after-life he dutifully placed a marble slab on the graves of his parents; his second visit would be to the spot in Milk street where he was born; his third to the corner of Union street and Hanover street, where he passed his childhood, in a house still standing; his fourth visit would be to the site of the free grammar school-house, where, as he says in his will, he received "his

* In the account of the "Proceedings at the Dedication of the Building for the Public Library of the City of Boston," published by the authority of the City Council, it is stated "that the number of volumes, etc., received since January 1, 1858, in response to the vote passed at the dedication of the library building," is 1471.

first instruction in literature," and which is now adorned with a statue which a grateful posterity has dedicated to his memory; and his last and longest would be to this noble hall, where you are making provision for an ample supply of that reading of which, "from his *infancy* he was *passionately* fond." The trustees have done what they could to connect some reference to Franklin with an institution which would have been the object of his warmest affections, by providing that every Franklin medal boy shall be entitled to its privileges; and inasmuch as the accumulating fund which he bequeathed to the city, and which now exceeds seventy thousand dollars, has proved almost wholly unavailing for the primary object of the bequest, it deserves consideration whether, when it has reached a sufficient magnitude, as it will before the end of this century, the interest of the fund, if it can be legally done, might not advantageously be appropriated, as a permanent endowment for the support of the library.

I have not proposed at this time, sir, on the part of the trustees, to make a formal speech; I have preferred to let Benjamin Franklin speak for us. This day belongs of right to the commissioners for building the library, ably represented as they are, by our distinguished friend their president, who has done such ample justice to the subject; and to you, Mr. Mayor, as the organ of the city government, whom I cannot but congratulate on closing your official career, — in all respects so honorable to yourself and so acceptable to your fellow-citizens, — by an act, I am sure, most grateful to your own feelings and most auspicious of the public good. It is not yet the time for the trustees to speak. A more fitting opportunity may hereafter present itself, when the books shall be placed on the shelves, the catalogue printed, and the library opened for public use. Occasion may then, perhaps, with propriety be taken, to illustrate the importance and utility of such an institution; to do justice to the liberality on the part of the city government and the individual benefactors by which it has been founded, endowed, and sustained; and especially to the generosity of our greatest benefactor and esteemed fellow-countryman, Mr. Bates,

whose letters announcing his first munificent donation of fifty thousand dollars, alluding to his own early want of access to books, assign that as the moving cause which prompted his liberality. It will be the pleasing duty of those who may then be intrusted with the administration of the library, to pay a fitting tribute to so much public and private bounty.

In the mean time, sir, we must throw ourselves on the patience and considerateness of the city council and the community. Not much short of sixty thousand volumes are to be brought together from four different places of temporary deposit, and assigned to their final resting-places in this hall and the circulating library below. Here they are to be arranged on the shelves, the cards and slips which pertain to them, far more numerous than the volumes themselves, reduced to alphabetical order; a separate catalogue of each alcove prepared; and a comprehensive catalogue of the whole collection, without which it will be little better than an unmanageable mass, prepared and printed. Every thing which could be done beforehand, has been anticipated; but much of the work was of necessity reserved till the books should be placed on the shelves. In the interval, and while this labor is going on, the library in Mason street will be left in possession of the books most in request for daily circulation, and will be closed at last only when it becomes absolutely necessary that they also should be removed to the new building.

But it is time for me to conclude. The shades of evening are falling around us; those cressets which lend us their mild and tasteful illumination will soon be extinguished; and the first day of the New-Year, rich in the happy prospects we now inaugurate, will come to a close. May the blessing of Heaven give effect to its brightest anticipations. A few more days, — a few more years, — will follow their appointed round, and we, who now exchange our congratulations on this magnificent New-Year's gift of our city fathers, shall have passed from the scene; but

firm in the faith that the growth of knowledge is the growth of sound principles and pure morals, let us not doubt, that, by the liberality of the city government and of our generous benefactors at home and abroad, a light will be kindled and go forth from these walls, now dedicated to the use of the FREE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, which will guide our children and our children's children in the path of intelligence and virtue, till the sun himself shall fall from the heavens.

DEDICATION OF CRAWFORD'S WASHINGTON.*

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—

I ESTEEM it a great privilege and honor to speak on behalf of Massachusetts on this most interesting occasion, — of Massachusetts, the eldest of the sister States of Virginia in this great family of republics. She knew and loved your peerless son at an early day, and years before those Revolutionary ties were formed, to which the toast alludes. While the lilies of France still floated over the bastions of Quebec; while the red cross of St. George waved from Maine to Georgia; while the bloom of youth was on his own cheek, he visited Boston, then the residence of the commander-in-chief of the royal forces.

When the great appeal was made to the stern arbitrament of war, and the all-important question arose in the continental congress, who should lead the patriotic arms of America in the doubtful contest; Massachusetts, represented by one whom your own Jefferson pronounced the colossus of debate in the great argument of independence, one from whom many of you afterwards differed in political opinion, but whom you all honored as a true, warm-hearted patriot; Massachusetts, I say, represented in the continental congress by

* On the 22d of February, 1858, the noble equestrian statue of Washington by Crawford was dedicated at Richmond with very imposing ceremonies, under the auspices of the legislature of Virginia. Mr. Everett was present on this highly interesting occasion as a "guest of the State;" and at the public entertainment in the evening, he was called upon to respond to the following toast: "Massachusetts and Virginia, — the Revolutionary ties that unite them still live in the hearts of the people."

John Adams, gave her voice and her influence for the appointment of Washington. She had her own armies, her own generals in the field, in common with those of the other New-England States, the veterans of the seven years' war, Rogers' provincial rangers, Stark's comrades, men who had climbed the heights of Abraham and stormed the citadel of Louisburg, the men already of the 19th of April and soon of the 17th of June, led by Ward and Warren and Putnam and Prescott and Greene. But at the risk of touching the most sensitive nerve that thrills in the human bosom, the point of honor on the part of the soldier and the gentleman, Massachusetts gave her vote and all her influence for the "beloved" Colonel Washington. If to Virginia belongs the incommunicable glory of having given him to his country, may not Massachusetts, under the circumstances to which I have alluded, reflect with satisfaction that she contributed all her influence, and on that question and, for the reasons which I have stated, her decisive influence, to place that noble son at the head of the American armies? She remembers, too, with interest, that the newly elected commander assumed his high trust under the shadow of her ancient university at Cambridge; that, with his head-quarters established there, he held the royal army for near a twelve month beleaguered in Boston; and that he achieved his first great military success upon the heights that command her capital.

Some foreign writers have denied the military talent of Washington. Massachusetts knows better. She witnesses the remains of the magnificent lines of circumvallation, twelve miles in circuit, in which, with raw recruits, inadequately supplied for the field, without ordnance, without munitions, he held the royal forces closely invested for near a twelve month. She beholds eternal monuments of his military skill in the heights of Dorchester, where, by a remarkable strategic combination, he earned a place, I appeal to the gallant chieftain by my side (General Persifer Smith), among the greatest masters of war. A late French writer has said, that Washington could not have led the French grand army of 1812, that prodigious array moving in thirteen parallel

columns, each a host — led by tributary kings, and heroes of a hundred wars, — and got them in safety into Russia. I do not know that any one has a right to assert this, or take for granted that he, who did great things with small means, would not have done proportionately greater things with ample means. At any rate, whatever superiority may be claimed for Napoleon, on the bare assumption that Washington could not have conducted his mighty force into Russia, some deduction must be made from that superiority for the historical fact, that Napoleon himself could not conduct it out of Russia.

At all events, sir, Washington himself, into whose heroic self-possession there entered not the slightest particle of arrogance or presumption, calmly contemplated the possibility that he might be brought into personal conflict with that dreaded Napoleon; and in that belief accepted the command of the American army in 1798. When, in the expectation of a war with our honored revolutionary ally, then distracted in her domestic counsels, Washington was appointed lieutenant-general, a title and a trust which America but in a single other instance has given to any one of her gallant sons, and he also a native of Virginia, he more than once declared that, if the enemy invaded us, he must not be permitted so much as to land on our shores. And in a letter to President Adams, written shortly after accepting his commission, he makes the significant remark, that "the French (with whom we have now to contend) have adopted the practice, with great and astonishing success, of appointing generals of juvenile years to command their armies." He had every reason to suppose at that time, and, doubtless, did suppose, that in the event of a French invasion, the armies of France would have been commanded by the hero of Arcole and Lodi, the youngest and most successful of these youthful generals to whom his letter alludes.

Sir, the occasion which has brought us together is, in my judgment, of far greater importance and significance than any mere popular pageant. Virginia has been called, and justly, the mother of States and of statesmen; but this is an honor

which she shares with her sister republics. From Maine to Georgia, every one of the old thirteen has sent her children to lay the foundation of new republics in the rising West; every one of the confederated States has its list of the wise, the honored, and the brave among its children. But to Virginia alone belongs the honor of giving birth to the one man, whose preëminence all acknowledge without envy, — in whose fame all the other States are proud as fellow-countrymen to claim a share.

I rejoice that in consecrating a monument to this pure and bright name you have found an American artist equal to its conception and execution. Oh that he could have witnessed this triumphant day! May its success carry consolation to the heart of his bereaved partner! He has left behind him a monument to his own taste and genius, not less than to his illustrious subject. And, sir, when I contemplate the career of this gifted artist, from its commencement to its close; when I trace him through the earlier productions of his chisel; the busts of living contemporaries; the lovely idolatries of ancient mythology, Orpheus, Ganymede, Hebe; his maturer creations, the statue of Beethoven, the group for the pediment of the southern wing of the extension of the capitol; the figures of Henry and Jefferson, which adorn the ascending platforms of your great monument; when I see him thus rising by steady progress to the summit of his art and his fame, in the more than imperial form and face of WASHINGTON; his true eye guiding his cunning hand from labor to labor, and from triumph to triumph, like Phidias of old, who "carved the gods and came to Jove," I can almost fancy that the delicate sense was overpowered, at last, by the transcendent glories of that matchless countenance; that the vision of the accomplished artist, beholding far more than the ordinary observer under the same outlines and lineaments; penetrating deeper into the mysteries of expression; rising higher, with rapt gaze, into the brightest heaven of thought and feeling and character, as they flow through the portals of sense; — a revolution successfully conducted; a constitution wisely framed; a government happily administered, raying out from

each divine glance, I can almost fancy that the gifted sculptor, like the gifted poet,

> "Saw, and, blasted with excess of light,
> Closed his eyes in endless night."

Sir, I believe in monuments, — I believe in them even as works of art. To carve the speaking marble, to mould the breathing bronze, is one of the noblest efforts of genius and taste; but a patriotic monument is a far nobler work. It embodies patriotism, truth, and faith; it gives form and expression to the best feelings of our nature; and while the noble work which you have this day inaugurated shall brave the snows of winter and the heats of summer, that rigid arm shall point the unerring road to the welfare of the country more surely than any arm of living flesh; and a fiercer thunder than that of the elements shall clothe the neck of the monumental war-horse, and strike terror to the hearts of the enemies of the constitution and the union.

PRESENTATION OF THE CANE OF WASHINGTON.

PREFATORY NOTE.

In the summer of 1857, the directors of the Ladies' Mount Vernon Association became possessed of one of the gold-headed canes and one of the spy-glasses mentioned in the will of Washington; and they determined to present the former to Mr. Everett and the latter to Mr. Yancey of Alabama, in acknowledgment of the services of those gentlemen in aid of the fund for the purchase of Mount Vernon. The presentation took place in the theatre at Richmond on the 23d of February, 1858, being the day after the dedication of Crawford's statue. In an account of the ceremonial contained in the Richmond Enquirer of the 25th of February, it is stated, that, "long before the hour appointed, a dense crowd assembled in front of the theatre and clamored for admittance. A few moments after the doors were thrown open, the theatre was crowded to overflowing, and thousands were turned from the doors. The scene disclosed, when the curtain rose, was very imposing. In the centre of the stage sat Governor Wise, Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott and Major-General Persifer F. Smith, Governor Holley of Connecticut, Governor Bingham of Michigan, Lieutenant-Governor Jackson, Mr. Speaker Crutchfield, Hon. J. M. Mason of the senate of the United States, Hon. L. W. Washington, Hon. W. C. Rives, General A. A. Chapman, R. A. Claybrook, Esq., and a number of other dignitaries, whose white heads and benevolent countenances gave great interest to the general grouping. In front of this assemblage, on the left of the stage, sat Colonel Munford, secretary of the commonwealth, with Washington's cane and spy-glass on a table at his side. On the right, Mr. Edward Everett and Mr. W. L. Yancey occupied arm-chairs. The ceremonies commenced with Colonel Munford's address to these two gentlemen, and his presentation of the sacred relics to each in turn. This discourse, which was delivered in a clear, sonorous voice, was eloquent, powerful, and very moving."

After the conclusion of Colonel Munford's address, Mr. Everett placed the cane in the hands of General Scott, and replied as follows: —

Sir, — I want words adequately to express the emotions of satisfaction and gratitude with which I receive this most

interesting personal relic of the "Father of his Country;" invaluable in itself, and rendered if possible still more precious, by the circumstances under which it comes into my possession. I shall keep it while I live, as a sacred trust, and so dispose of it as best to promote the patriotic intentions with which it has been bestowed upon me.

I acknowledge myself under the highest obligations to the Ladies' Mount Vernon Association, who have honored me with this most expressive token of their approval of my humble coöperation in the great cause to which, with such fervid energy and noble enthusiasm, they are devoting themselves; and I pray you, sir, to accept my grateful acknowledgments for the very obliging manner in which you have been pleased to express yourself, in performing the office kindly undertaken by you, on this deeply interesting occasion.

I feel, sir, that, in reference to an honor so distinguished, so peculiar, there would be a degree of arrogance, even in disclaiming any title to it as a reward of merit. Such a thought is almost too absurd to be disavowed. Nothing but the most distinguished service rendered to the country, in some crisis of imminent peril, could furnish an adequate foundation for such a pretension.

But I may claim, without presumption, to have been trained, from my cradle, to the reverence of the great and honored name, of which you now enrich me with this most desirable personal memorial. I was born within sight of Dorchester Heights, where he achieved one of the most brilliant and important successes of the war, — the first in which he was individually concerned. I was reared in a community filled with recent personal recollections of him, cherished by those who all but idolized his character. I am old enough to remember the shock, which struck to the very heart of the land, at the tidings that he was gone. My first little declamation at school was the familiar elegy, beginning

> "From Vernon's mount behold the hero rise,
> Resplendent forms attend him to the skies."

I remember but as yesterday the emotion of my father, as he

placed round my neck, with its black riband, the medal which was worn by the school children throughout the country, bearing the likeness of Washington, with the inscription, "He is in glory — the world is in tears;" and the eulogy pronounced by that honored parent on the ensuing twenty-second of February, at the request of his fellow-citizens of Dorchester, was the first public discourse, of a secular character, to which I ever listened.

Had it then been foretold to me that after a lapse of fifty-eight years, filled with no inconsiderable share of the labors and the cares of life, I should live to see a day like this; that I should have the privilege, in so many of the States and cities of the Union, of pronouncing a eulogy on that illustrious name, before crowded and favoring audiences, and devoting the pecuniary proceeds of its delivery to the noble object of placing the home and the tomb of Washington under the ægis of the public protection; that as the rich reward of this service, I should here in the capital of his native Virginia; here in the presence of illustrious chieftains, who have borne the flag of the country with honor, from the frozen North to the tropics; of the chief magistrates of Virginia and other sister States; of statesmen who have filled and are filling the highest places in the public councils; of the ladies who have clothed themselves with the honor of originating the noble enterprise which appeals so powerfully to the patriotic sentiment of the country; and of this vast and sympathizing audience, — truly I should have deemed it a vision too bright, too wild, to be realized; or, if realized, an ample recompense for whatever of toil or of grief might intervene. But it is no romantic vision. I have lived to see this proud and happy day; I have been permitted by Providence to realize what the most extravagant anticipation could not have foreseen; I have pronounced the eulogy, of which you expect the repetition to-day, seventy times, for the benefit of the Mount Vernon fund, and I am willing, if it is the pleasure of my fellow-citizens to hear it, to pronounce it seven hundred and seventy times for the same noble object.

For these efforts and the labor and time required by them,

I claim no merit; I have asked, expected no reward; least of all such a reward as I receive this day, sir, at your hands. It has truly been, as you have been pleased to say, a labor of love. I have felt that I was engaged in a pure and honorable work, tending directly to a noble end, and not unproductive perhaps of incidental good. Compelled by illness, a few years ago, to resign a very honorable post in the public service, and feeling no temptation, since the partial restoration of my health, to return to the thorny and thankless path of public life; weary of its labors and cares, and more than satisfied with the trusts and honors which the partiality of my fellow-citizens has bestowed on me, at home and abroad, I find in these inoffensive pursuits, into which I have been drawn, consecrated to patriotism and benevolence, a more congenial occupation for my waning years; happy, if I can, in this way, do any thing to promote this most meritorious object of the Ladies' Mount Vernon Association, and soften the asperity of sectional feeling, by holding up to the admiration of all parts of the country, that great exemplar which all alike respect and love; or relieve, by appeals to the sympathies of the benevolent, the wants of our suffering fellow men; too happy, if, among the last utterances of a voice, which in the course of nature will soon cease to be heard, the praises of him who stands first in the affections of the country, shall be the most prominent theme, as a prayer for the welfare of every portion of that country will be breathed with the last pulsations of my heart.*

* Mr. Everett concluded his remarks as follows: "But I feel, sir, that I ought not to prolong my remarks. You are impatient to listen to the distinguished and eloquent gentleman, who is associated with me in the honors of this day; and I am sensible that I shall need all the time assigned to me in the day's proceedings, for the delivery of the discourse, which you expect from me before we part." Mr. Everett's reply to the address of Mr. Munford was followed by that of Mr. Yancey; after which Mr. Everett delivered his Eulogy on the character of Washington.

RECOLLECTIONS OF TURKEY.*

MR. MAYOR:—

I HAVE much pleasure in responding to your call, though I have so lately tendered my respectful greeting to our distinguished guest, on another occasion of a similar but more private character, that I feel as if the privilege ought at this time to have devolved on some other person. It is nearly eight years, sir, since I had the pleasure of meeting a company like this to do honor to an officer of the Turkish navy, though of a rank below that of our honored guest, who was sent by his government to this country on a tour of observation. That social meeting took place in the hall where we are now assembled; some of the present company were gathered round the social board; one majestic form and noble countenance was present which we shall never look upon again on this side eternity. On that occasion, sir, I expressed the hope that the welcome then extended to the agent of the Ottoman government might prove "the commencement of a permanent relation of good offices mutually exchanged." I rejoice to witness in the mission of our honored guest a fulfilment of that aspiration.

And having mentioned Emin Bey, I think it not out of place in justice to him; to Mr. Brown who accompanied him to this country and on his journey through it; and I may say to the Congress of the United States which very properly, in accordance with oriental usage, made a small appropriation to

* Remarks made at a dinner given by the City Council of Boston on the 25th May, 1858, in honor of Mehemmed Pasha of the Ottoman navy and his suite; his Honor F. W. Lincoln, Jr., presiding.

defray the expenses of his visit,—to state that there is not the slightest ground for the insinuations, which have been industriously made and perseveringly renewed, that Emin Bey was not a duly authorized agent of his government. I shall not give these insinuations their true name; but shall content myself with stating that I have now in my pocket authentic copies of letters from Aali Pasha, the present grand vizier, or prime minister of the Ottoman Empire, personally known to me as the Turkish ambassador at London during my own residence there, and from Mehemet Ali the Capudan Pasha, or lord high admiral of the Turkish navy, and the brother-in-law of the reigning sovereign, both of whom recognize the official character of Emin Bey in this country. The Capudan Pasha adds, that he executed his trust to the entire satisfaction of his government, and still enjoys its favor; and that his friendly reception by the American government and people was peculiarly agreeable to his Ottoman Majesty and the ministers of the Sublime Porte.

The presence of our distinguished guests here on the soil of that *Yéni Dunia*, that new world not known to the rest of mankind to be in existence when his warlike ancestors first established themselves in Europe, reminds me of a pleasing incident which took place about sixty years ago under the American flag, and in the waters of Constantinople. In the year 1800, an American frigate, bearing the auspicious name of the "George Washington," and the first American ship of war that ever passed the Dardanelles, arrived at Constantinople from the coast of Africa. She was commanded by the gallant Commodore Bainbridge, and at an entertainment given by him to the ministers of the Sublime Porte, decanters of water were placed upon the table from the four quarters of the globe; some of the casks filled in America and Africa being still full; and the frigate riding at anchor between Asia and Europe. This incident, as singular in the history of the world as it was pleasing in itself, attracted so much notice in the diplomatic circle at Constantinople, that the lady of the British ambassador borrowed the four decanters of water to grace her own table at an entertainment the following day.

But while these refreshing goblets from the four quarters of the globe were thus commingled in friendly libation in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, beneath the flag of America, — pleasing symbol of that peace on earth, good-will toward men, for which the heart of humanity yearns with eager longings, — I doubt whether it occurred to the most sanguine anticipations of that day, that the officers of the Ottoman marine in the lapse of a few years would be the honored guests of cities beyond the great ocean, — and pledge with us the cup of amity beneath the evening star.

I have the greater satisfaction, sir, in meeting our honored guest, from the pleasant recollection of days of adventure and romance, passed with my amiable fellow traveller — the late lamented General Lyman — in "the bright clime of battle and of song," from which he comes to us. In those joyous days, "when life was new and promised to be happy," yielding to the enthusiasm of youth and the classic region, we strayed from the beaten paths. We climbed the snow-clad peaks of poetic mountains; we explored old oracular caves; we lived with the shepherds on the hills; we swam unbridgable streams on horseback; we went up by windlasses to monasteries perched on perpendicular rocks; and passed never-to-be-forgotten days at Pharsalia and Thermopylæ, at Chæronea and Marathon and Salamis, and the plain of Troy. The storied region was at that time ruled by the Turk; and if the truth is told, with no gentle sway. But this at least must be said, — what I fear cannot be said of every part of independent Greece, — the traveller was safe. On one occasion a crazy Greek brig, in which we had taken passage from the port of Tricheri to the plain of Troy, was overtaken by a storm off Mount Athos, and seemed ready to founder. My companion and myself, with two Italian servants and a *tatar*, — a tough Anatolian Turk, given us for our journey by old Ali Pasha of Albania, — quitted the sinking vessel, as we thought her, and landed on the uninhabited side of the isle of Lemnos. It was then necessary that a portion of the party should cross the island — a wild, mountain region — and repair to the small town on the opposite side, in hopes of there

finding some fishing craft, by which we could complete our voyage. Leaving my fellow traveller and one of the Italians with our baggage on the spot where we had landed, I crossed the mountain with honest Mustapha, carrying with me, as he well knew, a considerable sum of money, without which the vessel could not have been hired. The inhabitants of the port bore, at that time, a very indifferent reputation; piracy was hardly considered a crime under the law of nations as understood in the Grecian islands. If Mustapha had taken my life in the desolate passes of Lemnos, and made his way with his plunder to the town, there would have been none to inquire into the event, or to quarrel with it if it had come to light. But I felt as secure beneath the protection of his stalwart arm as I do now by the side of his honored countryman, our guest.

These lovely bouquets with which the taste of Mr. Stevens has decorated the table, recall to my mind a pleasing *souvenir* of America, which soon after this adventure greeted my eye in Constantinople. Walking in the delightful gardens of the English embassy, I saw a trellis covered with a flowering vine in full bloom. I remarked to the ambassadress, who was present, that if we were not in Constantinople, that trellis would make me think I was at home; the flowers which clothed it, so closely resembled those in our gardens. "They ought to do so," — she replied. "It is the Virginia honeysuckle, which I brought with me from America (where her husband, Sir Robert Liston, had also been minister) and planted here;" — the first flower perhaps ever transplanted from the far West to the far East. The palace and gardens of the English embassy have since, I believe, been destroyed by fire; the American honeysuckle may have perished. Let us hope that our honored and intelligent guest will carry home some germs of artistic and intellectual culture, — some flowers of perennial bloom, — which will survive the accidents of material things.

On the occasion to which I have alluded, the dinner given to Emin Bey, I ventured a few observations on the almost unrivalled physical advantages of climate, position, and soil of the Ottoman Empire, and the benefits which might be an-

ticipated for the world's commerce from a freer intercourse with its fertile regions, especially if to their natural advantages should be added the newly applied facilities of communication: when "the territories of the sultan, like ours, shall be covered with an iron network of railroads, when these great rivers, like ours, shall be rendered navigable up stream as well as down by the mighty force of steam; when the electric telegraph shall speak from the sultan's own imperial Stamboul to the upper cataracts of the Nile, and from Beyroot to Bassora." Eight years have passed away. An electric telegraph traverses the width and rests upon the floor of the Black Sea, and railroads are already projected from its southern shores to the mouth of the Tigris. These are auspicious tokens of rapid improvement.

But I learn from our respected guest that Turkey has made a far more important stride in the onward march. In our agreeable interview at the Public Library the other day, after signifying the pleasure which he had enjoyed in visiting that establishment, which he thought must prove of great benefit to the city of Boston, he alluded to the great reforms and improvements which were in progress in his own country, and which took their date from the revolt and destruction of the Janissaries in 1825. Up to that time, said he, the government of the Ottoman Empire had been one of power and force: — it has since been a government of LAW! That great principle, the corner-stone of our modern civilization, is now, as I understand, recognized in all its significance by the Ottoman government, and proclaimed to the various races in its extensive dominions as the rule of its policy. Great difficulties must at first attend its application from the peculiar nature of the oriental character, and the diversity of language and race among the subjects of the Ottoman government. But if it shall have the fortitude and the wisdom to follow this principle to its results, the regeneration of those vast domains is assured. Industry and the arts languish beneath the blighting sway of Force, but they bloom and prosper beneath the genial influence of Law. This is the all-important lesson which our honored guest may learn in this country.

Our military and commercial marine; our railroads and telegraphs; our schools and libraries; these — precious as they are — are but the effects — the manifestations of the prosperity he witnesses. Its creative cause (under Heaven) is in the undisputed majesty of the law, which throws around the weak individual the panoply of the nation, and assures to the unprotected the quiet enjoyment of the fruits of his industry.*

Mr. Everett closed with the expression of the best wishes for the health and prosperity of the guests of the day, and their safe return home.

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* So little time has elapsed since the Turkish government and people were regarded as standing outside the pale of our civilization, that the following correspondence has been deemed not inappropriate here, as illustrating their readiness of late years to appreciate the kindly international courtesies which prevail among the western nations.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Constantinople, July 14, 1858.

To His Honor the Mayor of Boston:

SIR, — Conformably with the request of H. E. Mahmoud Pacha, Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, I have the honor to inclose you a copy of a letter from his Excellency, expressive of the thanks of the Sublime Porte for the hospitalities which the city of Boston extended to H. E. Mehemmed Pasha, and remain,

With much respect,
Your obedient servant,
JAMES WILLIAMS.

SUBLIME PORTE,
MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGÈRES,
Le 18 Juillet, 1858.

[No. 1568.]

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE: —

J'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir la lettre particulière que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser, en date du 28 Juin, pour me communiquer le discours prononcé par l'honorable Monsieur Edward Everett, au diner donné par la ville de Boston, à Son Excellence Méhémmed Pasha, en mission en Amérique.

Le Gouvernement Impérial a été profondément touché des sentiments dont la ville de Boston se montre animé envers Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, mon auguste maitre, et dont l'honorable orateur s'est rendu le digne interprête.

Je vous prie, Monsieur le Ministre, de recevoir nos remercimens les plus sincères et de les transmettre aussi à ceux qui professent de si nobles sentiments à notre egard, en assurant Monsieur Everett que Son Altesse le Grand Vizir conserve le plus agréable souvenir des rapports qu'il a été dans le cas d'entretenir avec lui lors de sa mission à Londres.

Je saisis l'occasion de vous offrir, Monsieur le Ministre, l'assurance de ma parfaite considération.

[Signé,] MAHMOUD.

MONSIEUR JAMES WILLIAMS,
Ministre Resident des Etats Unis d'Amerique.

TRANSLATION.

BUREAU OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SUBLIME PORTE, 13th July, 1858.

SIR, — I have had the honor to receive the private letter which you were so good as to address me, on the 28th of June, to communicate to me the speech made by the Hon. Edward Everett at the dinner given by the city of Boston to H. E. Mehemmed Pasha, now on a mission in America.

The Imperial Government has been profoundly affected by the feelings which the city of Boston has shown in favor of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, my august master, of which the honorable orator was pleased to be the organ.

I beg you, sir, to accept my most sincere thanks, and to transmit them to those who profess such noble sentiments in our favor, assuring, at the same time, Mr. Everett that his Highness the Grand Vizier retains the most agreeable recollections of the relations which he entertained with him during his mission to London.

I embrace this occasion, sir, to offer you assurances of my perfect consideration.

[Signed,] MAHMOUD.

To JAMES WILLIAMS, ESQ.,
Minister Resident U. S. of America.

WASHINGTON ABROAD AND AT HOME.*

Mr. Mayor: —

I feel greatly honored by the manner in which you have called upon me to respond to the toast given to the memory of Washington. I have elsewhere thought it right to say, that to be named in connection with him is an honor so far beyond any desert of mine, that there would be a degree of vanity in thinking it necessary even to disclaim it. You will give me credit, if not for the self-knowledge and humility, at least for the good taste, which would lead me to put far aside any such association with that great name, which, more than any other name of human renown, has drawn to itself incommunicably the gratitude and affection of his own countrymen, and the admiration of mankind. But I may, without presumption, return you my thanks for affording me the opportunity of giving utterance, on your behalf, and on behalf of the city of Boston, to the emotions with which the mention of that illustrious name, ever honored, ever dear, must warm the bosom of the true patriot, on the anniversary of our national independence.

I feel, sir, more and more, as I advance in life, and watch with mingled confidence, solicitude, and hope, the development of the momentous drama of our national existence, seeking to penetrate that future which His Excellency has so eloquently foreshadowed, that it is well worth our while, —

* Speech at the public dinner in Faneuil Hall, on Monday the 5th July, 1858, his Honor F. W. Lincoln, Jr., in the chair.

that it is at once one of our highest social duties and important privileges, — to celebrate with ever-increasing solemnity, with annually augmented pomp and circumstance of festal commemoration, the anniversary of the nation's birth, were it only as affording a fitting occasion to bring the character and services of Washington, with ever fresh recognition, to the public attention, as the great central figure of that unparalleled group, that "noble army" of chieftains, sages, and patriots, by whom the Revolution was accomplished.

This is the occasion, and here is the spot, and this is the day, and we citizens of Boston are the men, if any in the land, to throw wide open the portals of the temple of memory and fame, and there gaze with the eyes of a reverent and grateful imagination on his benignant countenance and majestic form. This is the occasion and the day; for who needs to be told how much the cause of independence owes to the services and character of Washington; to the purity of that stainless purpose, to the firmness of that resolute soul? This is the spot, this immortal hall, from which as from an altar went forth the burning coals that kindled into a consuming fire at Lexington and Concord, at Bunker Hill and Dorchester Heights. We citizens of Boston are the men; for the first great success of Washington in the Revolutionary war was to restore to our fathers their ancient and beloved native town. This is the time, the accepted time, when the voice of the Father of his Country cries aloud to us from the sods of Mount Vernon, and calls upon us, east and west, north and south, as the brethren of one great household, to be faithful to the dear-bought inheritance which he did so much to secure to us.

But the fame of Washington is not confined to our own country. Bourdaloue, in his eulogy on the military saint of France, exclaims, "The other saints have been given by the church to France, but France in return has given St. Louis to the church." Born into the family of nations in these latter days, receiving from foreign countries and inheriting from ancient times the bright and instructive example of all their honored sons, it is the glory of America, in the very

dawn of her national existence, to have given back to the world many names, of which the lustre will never fade; and especially one name, of which the whole family of Christendom is willing to acknowledge the unenvied preëminence; a name of which neither Greece nor Rome, nor republican Italy, Switzerland, nor Holland, nor constitutional England can boast the rival. "A character of virtues so happily tempered by one another," (I use the language of Charles James Fox,) "and so wholly unalloyed by any vices, is hardly to be found on the pages of history."

It is delightful to witness the generous recognition of Washington's merit, even in countries where, from political reasons, some backwardness in that respect might have been anticipated. Notwithstanding his leading agency in wresting a colonial empire from Great Britain, England was not slow to appreciate the grandeur and beauty of his character. Mr. Rufus King, our minister at that time to the court of St. James, writing to Gen. Hamilton in 1797, says: "No one who has not been in England can have a just idea of the admiration expressed among all parties for General Washington. It is a common observation, that he is not only the most illustrious, but the most meritorious character which has yet appeared." Nor was France behind England in her admiration of Washington. Notwithstanding the uneasy relations of the two countries at the time of his decease, when the news of his death reached Paris, the youthful and fortunate soldier, who had already reached the summit of power by paths which Washington could never have trod, commanded the highest honors to be paid to his memory. "Washington," he immediately exclaimed, in the orders of the day, "is dead! This great man fought against tyranny; he consolidated the liberty of his country. His memory will be ever dear to the French people, as to all freemen in both hemispheres, and especially to the soldiers of France, who like him and the American soldiers, are fighting for liberty and equality. In consequence, the First Consul orders that for ten days black crape shall be suspended from all the

standards and banners of the republic."* By order of Napoleon, a solemn funeral service was performed in the '*Invalides*,' in the presence of all that was most eminent in Paris. "A sorrowful cry," said Fontanes, the orator chosen for the occasion, "has reached us from America, which he liberated. It belongs to France to yield the first response to the lamentation which will be echoed by every great soul. These august arches have been well chosen for the apotheosis of a hero."

How often in those wild scenes of her revolution, when the best blood of France was shed by the remorseless and ephemeral tyrants, who chased each other, dagger in hand, across that dismal stage of crime and woe, during the reign of terror, how often did the thoughts of Lafayette and his companions in arms, who had fought the battles of constitutional liberty in America, call up the image of the pure, the just, the humane, the unambitious Washington! How different would have been the fate of France, if her victorious chieftain, when he had reached the giddy heights of power, had imitated the great example which he caused to be eulogized! He might have saved his country from being crushed by the leagued hosts of Europe; he might have prevented the names of Moscow and Waterloo from being written in letters of blood on the pages of history; he might have escaped himself the sad significance of those memorable words of Fontanes, on the occasion to which I have alluded, when, in the presence of Napoleon, he spoke of Washington as a man who, "by a destiny seldom shared by those who change the fate of empires, died in peace as a private citizen, in his native land, where he had held the first rank, and which he had himself made free!"

How different would have been the fate of Spain, of Naples, of Greece, of Germany, of Mexico and the South American Republics, had their recent revolutions been con-

* I take this order from "Choix de Rapports, Opinions, et Discours, prononcés à la Tribune Nationale, depuis 1789 jusques à ce jour." Tome XVII. p. 171. It is inaccurately given in Alison, Vol. V. p. 291.

ducted by men like Washington and his patriotic associates, whose prudence, patriotism, probity, and disinterestedness conducted our Revolution to an auspicious and honorable result!

But it is, of course, at home that we must look for an adequate appreciation of our Washington's services and worth. He is the friend of the liberties of other countries; he is the father of his own. I own, Mr. Mayor, that it has been to me a source of inexpressible satisfaction to find, amidst all the bitter dissensions of the day, that this one grand sentiment, veneration for the name of Washington, is buried — no, planted — down in the very depths of the American heart. It has been my privilege, within the last two years, to hold it up to the reverent contemplation of my countrymen, from the banks of the Penobscot to the banks of the Savannah, from New York to St. Louis, from Chesapeake Bay to Lake Michigan; and the same sentiments, expressed in the same words, have everywhere touched a sympathetic chord in the American heart.

To that central attraction I have been delighted to find that the thoughts, the affections, the memories of the people, in whatever part of the country, from the ocean to the prairies of the West, from the land of granite and ice to the land of the palmetto and the magnolia, instinctively turn. They have their sectional loves and hatreds, but before the dear name of Washington they are all absorbed and forgotten. In whatever region of the country, the heart of patriotism warms to him; as in the starry heavens, with the circling of the seasons, the pointers go round the sphere, but their direction is ever toward the pole. They may point *from* the east, they may point *from* the west, but they will point *to* the northern star. It is not the brightest luminary in the heavens, as men account brightness, but it is always in its place. The meteor, kindled into momentary blaze from the rank vapors of the lower sky, is brighter. The comet is brighter that streams across the firmament,

> "and from his horrid hair
> Shakes pestilence and war."

But the meteor explodes; the comet rushes back to the depths of the heavens; while the load-star shines steady at the pole, alike in summer and in winter, in seed-time and in harvest, at the equinox and the solstice. It shone for Columbus at the discovery of America; it shone for the pioneers of settlement, the pilgrims of faith and hope, at Jamestown and Plymouth; it will shine for the mariner who shall enter your harbor to-night; it will shine for the navies which shall bear the sleeping thunders of your power, while the flag of the Union shall brave the battle and the breeze. So, too, the character, the counsels, the example of our Washington, of which you bid me speak; they guided our fathers through the storms of the Revolution; they will guide us through the doubts and difficulties that beset us; they will guide our children and our children's children in the paths of prosperity and peace, while America shall hold her place in the family of nations.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.*

SIR, —

I AM greatly indebted to you and the company for this most flattering reception. My attendance of late years has seldom been given on occasions of this kind, and could not with consistency have been given at this banquet, had not your obliging invitation contained the assurance, that you proposed to celebrate the Fourth of July "in a national spirit, excluding every thing of a political or partisan character." As long as I was in public life, I was a member, as you know, sir, of that old Whig party to which you have referred — the national Whig party; a political association, I am sure you will grant, of which no one need be ashamed. The prostration of my health compelled me, four years ago, to resign the honorable post which I then filled in the public service. Since that period new parties have been formed; old ones have either retired for a while, at least, from the field, or have been forced in some degree on new issues; and if I felt the slightest inclination (which I do not), with the partial restoration of my health, to return to public life, I should be deterred from it by the fact, that, between the extremes of opinion which distract and threaten to convulse the country, I find no middle path of practical usefulness which a friend of moderate counsels is permitted to pursue. Statesmanship, as it was understood in my younger days, that is, the study of the foreign relations of the country, its defences, naval and

* A speech made in response to the toast "The day we celebrate," at a dinner given in Boston, by the Young Men's Democratic Club, on Monday, the 5th of July, 1858, William Williamson, Esq., in the chair.

military, its currency and finances, its internal improvements, its great industrial interests, and the relations of the government to the Indian tribes, has nearly become an obsolete idea, and our political life has assumed almost exclusively the form of sectional agitation. Into that dreary agitation, perilous to the country and profitless except for personal aggrandizement, I have no heart to enter.

Justified by the character of your celebration, I have yielded without scruple to the wish — rather I have found myself as little able as desirous to resist the all-powerful temptation of listening to the great living master of American oratory (I am glad on one account that he has retired from the table, as I can speak with greater freedom what I think and feel), on an occasion and upon a theme not unworthy the energies of his intellect nor below the flight of his eloquence. And, sir, I will say, if the pure and exalted principles of nationality which he has this day unfolded and illustrated, under your auspices, are a faithful exposition of democratic doctrine, then I must be permitted to share the satisfaction of the worthy gentleman in Molière's play, at finding greatly to his astonishment and delight that he had been speaking prose all his life. The great founder of the democratic party, Mr. Jefferson, in his inaugural address on the 4th of March, 1801, said, "we have called by different names brethren of one principle; we are all federalists, we are all republicans." If the orator of the day, to whom we have all listened with such admiration, has truly expounded the principles of your association and your party, I think we must say, with still stronger emphasis, "We have called by different names brethren of the same principle; we are all whigs, we are all democrats."

For myself, sir, standing aloof from public life and from all the existing party organizations, I can truly say that I have never listened to an exposition of political principle with higher satisfaction. I heard the late Mr. Samuel Rogers, the venerable banker poet of London, more than once relate that he was present on the 10th of December, 1790, when Sir Joshua Reynolds delivered the last of his discourses before

the Royal Academy of Art. Edmund Burke was also one of the audience; and at the close of the lecture, Mr. Rogers saw him go up to Sir Joshua, and heard him say, in the fulness of his delight, in the words of Milton —

> "The angel ended, and in Adam's ear,
> So charming left his voice, that he awhile
> Thought him still speaking, still stood fixed to hear."

When our friend concluded his superb oration this morning, I was ready, like Mr. Cruger (who stood with Burke for the representation of Bristol), "to say ditto to Mr. Burke." I was unwilling to believe that the noble strain, by turns persuasive, melting, and sublime, had ended. The music of the voice still dwelt upon my ear; the lofty train of thought elevated and braced my understanding; the generous sentiments filled my bosom with delight, as the peal of a magnificent organ, touched by the master's hand, thrills the nerves with rapture and causes even the vaulted roof to vibrate in unison. The charmed silence seemed for a while to prolong the charming strain, and it was some moments before I was willing to admit that the stops were closed and the keys hushed.

You have done, sir, a real service to the community — to the whole country — by this day's work and in the measures taken by you to celebrate the day "in a national spirit, excluding every thing of a political or partisan tendency." Would to Heaven that we could all carry this spirit, not merely to the patriotic celebration of this day, but to the discharge of all our civil and public duties, and especially of the duties which pertain to the organization of the government and the political life and action of the State! Would that the spirit of a pure nationality, such as this day has been described to us, embracing the whole country in the arms of a living and loving patriotism, might take the place of the intense local feelings which so extensively prevail, and lead the citizens of the different sections of the country to regard each other with distrust, jealousy, and hatred!

These are the feelings against which we are so emphati-

cally warned in the farewell address of Washington. No topic is more warmly pressed in that immortal State paper. Its author, reluctantly admitting that parties may perform a useful office, at least under monarchical governments, as checks upon the administration, and in keeping up the spirit of liberty, yet declares that, under elective and representative governments, this spirit is not to be encouraged. "From the natural tendency of such governments, there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effect ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting out into a flame, lest instead of warming it should destroy."

With this opinion of party spirit in general, of all the forms which it can assume, of all the directions which it can take, that against which Washington most especially warns us, is the sectional. "In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union," says he, "it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western, whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection."

"The *North* in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its par-

ticular navigation invigorated, and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted."

For these and other considerations, urged with a warmth and energy proportionate to his deep conviction of their importance, the Father of his Country says to his fellow-citizens, that "it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and to speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

Sir, I linger, but you I am sure will not think too long, on these solemn and affectionate appeals, which seem, after a lapse of two generations, to come sounding to us like an oracle of wisdom and love from the sacred shades of Mount Vernon. It has ceased to be a popular strain; but I willingly accept the unpopularity. I know that "Union-saving," as it is derisively called, is treated in some quarters with real or affected contempt. I am content to share in the ridicule which attaches to that anxiety for the preservation of the Union, which prompted one sixth part of Washington's farewell address. Would to Heaven that his sadly earnest counsels on this subject might spread peace and brotherly love throughout the land, as if the sainted hero himself could burst his cerements, and proclaim them in visible presence before his fellow-citizens! They would be worth to us, merely in reference to national strength, more than armies or navies, or "towers along the steep." I speak literally, sir, it were better for the safety of the country against the foreign foe that the union of the States should be preserved, than that we should

wield the army of Napoleon and the navy of England, while hovering on the verge of separation. It would be less dangerous that the combined fleets of Europe should thunder in our seaports, than that one half of the country should be arrayed against the other.

Sir, about fifteen minutes before I left my door to go to the Tremont Temple, I received from a friend in Virginia an extract from the public records of that State, which, if I mistake not, you will deem well worthy of your notice. It is in the following terms: —

"At a treaty held at Lancaster, Pa., July, 1774, between the lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania, and the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, on the one part, and the Indians of the six nations on the other, Conestoga, the head chief, spoke as follows to the colonial representatives: —

'We have one thing further to say, and that is, we heartily recommend *union* and a good *agreement* between you and your brethren. Never disagree, but preserve strict friendship for one another, and thereby both you as well as we will become the stronger.

'Our wise forefathers established union and amity between the five nations. This has made us formidable; this has given us great weight and authority with our neighboring nations. We are a powerful confederacy, and by your observing the same methods as our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire great strength and power. Therefore, whatever befall you, never fall out with one another.'" *

My friend adds: "What makes this wise and excellent admonition more impressive, is the fact that it was given on the 4th of July."

As I showed this paper a few moments ago to your president and the orator of the day (who has just left the table), Mr. Choate remarked, "and the moral of that piece of advice, the circumstances which have caused the annihilation of the six nations within eighty-four years, are, if possible, more significant than the counsel itself." Mr. Choate had not time

* From Record of Indian Treaties, in the Virginia State Library.

before he left the table to unfold the significance of this remark, but I think I understand it. The six nations were indeed a powerful confederacy. They occupied the central portion of the North American continent, on this side the Ohio and the Mississippi. Their influence extended from Lake Ontario to Chesapeake Bay, from the Mohawk to the James river, perhaps further. At one time they transacted business with the colonial governments at Albany; at another at Lancaster; at another at Williamsburg or Annapolis; and at another at the confluence of the Alleghany and the Monongahela. But their confederacy never extended beyond the six nations; they were successively at war with the Algonquins of the north and east; the Cherokees and Creeks of the south and west; and the powerful tribes of various names beyond the Ohio. The red man has ever been the red man's deadliest foe. Had all the native tribes of the North American continent been bound together in a grand confederacy, such as was projected by Pontiac in the last century and by Tecumseh in our day, I do not say that they would have eventually stood their ground against the swelling numbers of the white race crowding upon them with the arts and weapons of civilization, but most assuredly they would have long wielded a power eminently formidable to the rising States, and would have greatly postponed their own disappearance from the face of the earth. What the United States would be, if, instead of this Imperial Union, which concentrates into one irresistible power the resources of thirty-two States, and covers with its ægis the vast territory which extends from Texas to Maine, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, they were broken up into as many minor confederacies, and separate independent tribes as our red brethren, let the disappearance not merely of the five nations, but of so many other warlike confederacies and tribes, partly teach us.

I must not, however, forget, sir, that you bid me speak of "the day we celebrate;" but how can I do so in worthy terms, unless indeed I could borrow the breathing thoughts, the burning words to which we have already listened with

delight? Surely a day without a parallel in the history of nations—for where, in the annals of mankind, in ancient or modern times, can we find a day like this, on which, after centuries of conscious and unconscious preparation, upon the illustrious theatre of a vast continent, hidden for thousands of years from the rest of mankind, a group of feeble colonial dependencies, by one authentic and solemn act, proclaimed themselves to the world an independent confederacy of sovereign States?

I repeat, sir, that on the Fourth of July, eighty-two years ago, a deed, which not France nor England nor Rome nor Greece can match in all their annals, was done at Philadelphia, in Independence Hall. Let Philadelphia guard that hall as the apple of her eye. Let time respect and violence spare it, and the ruthless hand of embellishment have mercy upon it. Let every stone and every brick and every plank and every bolt, from the foundation to the pinnacle, be sacred. Let the rains of heaven fall softly on the roof, and the winds of winter beat gently at the door. Let it stand to the end of time, second only to Mount Vernon, as the sanctuary of American patriotism. Let generation on generation of those who taste the blessings of the great Declaration pay their homage at the shrine, and deem it no irreverence, as they kneel in gratitude to the Providence which guided and inspired the men who assembled therein, to call its walls salvation and its gates praise!

Yes, sir, the men by whom the deed was performed, and, to go no further than the committee who drafted the Declaration (for time would fail me to run down the long and honored roll of the entire body), what names, what memories! Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston:— Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania. Three of them natives of Massachusetts; two of them Presidents of the United States. Franklin, the most illustrious philosopher and skilful negotiator of the last century; Sherman, who raised himself from the humblest walks of manual labor to

be the guide of senates; Livingston, the head of the tribunals of his great State,—joint negotiator of the treaty which added half the North American continent, under the name of Louisiana, to the Union; the confidential friend and partner of Fulton in the creation of steam navigation.

And then the grandeur of the event itself; the stupendous magnitude of the political system then inaugurated. Oh that with a comprehensive grasp of the plan of Providence, with a patient foresight of the impending future, we could reverently ascend the Mount of Vision, and behold in the kindling promise of the dawn, the brightness of the coming glories! The meridian splendors of that coming day I attempt not to sketch; but let us endeavor at least to form some conception of the country, to which this morning's sun proclaimed a patriotic holiday; so vast, so widely though so recently settled — east, west, north, and south; the differences of local position, maritime and inland, — alluvial plain, hills propped with eternal buttresses of iron and granite, central prairie with its inexhaustible depths of vegetable mould, — lakes that rival oceans, rivers that stretch from the polar circle to the tropics, — every growth that clothes the soil, every metal concealed in its bosom, — the endless variety of occupation and pursuit clustering round so many centres of local power, recognized and organized by the curious adjustments of our political system, — but throughout this vast extent and above the attractions and repulsions, the affinities and antagonisms of the land, this morning's sun proclaimed a holiday of peace and love. And as the local memories this day revive throughout the Union, let the all-absorbing interest of the great Declaration mould them into patriotic unity; so that all the cherished traditions of every part of the country may be woven and twisted into a bright cord of mutual goodwill, to which every honored name, and every sacred spot, and every memorable deed shall add its golden and silver thread; and Jamestown and Plymouth, and Bunker Hill and King's Mountain, and Warren and Washington, with all the other precious memories of ancient and modern

times, and all of either sex who have meekly suffered or bravely dared, in whatever part of our common country, shall this day be gratefully enshrined in the American heart of hearts.

Sir, I have lately seen much of this noble country, and I have learned, as I have seen it more, to love it better; the enterprising, ingenious, and indomitable North; the substantial and magnificent Central States, the great balance-wheel of the system; the youthful, rapidly expanding, and almost boundless West; the ardent, genial, and hospitable South, I have traversed them all. I leave to others, at home or abroad, to vilify them in whole or in part; I shall not follow the example. They have all their faults, for they are inhabited not by angels, but by human beings; but it would be well, in the language of President Kirkland, for those "who rebuke their brethren for the faults of men, not to display themselves the passions of demons." For myself, I have found in every part of the country generous traits of character, vast and well-understood capacities of progress, and hopeful auguries of good; and taken in the aggregate, it is the abode of a population as intelligent, as prosperous, as moral and as religious as any to be found on the surface of the globe. There is one little corner of each which I should like to annihilate; if I could wield a magician's wand, I would sink it to the centre. Its name is Buncombe; not the respectable county of that name in North Carolina, against which I have nothing to say, but a pestilent little political electioneering Buncombe in every State and every district, which is the prolific source of most of our troubles. If we could get rid, sir, of Buncombe, and if we could bring back the harmony which reigned on the day which we celebrate and the days which preceded and followed it, when Massachusetts summoned Washington to lead the armies of New England; when Virginia and Carolina sent their supplies of corn and of rice to feed their famished brethren in Boston; when Jefferson and Adams joined hands to draft the great Declaration — if I could live to see that happy day, I would upon

my honor, go to my grave as cheerfully as the tired and contented laborer goes to his nightly rest. I shall, in the course of nature, go to it before long, at any rate, and I wish no other epitaph to be placed upon it than this: "Through evil report and through good report, he loved his whole country."

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ANALYTICAL INDEX

OF THE THREE VOLUMES.

[NOTE. — In referring to the Index, the convenience of the reader will be facilitated by noting that in many of the larger Biographical and Historical articles (see WASHINGTON, GEORGE; WEBSTER, DANIEL; *Africa; Europe*), the arrangement is chronological. In cases where the article has been treated at considerable length and with minuteness (see *America; France; Great Britain; Greece; Rome; United States*), a Subordinate Index has been adopted.]

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